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THE HISTORY OF THE PURITANS OR *Proteſtant Non-Conformiſts,*

VOL. II.

CONTAINING

Part of the Reign of King *Charles* I. from the commencement of the Civil War; the Period of the Common-wealth; Protectorſhip of *Oliver Cromwell*; the Reigns of King *Charles* II. *James* II.

And PART of

King WILLIAM and Queen MARY:

By DANIEL NEAL, *M. A.*

The SECOND EDITION Corrected.

Think not I am come to ſend peace on earth, I came not to ſend peace but a ſword, Matth. x. 34.

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G.R. III.

THE PREFACE TO THE Third Volume of the OCTAVO Edition.

NO period of civil hiſtory has undergone a more critical examination than the laſt ſeven years of king CHARLES I. *which was a ſcene of ſuch confuſion and inconſiſtent management between the king and parliament, that 'tis very difficult to diſcover the motives of action on either ſide; the king ſeems to have been directed by ſecret ſprings from the queen, and her council of papiſts, who were for advancing the prerogative above the laws, and veſting his majeſty with ſuch an abſolute ſovereignty, as might rival his* brother of *France, and enable him to eſtabliſh the* roman *catholic religion in* England, *or ſome how or other blend it with the proteſtant. This gave riſe to the unparalelled ſeverities of the* ſtar-chamber *and* high commiſſion, *which, after twelve years triumph over the laws and liberties of the ſubject, brought on a fierce and bloody war, and after the loſs of above a hundred thouſand lives, ended in the ſacrifice of the king himſelf, and the ſubverſion of the whole conſtitution.*

Though all men had a veneration for the perſon of the king, his MINISTERS *had rendered themſelves juſtly obnoxious, not only by ſetting up a new form of government at home, but by extending their juriſdiction to a neighbouring kingdom, under the government of diſtinct laws, and enclined to a form of church diſcipline very different from the* engliſh: *This raiſed ſuch a ſtorm in the* North, *as diſtreſſed his majeſty's adminiſtra-*

tion; exhauſted his treaſure; drained all his arbitrary ſprings of ſupply; and (after an intermiſſion of twelve years), reduced him to the neceſſity of returning to the conſtitution, and calling a parliament; but when the public grievances came to be opened, there appeared ſuch a collection of ill humours, and ſo general a diſtruſt between the king and his two houſes, as threatened all the miſchief and deſolation that followed. Each party laid the blame on the other, and agreed in nothing, but in throwing off the odium of the civil war *from themſelves.*

The affairs of the church *had a very conſiderable influence on the welfare of the ſtate: The epiſcopal character was grown into contempt, not from any defect of learning in the biſhops, but from their cloſe attachment to the* prerogative, *and their own inſatiable thirſt of power, which they ſtrained to the utmoſt in their* ſpiritual courts, *by reviving old and obſolete cuſtoms, levying large fines on the people for contempt of their canons, and proſecuting good men and zealous proteſtants, for rites and ceremonies tending to ſuperſtition, and not warranted by the laws of the land. The king ſupported them to the utmoſt; but was obliged, after ſome time, to give way firſt to an* act *for aboliſhing the* high commiſſion, *by a clauſe in which the power of the biſhops* ſpiritual courts *was in a manner deſtroyed; and at laſt to an act depriving them of* their ſeats in parliament. *If at this time any methods could have been thought of, to reſtore a mutual confidence between the king and his two houſes, the remaining differences in the church might eaſily have been compromiſed; but the ſpirits of men were heated, and as the flames of the civil war grew fiercer, and ſpread wider, the wounds of the church were enlarged, till the diſtreſs of the parliament's affairs obliging them to call in the* ſcots, *with their* ſolemn league and covenant, *they became incurable.*

When the king *had loſt his cauſe in the field, he put himſelf at the head of his* divines, *and drew his learned pen in defence of his prerogative, and the church of* England; *but his arguments were no more ſucceſsful than his ſword. I have brought the debates between the* king *and Mr.* Henderſon, *and between the divines of both ſides at the treaties of* Uxbridge *and* Newport *upon the head of epiſcopacy, into as narrow a compaſs as poſſible; my chief deſign being to trace the proceedings of the parliament and their aſſembly at* Weſtminſter, *which (whether juſtifiable or not), ought to be placed in open view, though none of the hiſtorians of thoſe times have ventured to do it.*

The Weſtminſter *aſſembly was the parliament's* grand council *in matters of religion, and made a very conſiderable figure both at home and abroad through the courſe of the civil war, 'till they diſputed the power of the keys with their ſuperiors, and ſplit upon the rocks of* divine right *and* covenant uniformity. *The records of this venerable aſſembly were loſt in the fire*

fire of London, *but I have given a large and juſt account of their proceedings, from a manuſcript of one of their members, and ſome other papers that have fallen into my hands, and have entered as far into their debates with the* eraſtians, independents, *and others, as was conſiſtent with the life and ſpirit of the hiſtory.*

Whatever views the ſcots *might have from the beginning of the war, the parliament would certainly have agreed with the king upon the foot of a limited epiſcopacy, till the calling the aſſembly of divines, after which the* ſolemn league and covenant *became the ſtandard of all their treaties, and was deſigned to introduce the preſbyterian government in its full extent, as the eſtabliſhed religion of both kingdoms. This tied up the parliament's hands, from yielding in time to the king's moſt reaſonable conceſſions at* Newport, *and rendered an accommodation impracticable; I have therefore tranſcribed the* covenant *at large, with the reaſons for and againſt it; whether ſuch obligations upon the conſciences of men are juſtifiable from the* neceſſity of affairs, *or binding in all events and revolutions of government, I ſhall not determine; but the impoſing them upon others was certainly a very great hardſhip.*

The remarkable trial of archbiſhop Laud, *in which the antiquity and uſe of the ſeveral innovations, complained of by the* puritans, *are ſtated and argued, has never been publiſhed entire to the world. The archbiſhop left in his diary a ſummary of his anſwer to the charge of the* commons, *and Mr.* Prynne *in his* Canterbury's doom, *has publiſhed the firſt part of his* grace's *trial, relating principally to points of religion; but all is imperfect and immethodical. I have therefore compared both accounts together, and ſupplied the defects of one with the other; the whole is brought into a narrow compaſs, and thrown into ſuch a method, as will give the reader a clear and diſtinct view of the equity of the charge, and how far the archbiſhop deſerved the uſage he met with.*

I have drawn out abſtracts of the ſeveral ordinances relating to the riſe and progreſs of preſbytery, and traced the proceedings of the committee for plundered and ſcandalous miniſters, as far as was neceſſary to my general deſign, without deſcending too far into particulars, or attempting to juſtify the whole of their conduct; and though I am of opinion, that the number of clergy who ſuffered purely on the account of religion, was not very conſiderable, 'tis certain that many able and learned divines, who were content to live quietly, and mind the duty of their places, had very hard meaſure *from the violence of parties, and deſerve the compaſſionate regards of poſterity; ſome being diſcharged their livings for refuſing the* covenant, *and others plundered of every thing the unruly ſoldiers could lay their hands upon, for not complying with the change of the times.*

In

In the latter end of the reign of queen Anne, *Doctor* Walker *of* Exeter *publiſhed* an attempt to recover the numbers and ſufferings of the clergy of the church of *England*; *but with notorious partiality, and in language not fit for the lips of a clergyman, a ſcholar, or a chriſtian*; *every page or paragraph almoſt, labours with the cry of* rebellion, treaſon, parricide, faction, ſtupid ignorance, hypocriſy, cant, *and* downright knavery and wickedneſs *on one ſide*; *and* loyalty, learning, primitive ſanctity, *and the* glorious ſpirit of martyrdom *on the other. One muſt conclude from the doctor, that there was hardly a wiſe or honeſt patriot with the parliament, nor a weak or diſhoneſt gentleman with the king. His preface is one of the* Preface, p. *moſt furious invectives againſt the ſeven moſt glorious years of queen* ANNE p. 8, 9, 10. *that was ever publiſhed*; *it blackens the memory of the late king* WILLIAM III. *to whom he applies that paſſage of ſcripture,* I gave them a king in my anger, and took him away in my wrath; *it arraigns the great duke of* MARLBOROUGH, *the* GLORY *of the* engliſh *nation, and both houſes of parliament, as in a confederacy to deſtroy the church of* England, *and dethrone the* queen. p. 11. "*Rebellion, ſays the doctor, was eſteemed* "*the moſt neceſſary requiſite to qualify any one for being intruſted with* "*the government, and diſobedience the principal recommendation for her* "*majeſty's ſervice.* —— *Thoſe were thought the moſt proper perſons to* "*guard the throne, who, on the firſt diſlike, were every whit as ready to* "*guard the ſcaffold*; *yea, her majeſty was in effect told all this to her* "*face, in the greateſt aſſembly of the nation*; *and to ſay all that can be* "*ſaid of this matter, all the principles of* 1641, *and even thoſe of* 1648, "*have been plainly and openly revived.*"

Thus has this obſcure clergyman dared to affront the great AUTHOR, *under God, of all our preſent bleſſings*; *and to ſtigmatize the* MARLBOROUGHS, *the* GODOLPHINS, *the* STANHOPES, *the* SUNDERLANDS, *the* COWPERS *and others, the moſt renowned* HEROES *and* STATESMEN *of the age!*

It muſt be confeſſed, that the tumults and riotous aſſemblies of the lower ſort of people, are inſufferable in a well regulated government; *and without all queſtion, ſome of the leading members of the* long parliament *made an ill uſe of the populace, as tools to ſupport their ſecret deſigns, but how eaſy were it to turn all this part of the doctor's artillery againſt himſelf and his friends*; *for* Prynne, Burton, *and* Baſtwick, *in their return from their ſeveral priſons, were not attended with ſuch a numerous cavalcade, as waited upon the late Dr.* Sacheverel, *in his triumphant progreſs through the weſtern counties of* England *and* Wales; *nor did they give themſelves up to the ſame exceſs of licentiouſneſs and rage. If the mob of* 1641 *inſulted the biſhops, and awed the parliament, ſo did the doctor's retinue in* 1710; *nay, their zeal outwent their predeceſſors, when they pulled down the* meeting-

meeting-houſes *of proteſtant diſſenters, and burnt the materials in the open ſtreets, in maintenance of the doctrines of paſſive-obedience and non-reſiſtance, which their pious confeſſor had been preaching up*; " *a bold in-* Hiſt. p. 537.
" *ſolent man (ſays biſhop* Burnet), *with a very ſmall meaſure of religion,*
" *virtue, learning, or good ſenſe:*" *but to ſuch extreams do men's paſſions carry them, when they write to ſerve a cauſe! I have had occaſion to make ſome uſe of Dr.* Walker's *confuſed heap of materials, but have endeavoured carefully to avoid his ſpirit and language.*

No man has declaimed ſo bitterly againſt the proceedings of parliament upon all occaſions, as this clergyman; nor complained more loudly of the unſpeakable damage the liberal arts and ſciences ſuſtained, by their purging the two univerſities; the new heads and fellows of Oxford *are called,* " *a colony* Walker's
" *of preſbyterian and independent novices from* Cambridge; *a tribe of* Introduct.
" *ignorant enthuſiaſts and ſchiſmatics; an illiterate rabble ſwept from the* p. 139, 140.
" *plough-tail, from ſhops and grammar ſchools,* &c." *The univerſity of* Cambridge *is reported by the ſame author,* " *to be reduced to a meer* Mun- Walker's
" *ſter by the* knipper-dolings *of the age, who broke the heart-ſtrings of* Introd.
" *learning and learned men, who thruſt out one of the eyes of the king-* p. 115.
" *dom, and made eloquence dumb, philoſophy ſottiſh, widowed the arts,* Querela Cant.
" *drove away the muſes from their ancient habitation, and plucked the re-*
" *verend and orthodox profeſſors out of their chairs.*——*They turned reli-*
" *gion into rebellion, and changed the apoſtolical chair into a deſk for*
" *blaſphemy.*——*They took the garland from off the head of learning, and*
" *placed it on the dull brows of ignorance.*——*And having unhived a nu-*
" *merous ſwarm of labouring bees, they placed in their room ſwarms of*
" *ſenſeleſs drones.*—" *Such is the language of our hiſtorian, tranſcribed from Dr.* Berwick! *I have carefully looked into this affair, and collected the characters of the old and new profeſſors from the moſt approved writers, that the diſintereſted reader may judge, how far religion and learning ſuffered by the exchange.*

The cloſe of this volume, which relates the diſputes between the parliament and army; the ill ſucceſs of his majeſty's arms and treaties; the ſeizure of his royal perſon a ſecond time by the army; his trial before a pretended high court of juſtice, *and his unparalelled execution before the gates of his royal palace by the military power, is a moſt melancholy and affecting ſcene; in which, next to the all-diſpoſing providence of God, one cannot but remark the king's inflexible temper, together with the indiſcretion of his friends, eſpecially his* divines, *at a time when his crown was loſt by the fortune of war, and his very life at the mercy of his enemies; nor is the unwarantable ſtiffneſs of the parliament leſs unaccountable, when they ſaw the victorious army drawing towards* London, *flushed with the defeat of the* ſcots *and* engliſh loyaliſts, *and determined to ſet aſide that very uni-*

formity

formity they were contending for. If his majeſty had yielded at firſt what he did at laſt, with an appearance of ſincerity; or, if the two houſes had complied with his conceſſions while Cromwell *was in* Scotland; *or if the army had been made eaſy by a general indulgence and toleration, with the diſtribution of ſome honours and bounty-money among the officers, the crown and conſtitution might have been ſaved;* " *but ſo many miraculous circum-*
Vol. V. p. 258. " *ſtances contributed to his majeſty's ruin (ſays lord* Clarendon), *that men* " *might well think that heaven and earth conſpired it.*

The objections to the firſt volume of the hiſtory of the puritans, *by the author of* the vindication of the government, doctrine and worſhip of the church of *England, obliged me to review the principal facts in a ſmall pamphlet, wherein I have endeavoured to diſcharge myſelf as an hiſtorian, without undertaking the defence of their ſeveral principles, or making myſelf an advocate for the whole of their conduct. I took the liberty to point out the miſtakes of our firſt reformers, as I paſs'd along, but with no deſign to blacken their memories; for, with all their foibles, they were glorious inſtruments in the hand of providence, to deliver this nation from anti-chriſtian bondage; but they were free to confeſs, the work was left imperfect; that they had gone as far as the times would admit, and hoped their ſucceſſors would bring the reformation to a greater perfection.*

But the ſtate of the controverſy was entirely changed in the time of the civil wars; for after the coming in of the ſcots, *the puritans did not fight for a reformation of the hierarchy, nor for the generous principles of* religious liberty to all peaceable ſubjects; *but for the ſame ſpiritual power the biſhops had exerciſed; for when they had got rid of the oppreſſion of the ſpiritual courts, under which they had groaned almoſt fourſcore years, they were for ſetting up a number of* preſbyterian conſiſtories *in all the pariſhes of* England, *equally burdenſome and oppreſſive.—Unhappy extream! That wiſe and good men ſhould not diſcover the beautiful conſiſtency of truth and liberty! Dr.* Barrow *and others have obſerved, that in the firſt and pureſt ages of chriſtianity, the church had no coercive power, and apprehend that it may ſtill ſubſiſt very well without it.*

The body of proteſtant diſſenters of the preſent age have a juſt abhorence of the perſecuting ſpirit of their predeceſſors, *and are content that* their *actions be ſet in a fair light, as a warning to poſterity. They have no leſs a dread of returning into the hands of* ſpiritual courts, *founded on the bottomleſs deep of the* canon law, *and ſee no reaſon why they ſhould not be equally expoſed, till they are put upon a better foot; though it is an unpardonable crime in the opinion of ſome churchmen, to take notice, even in the moſt reſpectful manner, of the leaſt blemiſh in our preſent eſtabliſhment, which, how valuable ſoever in itſelf, is allowed by all to be capable of amendments. Some little eſſays of this kind have fired the zeal of the biſhop*

ſhop of Litchfield *and* Coventry *, *who, in a late charge to the clergy of his dioceſe, is pleaſed to lament over the times in the following mournful language: "At ſo critical a juncture (ſays his lordſhip), when common "chriſtianity is treated with an avowed contempt and open profaneneſs; "when an undiſguiſed immorality prevails ſo very generally; when there is "ſcarce honeſty enough to ſave the nation from ruin; when, with regard "to the eſtabliſhed church in particular, the* royal ſupremacy *is profeſſedly expoſed, as inconſiſtent with the rights of conſcience, even* THAT SUPREMACY, *which was the ground-work of the reformation among us "from popery, which was acknowledged, and ſworn to by the* old puritans, *"though now, inconſiſtently enough, diſowned and condemned in the new hiſtory, and vindication of them and their principles.——When ſo deſtructive an attempt has been made on the legal maintenance of the clergy, "by the late* tithe bill, *and conſequently,* on the fate of the chriſtian religion among us.——*When an attempt has been lately made on the important out-works of our eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhment, the* corporation *and* teſt acts, *with the greateſt inſolences towards the church, and moſt undutiful menaces to the civil government.——When the* epiſcopal authority *has been well nigh undermined, under a pretence of reforming the eccleſiaſtical courts; and if that* order *had been rendered uſeleſs, as it muſt have been, when it had loſt its* authority, *then the* revenues *would have been ſoon thought uſeleſs; and in the reſult of things, the* order itſelf *might have been conſidered as ſuperfluous, and perhaps in due time, thought fit to be aboliſhed.——When churches have been put into ſuch a method of repair, as would end in their ruin in a little time; and when the correction of the abuſes of the matrimonial licenſes has been laboured in ſo abſurd a manner, as to permit the marriage of minors without conſent of their parents or guardians: When theſe melancholy circumſtances have ſo lately concurred, it is natural to infer, our zeal for the church ſhould be in proportion to its danger; and if theſe are not proper occaſions for zeal for our eccleſiaſtical conſtitution, it is not eaſy to aſſign circumſtances that may juſtly demand it."—How fine and ſubtile are theſe ſpeculations! I have not obſerved any inſolences towards the church, or undutiful menaces to the civil government, in the late writings of the diſſenters; but if one pin of the hierarchy be removed by the wiſdom of the legiſlature, the whole building is ſuppoſed to fall, and all religion along with it. His lordſhip therefore adviſes his clergy to ſtudy † the biſhop of* London's codex, *in order to defend it; and it can do them no real prejudice to examine at the ſame time, the principles of law and equity, on which it is founded. As to the* diſſenters, *his lordſhip adds, "however, it will become us of the "clergy, in point of* prudence, *not to give any juſt* ſuſpicions of our diſguſt "*to*

Charge, p. 41, 42, 44.

Vid. *a late excellent examination of the* codex juris eccl. Angl.

Charge, p. 46.

* Dr. *Smallbrook.* † Dr. *Gibſon.*

" *to the legal toleration of them, while they keep within due bounds; that* " *is, while they do not break in upon the privileges, and rights of the* " *eſtabliſhed church, by declaring againſt all legal eſtabliſhments, or the legal* " *eſtabliſhment of the church of* England *in particular, or by not being* " *quiet with the preſent limits of their toleration, or by affecting poſts of* " *authority, and thereby breaking down the fences of the church, and plac-* " *ing themſelves on a level with it.*" *But whether this would remain a point of* prudence *with his lordſhip, if the boundaries of his epiſcopal power were enlarged, is not very difficult to determine.*

The diſſenters have no envy nor ill-will to the churches of England *or* Scotland, *eſtabliſhed by law (attended with a toleration of all peaceable diſſenters), any further than they encroach on the natural or ſocial rights of mankind; nor are they ſo weak, as not to diſtinguiſh between high dignities, great authority, and large revenues ſecured by law, and a poor maintenance ariſing from the voluntary contributions of the people, that is, between an* eſtabliſhment *and a* toleration.

Hiſt. Pur. Vol. I. p. 55. *But I am to attend to the charge of inconſiſtency brought againſt myſelf: I had obſerved, upon the reign of the bloody queen* Mary, *that* an abſolute ſupremacy over the conſciences of men, lodged with a ſingle perſon, might as well be prejudicial as ſerviceable to true religion: *And in the beginning*

Ib. p. 85, 86. *of the reign of queen* Elizabeth, *that* the powers then claimed by the kings and queens of *England*, were in a manner the ſame with thoſe claimed by the popes in the times preceding the reformation, except the adminiſtration of the ſpiritual offices of the church. *This was* THAT SUPREMACY, *which was the ground-work of the reformation; of which I ſay, let the reader judge how far theſe* HIGH POWERS *are agreeable or conſiſtent with the natural rights of mankind. His lordſhip calls this a profeſſed expoſing the royal ſupremacy, and the rather, becauſe* " THAT " SUPREMACY *was acknowledged, and ſworn to by the old puritans them-* " *ſelves, though now inconſiſtently enough diſowned and condemned by their* " *hiſtorian.*" *But ſurely his lordſhip ſhould have informed his clergy at the ſame time, in what ſenſe the* puritans *took the oath, when it was before his eyes, in the ſame page; and my words are theſe:* " *The whole body of the*

Hiſt. Pur. p. 88. " *papiſts refuſed the oath of ſupremacy, as inconſiſtent with their allegiance*

Vid. Strype's ann. Vol. I. p. 159. " *to the pope, but the puritans took it under all theſe diſadvantages, with the* " *queen's explication in her injunctions, that is, that no more was intended,* " *than that her majeſty, under God, had the ſovereignty and rule over all* " *perſons born in her realm, either eccleſiaſtical or temporal, ſo as no fo-* " *reign power had, or ought to have any ſuperiority over them.*" *Where is the inconſiſtency of this conduct of the old puritans, or their new hiſtorian? Or, where is the diſſenter in* England, *who is not ready to ſwear to it with this explication?*

But

But his lordſhip is pleaſed to reaſon upon this head, and in order to ſupport that abſolute ſupremacy, *which was the ground-work of the reformation, affirms, that* " all chriſtian kings and emperors have the ſame " power of reforming religion, and are under the ſame obligations, as " the *jewiſh* kings were in caſes of the like nature," *without producing the leaſt evidence or proof; whereas his lordſhip knows, that the government of the* jews *was a* theocracy; *that God himſelf was their king, and the laws of that nation ſtrictly and properly the laws of God, who is lord of conſcience, and may annex what ſanctions he pleaſes; their* judges *and* kings *were choſen and appointed by God, not to make a new* codex *or book of laws, either for church or ſtate, but to keep the people to the ſtrict obſervation of thoſe laws and ſtatutes that he himſelf had given them by the hand of* Moſes. Charge, p. 20.

His lordſhip is pleaſed to aſk, " if any high pretender to ſpiritual li- p. 21.
" berty, and the rights of conſcience, ſhould enquire what authority " the reſpective *jewiſh* and *chriſtian* powers had to interpoſe in matters " that regarded the rights of conſcience? Since in fact their aſſumed " ſupremacy was an uſurpation of thoſe natural rights.—" *I anſwer, that with regard to the* Jews, *it was no uſurpation, for the reaſons beforementioned; and when his lordſhip ſhall prove a* transfer *of the ſame power to all chriſtian princes, the controverſy will be brought to a ſhort iſſue.*
" —But will it not be replied (ſays the biſhop), that thoſe kings and p. 22.
" emperors were intruſted by God with the care of the eccleſiaſtical, " as well as civil conſtitution—." *If, by the* care of the conſtitution, *be meant no more than the preſerving their ſubjects in the enjoyment of their unalienable rights, nobody denies it; but if, under this pretence, they aſſume a ſovereign and arbitrary power of modelling the eccleſiaſtical conſtitution, according to their pleaſure, and of enforcing their ſubjects obedience by canons and penal laws, I ſhould doubt whether they are obliged to comply, even* in things not abſolutely ſinful in themſelves, *becauſe it may derogate from the* kingly office *of Chriſt, who is ſole king and lawgiver in his own kingdom, and has not delegated this branch of his authority to any* vicar general *upon earth. But I readily agree with his lordſhip, that if any* high pretender to the rights of conſcience, *ſhould have aſked the* FIRST CHRISTIAN EMPERORS, *by what authority they took on themſelves the alteration or change of religion?* THEY *would have thought the queſtion unreaſonable, and worthy of cenſure; they would have affirmed their own ſovereignty, and have taught the bold enquirers, as* Gideon *did the men of* Succoth, *with briars and thorns of the wilderneſs.*

Charge, p. 22. *The biſhop goes on*; " let us now transfer this power of *jewiſh* kings " and chriſtian emperors to our own kings, and the caſe will admit of " an eaſy deciſion—" *If indeed an abſolute ſupremacy in matters of religion, is the natural and unalienable right of every chriſtian king and emperor, the diſpute is at an end; but if it depends upon a* transfer, *we muſt beg pardon, if we deſire his lordſhip to produce his commiſſion for tranſferring the* ſame powers, *that Almighty God gave the* jewiſh *kings of his own appointment, to the firſt* chriſtian emperors, *who were neither choſen by God, nor the people, nor the ſenate of* Rome, *but uſurped the ſupreme authority, by the aſſiſtance of the military arm, and were ſome of them the greateſt tyrants and ſcourges of mankind.*

Ibid. *His lordſhips adds*, " have not the *engliſh* kings, ſince the reformation, " actually been inveſted with the SAME SUPREMACY, as the *jewiſh* " kings and chriſtian emperors were?" *I anſwer*, ſuch a ſupremacy *is, in my judgment, inconſiſtent with our preſent conſtitution, and the laws in being.* The ſupremacy *claimed by king* Henry VIII. *and his ſucceſſors, at the reformation, was found by experience too exceſſive, and therefore abridged in the reigns of king* Charles I. *and king* William III. *No one doubts, but the kings of* England *are obliged to protect religion, and defend the* eſtabliſhment *as long as the legiſlature think fit to continue it; but as they may not ſuſpend or change it by their ſovereign pleaſure, ſo neither may they publiſh edicts of their own to enforce it, as was the caſe of the firſt chriſtian emperors. The reader will excuſe this digreſſion, as neceſſary to ſupport a principal fact of my hiſtory.*

I am ſufficiently aware of the delicacy of the affairs treated of in this volume, and of the tenderneſs of the ground I go over; and though I have been very careful of my temper and language, and have endeavoured to look into the myſterious conduct of the ſeveral parties, with all the indifference of a ſpectator, I find it very difficult to form an exact judgment of the moſt important events, or to ſpeak freely without offence; therefore if any paſſionate or angry writer ſhould appear againſt this, or any of the former volumes, I humbly requeſt the reader to pay no regard to perſonal reflections, or to inſinuations of any ill deſigns againſt the eſtabliſhed religion, or the public peace; which are entirely groundleſs. I am as far from vindicating the ſpirit and conduct of the warmer puritans, as of the governing prelates of thoſe times; there was hard meaſure *on both ſides, though, if we ſeparate politics from principles of pure religion, the balance will be very much in favour of the puritans. In hiſtorical debates, nothing is to be received upon* truſt, *but* facts *are to be examined, and a judgment formed upon the authority by which* thoſe *facts are ſupported; by this method we*

ſhall

ſhall arrive at truth; and if it ſhall appear, that in the courſe of this long hiſtory, there are any conſiderable miſtakes, the world may be aſſured, I will take the firſt opportunity to retract or amend them; having no private or party views, no proſpect of preferment, or other reward for my labours, than the ſatisfaction of doing ſome ſervice to truth, and to the religious and civil liberties of mankind; and yet after all, I muſt beſpeak the indulgence and candor of my readers, which thoſe, *who are ſenſible of the labour and toil of collecting ſo many materials, and ranging them in their proper order, will readily allow to* one, *who ſincerely wiſhes the proſperity and welfare of all good men, and that the violence and outrage of theſe unhappy times, which brought ſuch confuſion and miſery both on king and people, may never be imitated by the preſent, or any future age.*

DANIEL NEAL.

London,
Nov. 4. 1735.

THE

THE

PREFACE

TO THE

Fourth Volume of the OCTAVO Edition.

THIS volume brings the history of the ſufferings of the puritans *down to its period; for though the* proteſtant diſſenters *have ſince complained of ſeveral difficulties and diſcouragements, yet moſt of the penal laws have been ſuſpended; the proſecutions of the* ſpiritual courts *have been conſiderably reſtrained by the kind interpoſition of the civil powers, and liberty of conſcience enjoyed without the hazard of fines, impriſonments, and other terrors of this world.*

The times now in review were ſtormy and boiſterous: Upon the death of king Charles I. *the conſtitution was diſſolved: The men at the helm had no legal authority to change the government into a* commonwealth; *the protectorſhip of* Cromwell *was an* uſurpation, *becauſe grafted only on the military power; and ſo were all the miſshapen forms into which the adminiſtration was caſt till the reſtoration of the king. In order to paſs a right judgment upon theſe extraordinary revolutions, the temper and circumſtances of the nation are to be duly conſidered; for thoſe actions, which in ſome circumſtances are highly criminal, may in a different ſituation of affairs become neceſſary. The parties engaged in the* civil wars *were yet living, and their reſentments againſt each other ſo much enflamed, as to cut off all hopes of a reconciliation; each dreaded the other's ſucceſs, well knowing they muſt fall a ſacrifice to thoſe who ſhould prevail. All preſent views of the king's recovering his father's throne, were defeated at the battle of* Worceſter, *the loyaliſts being then entirely broken and diſperſed; ſo that*

if

if ſome ſuch extraordinary genius as Cromwell's, *had not undertaken to ſteer the nation through the ſtorm, it had not been poſſible to hold the government together, till providence ſhould open a way for reſtoring the conſtitution, and ſettling it on its legal baſis.*

The various forms of government (if they deſerve that name), which the officers of the army introduced after the death of Cromwell, *made the nation ſick of their frenzies, and turned their eyes towards their baniſhed ſovereign, whoſe reſtoration, after all, could not be accompliſhed without great imprudence on one part, and the moſt artful diſſimulation on the other. The* preſbyterians, *like weak politicians, ſurrendered at diſcretion, and parted with their* power *on no other ſecurity than the* royal word, *for which they have been ſufficiently reproached; though I am of opinion, that, if the king had been brought in by a* treaty, *the ſucceeding parliament would have ſet it aſide. On the other hand, nothing can be more notorious, than the deep hypocriſy of general* Monk, *and the ſolemn aſſurances given by the* biſhops *and other* loyaliſts, *and even by the* king himſelf, *of burying all paſt offences under the foundation of the reſtoration; but when they were liſted into the ſaddle, the haſte they made to ſhew how little they meant by their promiſes, exceeded the rules of decency as well as honour. Nothing would ſatisfy, till their adverſaries were diſarmed, and in a manner deprived of the protection of the government; the terms of* conformity *were made narrower, and more exceptionable than before the civil wars; the* penal laws *were rigorouſly executed, and new ones framed, almoſt every ſeſſions of parliament for ſeveral ſucceſſive years; the* non-conformiſt miniſters *were baniſhed five miles from all the corporations in* England, *and their people ſold for ſums of money to carry on the king's unlawful pleaſures, and to bribe the nation into popery and ſlavery; till the houſe of commons, awakened at laſt with a ſenſe of the threatning danger, grew intractable, and was therefore diſſolved. His majeſty having in vain attempted ſeveral other repreſentatives of the people, determined ſome time before his death to change the conſtitution, and govern by his ſovereign will and pleaſure; that the* miſchiefs *which could not be brought upon the nation, by conſent of parliament, might be introduced under the wing of the prerogative; but the* roman catholics, *not ſatisfied with the ſlow proceedings of a* diſguiſed proteſtant, *or apprehending that the diſcontents of the people, and his own love of eaſe, might induce him ſome time or other to change meaſures, reſolved to have a prince of their own religion, and more ſanguine principles on the throne, which haſtened the criſis of the nation, and brought forward that* GLORIOUS REVOLUTION *of king* WILLIAM *and queen* MARY, *which put a final period to all their projects.*

The nature of my deſign does not admit of a large and particlar relation of all the civil tranſactions *of theſe times, but only of ſuch a* ſummary *as*

may

may give light to the affairs of religion; *and I could have wiſhed, that the memory of* both *had been entirely blotted out of the records of time, if the animoſities of the ſeveral parties, and their unchriſtian principles, had been buried with them; but as the remembring them may be a warning to poſterity, it ought to give no offence to any denomination of chriſtians of the preſent age, who are no ways anſwerable for the conduct of their anceſtors, nor can otherwiſe ſhare in a cenſure of it, than as they maintain the ſame principles, and imitate the ſame unchriſtian behaviour. At the end of each year I have added the characters of the principal* non-conformiſt miniſters *as they died, partly from the hiſtorians of thoſe times, but chiefly from the writings of the late reverend doctor* Edmund Calamy, *whoſe integrity, moderation, and induſtry deſerve a peculiar commendation. My deſign was to preſerve the memory of the reverend* aſſembly of divines *at* Weſtminſter, *as well as of the little* army of confeſſors, *who afterwards ſuffered ſo deeply in the cauſe of* non-conformity.

In paſſing a judgment on the ſeveral parties in church and ſtate, I have carefully diſtinguiſhed between thoſe who went into all the arbitrary meaſures of the court, and ſuch as ſtood firm by the proteſtant religion and the liberties of their country; *for it muſt be allowed, that in the reign of king* Charles II. *there were even among the clergy, ſome of the worſt, as well as beſt of men, as will appear to a demonſtration in the courſe of this hiſtory; but I deſire no greater ſtreſs may be laid upon* facts *or characters, than the quality of the* vouchers *in the margin will ſupport. Where* theſe *have been differently related, I have relied on the beſt authorities, and ſometimes reported from both ſides, leaving the reader to chooſe for himſelf: for if* facts *are fairly repreſented, the hiſtorian is diſcharged. I am not ſo vain as to imagine this hiſtory free from errors; but if any miſtakes of conſequence are made to appear, they ſhall be acknowledged with thankfulneſs to thoſe, who ſhall point them out in a civil and friendly manner; and, as I aim at nothing but truth, I ſee no reaſon to engage in a warm defence of any parties of chriſtians who paſs before us in review, but leave their conduct to the cenſure of the world. Some few* remarks *of my own are here and there interſperſed, which the reader will receive according as he apprehends them to follow from the premiſes; but I flatter myſelf, that when he has carefully peruſed the ſeveral volumes of this hiſtory, he will agree with me in the following concluſions.*

FIRST, that UNIFORMITY of ſentiments in religion is not to be attained among chriſtians; nor will a COMPREHENSION within an eſtabliſhment, be of ſervice to the cauſe of truth and liberty, without a TOLERATION of all other dutiful ſubjects. *Wiſe and good men, after their moſt diligent ſearches after truth, have ſeen things in a different light, which is not to be avoided, as long as they have liberty to judge for themſelves.*

ſelves. If Chriſt had appointed an infallible judge upon earth; or men were to be determined by an implicit faith in their ſuperiors, there would be an end of ſuch differences; but all the engines of human policy that have been ſet at work to obtain it, have hitherto failed of ſucceſs. Subſcriptions, and a variety of oaths and other teſts, have occaſioned great miſchiefs to the church; by theſe means men of weak morals, and ambitious views, have been raiſed to the higheſt preferments, while others of ſtricter virtue, and ſuperior talents, have been neglected and laid aſide; and power *has been lodged in the hands of thoſe who have uſed it in an unchriſtian manner, to force men to an agreement in ſounds and outward appearances, contrary to the true conviction and ſenſe of their minds; and thus a laſting reproach has been brought on the chriſtian name, and on the genuine principles of a proteſtant church.*

SECONDLY, All parties of chriſtians, when in power, have been guilty of perſecution for conſcience ſake. *The annals of the church are a moſt melancholy demonſtration of this truth. Let the reader call to mind the bloody proceedings of the* popiſh biſhops *in queen* Mary's *reign; and the account that has been given of the* ſtar-chamber *and* high commiſſion-court *in later times; what numbers of uſeful miniſters have been ſequeſtered, impriſoned, and their families reduced to poverty and diſgrace, for refuſing to wear a* white ſurplice, *or to comply with a* few indifferent ceremonies! *What havock did the* preſbyterians *make with their covenant uniformity; their* jure divino *diſcipline, and their rigid prohibition of reading the old ſervice book! And though the* independents *had a better notion of the rights of conſcience, how defective was their inſtrument of government under* Cromwell! *How arbitrary the proceedings of their tryers! How narrow their liſt of fundamentals! And how ſevere their reſtraints of the preſs! And though the rigorous proceedings of the puritans of this age, did by no means rival thoſe of the prelates before and after the civil wars, yet they are ſo many ſpecies of perſecution, and not to be juſtified, even by the confuſion of the times in which they were acted.*

THIRDLY, It is unſafe and dangerous to intruſt any ſort of clergy with the power of the ſword; *for our Saviour's kingdom is not of this world,* if it were *(ſays he)*, then would my ſervants fight; but now is my kingdom not from hence. *The church and ſtate ſhould ſtand on a diſtinct baſis, and their juriſdiction be agreeable to the nature of their crimes; thoſe of the church* purely ſpiritual, *and thoſe of the ſtate* purely civil; *as the king is* ſupream *in the ſtate, he is alſo head, or guardian of the* church, *in thoſe ſpiritual rights that Chriſt has intruſted it with. When the church in former ages firſt aſſumed the ſecular power, it not only*

rivalled the ſtate, but in a little time lifted up its head above emperors *and* kings, *and all the* potentates *of the earth: The thunder of its anathema's was heard in all nations, and* in her ſkirts was found the blood of the prophets, and ſaints, and of all that were ſlain upon the earth. *And whenever it recovers the wound that was given it at the reformation, it will undoubtedly reſume the ſame abſolute coercive dominion. It is therefore the intereſt of all ſovereign* princes, *to keep their clergy within the limits that Chriſt has preſcribed them in the* new teſtament, *and not to truſt them with the power of inflicting corporal pains or penalties on their ſubjects, which have no relation to the chriſtian methods of converſion.*

FOURTHLY, Reformation of religion, or a redreſs of grievances in the church, has not in fact ariſen from the clergy. *I would not be thought to reflect upon that* venerable order, *which is of great uſefulneſs, and deſerved honour, when the ends of its inſtitution are purſued; but ſo ſtrange has been the infatuation, ſo enchanting the luſt of dominion, and the charms of riches and honour, that the propagation of piety and virtue has been very much neglected, and little elſe thought of, but how they might riſe higher in the authority and grandeur of this world, and fortify their ſtrong holds againſt all that ſhould attack them. In the dawn of the* reformation, *the clergy maintained the* pope's ſupremacy *againſt the king, till they were caſt in a* præmunire. *In the reign of queen* ELIZABETH *there was but one of the whole bench, who would join in the conſecration of a* proteſtant biſhop; *and when the reformation was eſtabliſhed, how cruelly did thoſe* proteſtant biſhops, *who themſelves had ſuffered for religion, vex the* puritans, *becauſe they could not come up to their ſtandard. How unfriendly did they behave at the* Hampton-Court conference! *At the* reſtoration *of king* Charles II. *and at the late* revolution *of king* William *and queen* Mary! *when the moſt ſolemn promiſes were broken, and the moſt hopeful opportunity of accommodating differences among proteſtants loſt, by the perverſeneſs of the clergy towards thoſe very men, who had ſaved them from ruin. So little ground is there to hope for an union among chriſtians, or the propagation of truth, peace, and charity, from* councils, ſynods, general aſſemblies, *or* convocations of the clergy, *of any ſort whatſoever.*

FIFTHLY, *Upon theſe principles it is evident,* that freedom of religion, in ſubordination to the *civil power,* is for the benefit of ſociety, and no ways inconſiſtent with a public eſtabliſhment. *The king may create* dignitaries, *and give ſufficient encouragement to thoſe of the* public religion, *without invading the liberties of his diſſenting ſubjects. If religious eſtabliſhments were ſtript of their* judicial proceſſes, *and* civil juriſdiction,

diction, *no harm could be feared from them. And, as his majeſty is defender of the faith in* Scotland, *as well as* England, *and equally the guardian of* both churches, *he will, no doubt, hold the balance, and prevent* either *from riſing to ſuch a pitch of greatneſs, as to act independently on the ſtate, or become formidable and oppreſſive to their neighbours; the former would create* imperium in imperio; *and* there is but one ſtep between the church's being independent on the STATE, and the STATE becoming dependent on the church. *Beſides, as freedom of religion is for the true honour and dignity of the* CROWN, *it is no leſs for the ſervice of the* community; *for the example of the neighbouring nations may convince us, that* uniformity in the church, will always be attended with abſolute and deſpotic power in the STATE. *The* meetings of diſſenting proteſtants *were formerly called* ſeditious, *becauſe the peace of the public was falſely ſuppoſed to conſiſt in* uniformity of worſhip; *but long experience has taught us the contrary; for, though the* non-conformiſts *in thoſe times gave no diſturbance to the adminiſtration, the nation was far from being at peace; but when things came to a criſis, their joining with the church againſt a corrupt court and miniſtry, ſaved the religion and liberties of the nation. It muſt therefore be the intereſt of a free people to ſupport and encourage liberty of conſcience, and not to ſuffer any one great and powerful religious body to oppreſs, devour, and ſwallow up the reſt.*

FINALLY, When proteſtant diſſenters recollect the ſufferings of their fathers in the laſt age, for the freedom of their conſciences, let them be thankful, that their lot is caſt in more ſettled times. *The liberties of* England *are the price of a great deal of blood and treaſure; wide breaches were made in the conſtitution in the four reigns of the male line of the* STUARTS, *perſecution and arbitrary power went hand in hand; the conſtitution was often in convulſive agonies, when the patrons of liberty appeared boldly in the noble cauſe, and ſacrificed their eſtates and lives in its defence. The* puritans *ſtood firm by the* proteſtant religion, *and by the liberties of their country, in the reigns of king* Charles II. *and king* James II. *and received the fire of the enemy from all their batteries, without moving ſedition, or taking advantage of their* perſecutors, *when it was afterwards in their power. Some amendments, in my humble opinion, are ſtill wanting to ſettle the cauſe of liberty on a more equal baſis, and to deliver wiſe and good men from the fetters of* oaths, ſubſcriptions, *and* religious teſts of all ſorts. *But whether ſuch deſirable bleſſings are in reſerve for this nation, muſt be left to the determination of an all-wiſe providence. In the mean time, may* proteſtant diſſenters *expreſs their gratitude for the protection and eaſe they enjoy at preſent, by an undiſſembled*

piety towards God! By a firm and unſhaken loyalty to his majeſty's perſon, and wiſe adminiſtration! By avoiding every thing that tends to perſecution, or cenſoriouſneſs for mere differences in religion! And by the integrity of their own lives and manners! And while they think it their duty to ſeparate from the national eſtabliſhment, *may they diſtinguiſh themſelves by the exerciſe of all ſocial virtues, and ſtand faſt in the liberty wherewith the providence of God has made them free! By ſuch a conduct they will preſerve their characters with all ſober perſons, and will tranſmit the bleſſings of the preſent age to their lateſt poſterity.*

DANIEL NEAL.

London,
March 1. 1737-8.

THE

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

PURITANS.

CHAPTER I.

From the battle of Edge-Hill, *to the calling the* Aſſembly of Divines *at* Weſtminſter.

THE king having recruited his army at *Oxford*, after the battle of *Edge-Hill*, by the aſſiſtance of the univerſity, who now gave his majeſty all their money, as they had before done their plate, reſolved to purſue his march to *London*, in order to break up the parliament, and ſurprize the city; while the earl of *Eſſex* imagining the campaign was ended, lay quiet about *Warwick*, till being informed of the king's deſigns, he poſted to *London*, and ordered his forces to follow with all expedition. The earl arrived *November* 7, and was honourably received by both houſes of parliament, who preſented him with a gratuity

K. Charles I. 1642.

The king purſues his march to London.

K. Charles I. 1642. tuity of five thouſand pounds, and to ſtrengthen his army paſſed an ordinance, that ſuch apprentices as would liſt in their ſervice ſhould be entitled to a freedom of the city at the expiration of their apprenticeſhip, equally with thoſe who continued with their maſters. In the beginning of *November*, the king took poſſeſſion of *Reading* without the leaſt reſiſtance, the parliament garriſon having abandoned it, which alarmed both houſes, and made them ſend an expreſs to deſire a ſafe conduct for a committee of lords and commons, to attend his majeſty with a petition for peace; the committee waited on his majeſty at *Colnbrook*, fifteen miles from *London*, and having received a favourable anſwer, reported it to the two houſes, who immediately gave orders to forbear all acts of hoſtility, and ſent a meſſenger to the king, to deſire the like forbearance on his part; but the committee had no ſooner left *Colnbrook*, than his majeſty taking the advantage of a thick miſt, advanced to *Brentford* about ſeven miles from *London*, which he attacked with his whole army, *Nov.* 13. and after a fierce and bloody rencounter with the parliament garriſon, wherein conſiderable numbers were driven into the *Thames* and ſlain, he got poſſeſſion of the town, and took a great many priſoners. The conſternation of the citizens on this occaſion was inexpreſſible, imagining the king would be next morning at their gates; upon which the lord mayor ordered the trained bands immediately to join the earl of *Eſſex*'s forces which were juſt arrived at *Turnham-Green*, under the command of major general *Skippon*; and there being no further thoughts of peace, every one ſpirited up his neighbour, and all reſolved as one man to live and die together. Major *Skippon* went from regiment to regiment, and encouraged his troops with ſuch ſhort ſoldier-like ſpeeches as theſe; *come my boys! my brave boys! I will run the ſame hazards with you; remember the cauſe is for God and the defence of yourſelves, your wives and children. Come my honeſt brave boys! let us pray heartily, and fight heartily, and God will bleſs us.* When they were drawn up they made a body of about twenty four thouſand men eager for battle, but their orders were only to be on the defenſive, and prevent the king's breaking through to the city. The two armies having faced each other all day, his majeſty retreated in the night to *Kingſton*, and from thence to *Reading*, where having left a garriſon, he returned to *Oxford* about the beginning of *December* with his *Brentford* priſoners, the chief of whom were condemned to die, and had been executed for high treaſon, if the two houſes had not threatened to make repriſals. The parliament, to prevent a like ſurprize of the city for the future, impowered the lord-mayor to cauſe lines of circumvallation to be drawn around it, and all the avenues fortified.

Ruſhw. Vol. V. p. 58.

Whitlock, p. 62.

Ruſhw. Vol. V. p. 93.

Motives of it It was not without reaſon that the two houſes complained of the king's extraordinary conduct on this occaſion, which was owing to the violent counſels of prince *Rupert* and lord *Digby*, animated by ſome of his majeſty's

jeſty's friends in the city, who imagined, that if the royal army appeared in the neighbourhood of *London*, the parliament would accept of his majeſty's pardon and break up; or elſe the confuſions would be ſo great, that he might enter and carry all before him; but the project having failed, his majeſty endeavoured to excuſe it in the beſt manner he could: he alledged, that there being no ceſſation of arms agreed upon, he might juſtly take all advantages againſt his enemies. He inſiſted further upon his fears of being hemmed in by the parliament's forces about *Colnbrook*, to prevent which, it ſeems he marched ſeven miles nearer the city. Lord *Clarendon* ſays, prince *Rupert* having advanced to *Hounſlow* without order, his majeſty at the deſire of the prince marched forward, to diſengage him from the danger of the forces quartered in that neighbourhood; which is ſo very improbable, that in the opinion of Mr. *Rapin*, it is needleſs to refute it. Upon the whole, it is extreamly probable, the king came from *Oxford* with a deſign of ſurprizing the city of *London* before the earl of *Eſſex*'s army could arrive; but having miſſed his aim, he framed the beſt pretences to perſwade the people, that his marching to *Brentford* was only in his own defence. *K.* Charles I. 1642. Rapin, Vol. XII. p. 38.

Though his majeſty took all occaſions to make offers of peace to his parliament, in hopes the nation would compel them to an agreement, by leaving him in poſſeſſion of all his prerogatives, it is ſufficiently evident he had no intentions to yield any thing to obtain it, for in his letter to duke *Hamilton*, dated *December* 2, 1642, he ſays, "He had ſet up his "reſt upon the *juſtice of his cauſe*, being reſolved that no extremity or "misfortune ſhould make him yield, for (ſays his majeſty) I will be ei- "ther a glorious king or a patient martyr; and as yet not being the firſt, "nor at this preſent apprehending the other, I think it no unfit time to "expreſs this my reſolution to you." The juſtice of the cauſe upon which his majeſty had ſet up his reſt, was *his declaration and promiſe to govern for the future according to the laws of the land*; but the point was, to know whether this might be relied upon. The two houſes admitted the laws of the land to be the rule of government, and that the executive power in time of peace was with the king; but his majeſty had ſo often diſpenſed with the laws by the advice of a corrupt miniſtry, after repeated aſſurances to the contrary thereof, that they durſt not confide in his royal word, and inſiſted upon ſome additional ſecurity for themſelves, and for the conſtitution. On the other hand, his majeſty averred the conſtitution was in no danger from him, but from themſelves, who were acting every day in defiance of it. To which it was anſwered, that it was impoſſible the laws ſhould have their due courſe in time of war as in the height of peace, becauſe this muſt effectually tie up their hands. Neither party by *law* could raiſe money upon the ſubject, without each others conſent; the *Remarks.* Hamil. M. Book IV. p. 203. Rapin, p. 44, 45.

K. Charles I. 1642.

king could not do it without consent of parliament, nor the parliament without the royal assent, and yet both had practised it since the opening of the war. To have recourse therefore to the laws of a well settled government in times of general confusion, was weak and impracticable. Besides, his majesty refused to give up any of his late ministers to the justice of parliament; for in his letter to duke *Hamilton* he says, that *his abandoning the earl of* Strafford *had gone so near him, that he was resolved no consideration should make him do the like again.* Upon these resolutions, he declined the mediation of the *scots* commissioners, which gave the several parties engaged against him, a fair opportunity of uniting their interests with that nation.

This was a nice and curious affair; the friends of the parliament, who were agreed in the cause of civil liberty, were far from being of one mind in points of church discipline; the major part were for episcopacy, and desired no more than to secure the constitution, and reform a few exorbitances of the bishops; some were *erastians*, and would be content with any form of government the magistrate should appoint; the *real presbyterians*, who were for an entire change of the hierarchy upon the foot of *divine right*, were as yet but few, and could carry nothing in the house; it was necessary therefore in treating with the *scots*, who contended earnestly for their kirk government, to deliver themselves in such general expressions, that each party might interpret them as they were inclined, or as should be expedient. This contented the *scots* for the present, and left the parliament at full liberty, till they saw what terms they could make with the king. Nor could the *church-men* be dissatisfied, because they knew if they could put a period to the war without the *scots*, the two houses would not call in their assistance, much less submit to a kirk discipline they had no manner of acquaintance with; and therefore lord *Clarendon* was of opinion, that even at the treaty of *Uxbridge*, if the parliament could have obtained an act of oblivion for what was past, and good security for the king's governing by law, the *affair of religion* might easily have been compromised; but it required all the prudence and sagacity the two houses were masters of, to keep so many different interests in points of religion, united in one common cause of liberty and the constitution, at a time when great numbers of the king's friends in the very city of *London*, were forming conspiracies to restore him without any terms at all.

Encouraging prospect of the king's affairs. Rushw. Vol. V. p. 66.

The king's affairs had a promising aspect this winter; his forces in the north under the earl of *Newcastle*, were superior to those of lord *Ferdinando Fairfax*. In the western and mid-land counties there were several sieges and rencounters with various success, but nothing decisive. Divers counties entered into associations for their mutual defence on both sides.

ſides. The four northern counties, of *Northumberland*, *Cumberland*, *Weſtmorland*, and *Durham*, aſſociated for the king; after which the two houſes encouraged the like in thoſe that owned their authority, and appointed generals to command their troops; the chief of which was the eaſtern aſſociation of *Eſſex*, *Cambridgeſhire*, the iſle of *Ely*, *Hertford*, *Norfolk*, *Suffolk*, and the city of *Norwich*, whoſe militia were trained, and ready to march where neceſſity ſhould require within their ſeveral limits. In ſome parts of *England* the inhabitants reſolved to ſtand neuter, and not be concerned on either ſide; but the parliament condemned and diſannulled all ſuch agreements. K. Charles I. 1642. Ib. p. 94.

As the two houſes depended upon the aſſiſtance of the *ſcots*, his majeſty had expectations of foreign aids from the queen, who had endeavoured, by the influence of her ſon-in-law the prince of *Orange*, to engage the ſtates of *Holland* in the king's intereſt, but they wiſely declared for a neutrality; however, they connived at her private negotiations, and gave her a general paſſport, by virtue whereof ſhe tranſported a very large quantity of arms and ammunition to *Burlington-Bay*, and conveyed them to the king at *York*. His majeſty alſo, in order to bring over the *iriſh* forces under the command of the duke of *Ormond*, conſented to a truce with the *iriſh* rebels, [ſigned *Sep.* 15. 1643.] in which he allowed the *catholicks* to remain in poſſeſſion of what they had conquered ſince the rebellion, to the great grief of the proteſtants, who by this means were legally diſpoſſeſſed of their eſtates: A moſt unpopular action, in favour of a people who by their late maſſacre, were become the very reproach and infamy of human nature! Thus the whole kingdom was marſhalled into parties, with their drawn ſwords eager to plunge them into each other breaſts. Ruſhw. Vol. V. p. 537, 538. 539.

Ordinance of the parliament exhorting to repentance.

The parliament's cauſe having a dark and threatening aſpect, the lords and commons were not forgetful to implore the divine bleſſing upon their counſels and arms; for which purpoſe they publiſhed an ordinance, *Feb.* 15. 1642-3. exhorting to the duty of *repentance*, as the only remedy to prevent public calamities. It was drawn up by ſome of the puritan divines; and becauſe biſhop *Kennet* has branded it with the reproachful characters of *cant*, *broad hypocriſy*, aud *a libel againſt the church*, I will tranſcribe the ſubſtance of it in their own words.

" That flouriſhing kingdoms have been ruined, by impenitent going " on in a courſe of ſin, the ſacred ſtory plainly tells us; and how near to " ruin our ſinful nation now is, the preſent lamentable face of it does too " plainly ſhew. And though we ſhould feel the heavy ſtrokes of God's " judgments yet ſeven times more, it is our duty to accept the puniſh- " ment of our iniquities, and to ſay, *righteous art thou, O Lord, and juſt* Ruſhw. Vol. V. p. 141.

K. Charles I. 1642.

" *juſt are thy judgments.* Yet becauſe the Lord who is juſt is alſo mer-
" ciful, and in his infinite mercy has left the excellent and ſucceſsful
" remedy of *repentance*, to nations brought near to the gates of deſtruc-
" tion and deſpair, O! let not *England* be negligent in the application
" of it. Humble addreſſes of a penitent people to a merciful God have
" prevailed with him: they have prevailed for *Nineveh* when ſen-
" tence ſeemed to be gone out againſt her; and may alſo prevail for
" *England.*

" It is therefore thought neceſſary, by the lords and commons in par-
" liament aſſembled, that all his majeſty's ſubjects be ſtirred up to lay hold
" of this only, and unfailing remedy of *repentance*, freely acknowledging,
" and heartily bewailing, with deepeſt humiliation, both their own per-
" ſonal ſins, and thoſe of the nation; a confeſſion of national ſins being
" moſt agreeable to the national judgments under which the land
" groans, and moſt likely to be effectual for the removing of
" them.

" Among the national ſins are to be reckoned, *the contempt of God's*
" *ordinances, and of holineſs itſelf; groſs ignorance, and unfruit-*
" *fulneſs under the means of grace; multitudes of oaths, blaſphemies,*
" *profanation of the ſabbath by ſports and games; luxury, pride, prodiga-*
" *lity in apparel, oppreſſion, fraud, violence,* &c. *a connivance, and al-*
" *moſt a toleration of the idolatry of popery, the maſſacre of* Ireland, *and*
" *the bloodſhed of the martyrs in queen* Mary's *time*, which having been
" a national ſin, ſtill calls for a national confeſſion.

" Now, that all the ſin and miſery of this polluted and afflicted na-
" tion may be bitterly ſorrowed for, with ſuch grief of heart, and pre-
" paredneſs for a thorough reformation, as God may be pleaſed graciouſly
" to accept, it is ordained that all preachers of God's word do earneſt-
" ly inculcate theſe duties on their hearers, that at length we may ob-
" tain a firm and happy peace, both with God and man, that glory
" may dwell in our land; and the proſperity of the goſpel, with all
" the privileges accompanying it, may crown this nation unto all ſuc-
" ceeding ages."

The reverend prelate abovementioned makes the following remark upon this ordinance. " When once the two houſes could deſcend to
" have ſuch fulſome penitential forms put upon them, to adopt, and
" to obtrude in their name upon the nation, it was a ſure ſign, that
" all that was ſound and decent in faith and worſhip was now to
" be commanded into enthuſiaſm and endleſs ſchiſms." I leave the reader to examine, whether he can find any ground for ſo ſevere a cenſure.

Though

K. Charles I. 1642-3.

Though the king had rejected the *ſcots* mediation, and *ſet up his reſt upon the juſtice of his cauſe*, he was pleaſed, before the beginning of the campaign, to admit of a treaty with his two houſes, for which purpoſe he ſent a ſafe conduct to ſix lords, and as many commoners, with their attendants, to repair to him at *Oxford*, who being admitted to an audience in one of the colleges, produced the following *propoſals*, which were read by the earl of *Northumberland*.

Treaty of Oxford.

The parliament's propoſitions. Ruſhw. Vol. V. p. 165, 166.

1. " That the armies may be diſbanded on both ſides, and the king " return to his parliament.

2. " That delinquents may ſubmit to a legal trial, and judgment of " parliament.

3. " That all papiſts be diſbanded and diſarmed.

4. " That his majeſty will pleaſe to give his conſent to the five bills " hereafter mentioned.

5. " That an oath may be eſtabliſhed by act of parliament, wherein " the papiſts ſhall abjure and renounce the pope's ſupremacy, tranſub- " ſtantiation, purgatory, worſhipping the conſecrated hoſt, crucifixes " and images, and the refuſing ſuch oath lawfully tendered ſhall be a " ſufficient conviction of recuſancy. —— That your majeſty will gra- " ciouſly pleaſe to conſent to a bill for the education of the children " of papiſts in the proteſtant religion. —— And to another bill for the " better putting the laws in execution againſt them.

6. " That the earl of *Briſtol*, and lord *Herbert*, may be removed " from your majeſty's counſels, and from the court.

7. " That the militia may be ſettled in ſuch manner as ſhall be agreed " upon by both houſes.

8. " That the chief juſtices and judges of the ſeveral courts of law " may hold their places *quam diu ſe bene geſſerint*.

9. " That ſuch perſons as have been put out of the commiſſion of " the peace ſince *April* 1. 1642, may be reſtored, and that thoſe whom " the parliament ſhall accept againſt be removed.

10. " That your majeſty will pleaſe to paſs the bill now preſented, " to ſecure the privileges of parliament from the ill conſequences of the " late proceedings againſt the lord *Kimbolton* and the five mem- " bers.

11. " That an act may be paſſed for ſatisfying ſuch public debts as " the parliament has engaged the public faith for.

12. " That your majeſty will pleaſe to enter into alliances with fo- " reign proteſtant powers, for the defence of the proteſtant religion, and " recovering the *Palatinate*.

13. " That

K. Charles I. 1642-3.

13. " That in the general pardon, all offences committed before the " 10th of *Jan.* 1641. which have been, or ſhall be queſtioned in the " houſe of commons before the 10th of *Jan.* 1643. be excepted.—— " That all perſons concerned in the *iriſh rebellion* be excepted; as like- " wiſe *William* earl of *Newcaſtle*, and *George* lord *Digby*.

14. " That ſuch members of parliament as have been turned out " of their places ſince the beginning of this parliament may be re- " ſtored, and may have ſome reparation, upon the petition of both " houſes."

Theſe things being granted and performed, we ſhall be enabled (ſay they) to make it our hopeful endeavour, that your majeſty and your people may enjoy the bleſſings of peace, truth, and juſtice.——

The bills mentioned in the fourth propoſition were theſe:

Bill againſt innovations. Huſhand's *Collect.* Fol. 119.

The firſt is entitled, an *act for the ſuppreſſion of divers innovations in churches and chapels in and about the worſhip of God; and for the due obſervation of the Lord's day, and the better advancement of preaching God's holy word in all parts of this kingdom.*

It enacts, " That all altars and rails be taken away out of churches " and chapels before *April* 18. 1643. and that the communion table " be fixed in ſome convenient place in the body of the church. That " all tapers, candleſticks, baſons, crucifixes, croſſes, images, pictures of " ſaints, and ſuperſtitious inſcriptions in churches, or church-yards, be " taken away or defaced.

" That all damages done to the churches, or windows of churches, " by the removal of any of the aforeſaid innovations, be repaired by " the proper officers of the pariſh or chapel.

" This act is not to extend to any image, picture, or monument for " the dead.

It enacts further, " That all bowing towards the altar, or at the " name of *Jeſus*, ſhall be forborne; and for the better obſervation of " the ſabbath, that all dancing, gaming, ſports and paſtimes, ſhall be " laid aſide. That every miniſter that has cure of ſouls ſhall preach, " or expound the ſcriptures, or procure ſome other able divine to preach " to his congregation every Lord's day in the forenoon; and it ſhall be " lawful for the pariſhoners to provide for a ſermon in the afternoon, " and a lecture on the week-day, where there is no other lecture, or " preaching at the ſame time; and if any perſon oppoſe or hinder them " he ſhall forfeit forty ſhillings to the poor.

The ſecond, entitled an *act for the utter aboliſhing, and taking away of all archbiſhops, biſhops, their chancellors, and commiſſaries*, &c. has been already inſerted in the former part of this hiſtory. *K.* Charles I. 1642-3. Huſb. *Collect.* Fol. 124.

The third is entitled, an *act for puniſhing ſcandalous clergymen, and others.* *For puniſhing ſcandalous clergy.* Huſb. *Collect.* Fol. 129.

It ordains, "That the lord-chancellor, or lord-keeper, for the time being, "ſhall award commiſſions under the great ſeal, to perſons of worth and "credit in every county of *England* and *Wales*; which commiſſioners, "or any three, or more of them, ſhall have power to enquire by the "oaths of twelve lawful men of the ſaid county, of the following of- "fences in the clergy (*viz.*) not preaching ſix times at leaſt in a year, "by any eccleſiaſtical perſon having cure of ſouls under the age of ſix- "ty, and not hindered by ſickneſs or impriſonment; of blaſphemy, per- "jury, or ſubornation of perjury, fornication, adultery, common ale- "houſe or tavern hunting, drunkenneſs, profane ſwearing or curſing, "done or committed within three years paſt, by any parſon or vicar, "or other perſon having cure of ſouls, or by any lecturer, curate, ſti- "pendiary, ſchool-maſter or uſher of any ſchool. The commiſſioners ſhall "take information by articles in writing; the party complaining to be "bound in a recognizance of ten pounds to proſecute at a time appointed; "the articles of complaint being firſt delivered to the party complained "of, twenty days before the trial, that he may prepare for his defence. "Upon conviction, by the verdict of twelve men, the party complained "of ſhall be deprived of his ſpiritual promotions, and be adjudged a diſ- "abled perſon in law, to have and enjoy the ſame incumbency or eccle- "ſiaſtical protmotion. This act to continue till *Nov.* 1. 1645. and no "longer.

The fourth is entitled, *an act againſt the enjoying pluralities of benefices by ſpiritual perſons, and non-reſidence.* *Againſt pluralities and non-reſidence* Huſb. *Collect.* Fol. 140.

It enacts, "That all perſons that have two or more benefices with "cure of ſouls, of what yearly value ſoever they be, ſhall reſign "them all but one, before *April* 1. 1643. any licence, toleration, fa- "culty, or diſpenſation to the contrary notwithſtanding.

"That if any ſpiritual perſon, having cure of ſouls, ſhall be abſent "from his cure above ten ſundays, or eighty days in a year, except in "caſe of ſickneſs, impriſonment, or except he be a reader in either "univerſity, or be ſummoned to convocation; and be thereof law- "fully convicted in any court of juſtice, that his *living* ſhall be deemed "void, and the patron have power to nominate another perſon, as if the "former incumbent was dead.

K. Charles I. 1642-3.

The fifth, *for calling an aſſembly of learned and godly divines to be conſulted with by the parliament, for the ſettling of the government and liturgy of the church, and for the vindication and clearing of the doctrine of the church of* England *from falſe aſperſions and interpretations*, will be inſerted at large, when we come to the ſitting of the aſſembly.

To the forementioned propoſitions and bills, his majeſty, after a ſharp reply to the preamble, returned the following anſwer; that though many of them were deſtructive of his juſt power and prerogative, yet becauſe they might be mollified and explained upon debates, he is pleaſed to agree that a time and place be appointed for the meeting of commiſſioners on both ſides to diſcuſs them, and to conſider the following propoſals of his own.

The king's propoſals. Ruſhw. Vol. V. p. 169.

1. "That his majeſty's revenues, magazines, towns, forts, and ſhips, "may be forthwith reſtored.

2. "That whatſoever has been done or publiſhed, contrary to the "known laws of the land, and his majeſty's legal rights, may be re-"nounced and recalled.

3. "That whatever illegal power over his majeſty's ſubjects has "been exerciſed by either, or both houſes, or any committee, may be "diſclaimed, and all perſons that have been impriſoned by virtue thereof "be forthwith diſcharged.

4. "That a good bill may be framed, for the better preſerving the book "of *common prayer* from the ſcorn and violence of *Browniſts*, *Anabaptiſts*, "and other ſectaries, with ſuch clauſes for the eaſe of tender conſciences "as his majeſty has formerly offered.

5. "That all perſons to be excepted out of the general pardon ſhall be "tried *per pares*, according to common courſe of law, and that it be "left to that, to acquit or condemn them.

6. "That in the mean time there be a ceſſation of arms, and free trade "for all his majeſty's ſubjects for twenty days."

Rapin, p. 69.

His majeſty deſired the laſt article might be firſt ſettled, by which he propoſed not only to gain time, but to provide himſelf with ſeveral neceſſaries from *London*, and to convoy ſafely to *Oxford* the ammunition and other ſtores, the queen had lately landed at *Burlington-Bay*; but the parliament were too ſenſible of his deſigns to conſent to it. They therefore empowered their commiſſioners to begin with the firſt propoſition, concerning *reſtoring the revenues of the crown, and the delivery of his majeſty's magazines, towns, forts and ſhips*, &c. All which they were authorized to agree to, on condition the perſons with whom he would intruſt

truſt them were ſuch as they could confide in. To which the king replied, that the oaths of the officers were a ſufficient ſecurity, and if they abuſed their truſt he would leave them to the law. The commiſſioners then went upon the other articles, and ſpun out the treaty till the 12th of *April*, without concluding one ſingle point. The king would be reſtored to the condition he was in before the war, upon a bare promiſe, that he would govern for the future according to law; but the parliament were reſolved not to truſt themſelves nor the conſtitution in his hands, without the redreſs of ſome grievances, and a better ſecurity. Mr. *Whitlock* ſays, that the commiſſioners (of which he was one) having been with the king one evening till midnight, gave his majeſty ſuch reaſons to conſent to a very material point, which would have much conduced to an happy iſſue, and ſucceſs of the treaty, that *he* told them, *he was fully ſatisfied, and promiſed to let them have his anſwer in writing, according to their deſire, next morning*. But when the commiſſioners were withdrawn, ſome of the king's bed-chamber, and they went higher, fearing the king's conceſſions would tend to peace, never left perſwading him, till he had altered his reſolution, and gave orders for the following anſwer to be drawn up directly contrary to what he had promiſed the commiſſioners.

K. Charles I. 1642-3.

Whitl. Mem. p. 65.

" As ſoon as his majeſty is ſatisfied concerning his own revenue, ma- Ruſhw.
" gazines, ſhips and forts, in which he deſires nothing, but that the juſt Vol. V.
" known legal rights of his majeſty devolved to him from his progenitors, p. 259, 260.
" and of the perſons truſted by him, which have violently been taken
" from both, be reſtored to him and them ——

" As ſoon as all the members of both houſes ſhall be reſtored to the
" ſame capacity of ſitting and voting in parliament, as they had on the
" 1ſt of *Jan.* 1741. the ſame right belonging unto them by their birth-
" rights, and the free elections of thoſe that ſent them; and having
" been voted from them for adhering to his majeſty in theſe diſtractions;
" his majeſty not intending that this ſhould extend either to the biſhops,
" whoſe votes have been taken away by bill; or to ſuch in whoſe places,
" upon new writs new elections have been made.

" As ſoon as his majeſty and both houſes may be ſecured from ſuch tu-
" multuous aſſemblies, as to the great breach of the privileges, and the
" high diſhonour of parliaments, have formerly aſſembled about both
" houſes, and awed the members of the ſame; and occaſioned two ſe-
" veral complaints from the houſe of lords, and two ſeveral deſires of
" that houſe to the houſe of commons, to join in a declaration againſt
" them, the complying with which deſire might have prevented all the
" miſerable diſtractions which have enſued; which ſecurity his majeſty

K. Charles I. 1642-3.

" conceives can be only ſettled by adjourning the parliament to ſome other " place, at the leaſt twenty miles from *London*, the choice of which his " majeſty leaves to both houſes.

" His majeſty will then moſt chearfully and readily conſent, that " both armies be immediately diſbanded, and give a preſent meeting to " both his houſes of parliament, at the ſame time and place, at, and " to which the parliament ſhall agree to be adjourned.

" His majeſty being confident, that the law will then recover its due " credit and eſtimation, and that upon a free debate, in a full and peace- " able convention of parliament, ſuch proviſions will be made againſt ſe- " ditious preaching and printing againſt his majeſty, and the eſtabliſhed " laws, which hath been one of the chief cauſes of the preſent diſtrac- " tions; and ſuch care will be taken concerning the legal and known " rights of his majeſty, and the property and liberty of his ſubjects, that " whatſoever hath been publiſhed or done, in or by colour of any illegal " declarations, ordinances, or order of one or both houſes, or any com- " mittee of either of them, and particularly the power to raiſe arms " without his majeſty's conſent, will be in ſuch manner recalled, diſ- " claimed, and provided againſt, that no ſeed will remain for the like to " ſpring out of for the future, to diſturb the peace of the kingdom, and " to endanger the very being of it——

This reſolute anſwer broke off the treaty, and left the quarrel to be decided by the ſword; upon which biſhop *Kennet* makes the following remark, " 'Tis to be lamented, that ſome of the king's moſt intimate " friends were againſt his concluding a peace, and others were againſt his " obtaining an abſolute victory. They were afraid he ſhould comply, leſt " his prerogative might not be great enough to protect him; and yet " afraid he ſhould conquer, leſt he might be tempted to aſſume an arbitra- " ry power." 'Tis plain from hence, that by *peace* the king meant nothing but being reſtored to all the prerogatives of his crown as before the war, without any additional ſecurity; and that there was no room for a treaty till the previous queſtion was determined, *Whether there was juſt reaſon to confide in the king, and reſtore him to his rights, upon his bare promiſe of governing by law for the future?* for all the propoſitions neceſſarily lead to this point, and till this was decided it was in vain to loſe time upon the others.

Compl. Hiſt. p. 135.

Death and character of Dr. Criſp.

Thus ended the year 1642. in which died the famous *Tobias Criſp*, D.D. third ſon of *Ellis Criſp* of *London*, Eſq; He was born in *Bread-ſtreet London*, 1600. educated at *Eaton* ſchool, and having took the degree of batchelor of arts at *Cambridge* retired to *Oxford*, and was incorporated

nto *Baliol* College in the beginning of *Feb.* 1626. In the year 1627. he became rector of *Brinkworth* in *Wiltſhire*, and a few years after proceeded D. D. At *Brinkworth* he was much followed for his edifying manner of preaching, and for his great hoſpitality. Upon the breaking out of the war, he was obliged to fly to *London*, to avoid the inſolencies of the king's ſoldiers; where his peculiar ſentiments about the doctrines of *grace* being diſcovered, he met with a vigorous oppoſition from the city divines. The doctor in his younger years had been a favourer of *arminianiſm*, but changing his opinions, he ran into the contrary extream of *antinominianiſm*. He was certainly a learned and religious perſon, modeſt and humble in his behaviour, fervent and laborious in his miniſterial work, and exact in his morals. Mr. *Lancaſter* the publiſher of his works, ſays, "that his life was ſo innocent and harmleſs from all evil; ſo zea-"lous and fervent in all good, that it ſeemed to be deſigned as a practical "confutation of the ſlander of thoſe who would inſinuate, that his doc-"trine tended to licentiouſneſs." The doctor was poſſeſſed of a very large eſtate, with which he did a great deal of good; but being engaged in a grand diſpute againſt ſeveral opponents (if we may believe Mr. *Wood*) he over-heated himſelf, and fell ſick of the ſmall-pox, of which he died *Feb.* 27., 1642. and was buried in the family vault in *Bread-ſtreet*, *London*. In his laſt ſickneſs he was in a moſt comfortable and reſigned frame of mind, and declared to them that ſtood by, his firm adherence to the doctrines he had preached; that as he had lived in the belief of the free grace of God through Chriſt, ſo he did now with confidence and great joy, even as much as his preſent condition was capable of, reſign his life and ſoul into the hands of his heavenly father. He publiſhed nothing in his life-time, but after his death his ſermons were publiſhed in three volumes from his own notes, which with ſome additions, were reprinted by his ſon, in one volume quarto, about the year 1689. and gave occaſion to ſome intemperate heats among the non-conformiſt miniſters of thoſe times.

K. Charles *I.* 1642-3.

Towards the end of this year died *Robert* lord *Brooke*, a virtuous and religious gentleman, a good ſcholar, and an eminent patriot, but a determined enemy of the hierarchy. In the beginning of the war he took part with the parliament, and being made lord lieutenant of the counties of *Warwick* and *Stafford*, put himſelf at the head of twelve hundred men, and marched againſt the earl of *Cheſterfield* at *Litchfield*, whom he diſlodged from the town, *March* 1. but next day as he was looking out of a window with his beaver up, and giving direction to his ſoldiers to aſſault St. *Chad*'s church, adjoining to the cloſe where the earl of *Cheſterfield*'s forces lay, a muſket ball ſtruck him near the left eye, of which he inſtantly died. The parliamentary chronicle calls him "the moſt noble, p. 272. "and

Lord Brooke's *death.*

K. Charles I, 1642. " and ever to be honoured, and renowned, pious lord *Brooke*, whoſe " moſt illuſtrious name and memory, both for his piety, prudence, in- " comparable magnanimity, and heroick martial ſpirit, for his loyalty to " the king, and fidelity to his country, deſerves to remain deeply engra- " ven in letters of gold on high erected pillars of marble." On the other hand archbiſhop *Laud* in his diary, has ſome very remarable obſervations upon his death, which ſhew the ſuperſtition of that prelate.

Diary, p. 201. " *Firſt*, (ſays his grace) I obſerve, that this great and known enemy to " cathedral churches died thus fearfully, in the aſſault of a *cathedral*; " a fearful manner of death in ſuch a quarrel! *Secondly*, that this hap- " pened upon St. *Chad*'s day, of which ſaint the cathedral bears the " name. *Thirdly*, that this *lord* coming from dinner about two years " ſince from the lord *Herbert*'s houſe in *Lambeth*, upon ſome " diſcourſe of St. *Paul*'s church then in their eye upon the water, " ſaid to ſome young lords that were with him, that he hoped to live " to ſee that one ſtone of that building ſhould not be left upon another; " but that church ſtands yet, and that eye is put out, that hoped to " ſee the ruins of it."

Tomkin's *plot*. Ruſhw. Vol. V. p. 322. Rapin, p. 150, 154. While the treaty of *Oxford* was depending, his majeſty's friends in the city were contriving to bring him to *London*, and deliver the parliament into his hands. Mr. *Tomkins*, *Chaloner*, and *Waller* a member of the houſe of commons, in conjunction with ſome others, were to carry off the king's children, to ſecure the moſt active members of the houſe of commons, as Mr. *Pym*, *Hampden*, *Strode*, &c. to ſeize the *Tower* and the gates of the city with the magazines, and to let in a party of the royal forces, who were to be at hand; for all which they had the king's commiſſion, dated *March* 16. 1643. The day of riſing was to be the laſt *Wedneſday* in *May*; but the plot being diſcovered by a ſervant of *Tomkins*'s before it was ripe for execution, the conſpirators were apprehended and tried; *Tomkins* and *Chaloner* confeſſed the facts and were executed; but *Waller* purchaſed his life tor ten thouſand pounds, and was baniſhed.

A new oath or covenant. Ruſhw. Vol. V. p. 325. Upon this diſcovery both houſes reſolved to ſtrengthen themſelves by a new *covenant* or *vow*, which was tendered firſt to their own members, then to the army, and ſuch of the people as were willing to take it. In it they declare, " their abhorence of the late plot, and engage not " to lay down their arms as long as the papiſts were protected from juſt- " tice, but to aſſiſt the parliament according to their abilities in the juſt " defence of the proteſtant religion, and the liberties of the ſubject, " againſt the forces raiſed by the king, without their conſent." Nevertheleſs the king's friends were not diſheartned from entring into ſeveral other combinations againſt the parliament; one was diſcovered in *Auguſt*, and

another towards the latter end of the year; even the lower ſort of women, to the number of two or three thouſand, with white ſilk ribbons in their hats, went in a body to *Weſtminſter* with a petition for peace upon the king's terms, and could not be diſperſed without the military arm; all which was occaſioned by the correſpondence the king held in *London*; notwithſtanding the ordinance the parliament had publiſhed in *April* laſt, to prevent ſpies and intelligencies from *Oxford* or the royal army, coming to any part of the parliament's quarters. *K. Charles I. 1642.* Ruſhw. Vol. V. p. 350.

The king having failed in his deſigns of ſurprizing the city, reſolved at laſt to ſtarve the citizens into their duty, for which purpoſe he iſſued a proclamation *July* 17. prohibiting all intercourſe of trade and commerce with them, and expreſsly forbidding all perſons to travel to *London*, or to carry any goods, merchandize, or proviſions thither, without ſpecial licence from himſelf. By another proclamation, [*Octob.* 17.] his majeſty forbids his ſubjects of *Scotland*, and all foreign kingdoms and ſtates in amity with him, to bring any ammunition, proviſion, goods, or merchandize, of any ſort to *London*, or any other town or city in rebellion againſt him. The prohibiting foreign merchandizes had very little influence upon the trade of the city, becauſe the parliament were maſters of the ſeas; but the town of *Newcaſtle* being garriſoned by the king, the *Londoners* were diſtreſſed the following winter for coals, which obliged them them to have recourſe to the digging turf, and cutting down all *fell wood* on the eſtates of *delinquents* within ſixty miles of *London*. By another proclamation his majeſty forbid all his ſubjects, upon pain of high treaſon, to obey the orders of parliament; and all tenants to pay their rents to ſuch landlords as adhered to the rebellion, but to reſerve them for his majeſty's uſe. *Proclamations againſt the city of* London. Huſb. Col. fol. 237. 366.

After this account of things 'tis reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that very extraordinary burdens muſt be laid upon the people on both ſides to ſupport the expences of the war. The parliament at *Weſtminſter* exciſed every thing, even the neceſſaries of life: All *butchers meat* paid one ſhilling in twenty; every *rabbit* an half-penny; and *pigeons* one penny in the dozen. The king's parliament at *Oxford* did the like in his majeſty's quarters; and by an ordinance of *March* 26. following, all perſons within the cities of *London* and *Weſtminſter*, and the bills of mortality, were to pay the weekly value of *one meal* a week, on every *Tueſday*, for the public ſervice, which they were ſuppoſed to abate in their families. Such were the hardſhips of the times! *The people reduced to great hardſhips.*

The king's affairs this ſummer were very proſperous, and threatened the ruin of his enemies; for beſides his army, which had been recruiting in the winter, the queen furniſhed him with foreign money, and with two thouſand foot, a thouſand horſe, a hundred waggons laden with ammu- *Succeſs of the king's affairs.* Rapin, p. 98, 99.

K. Charles I. 1643. ammunitiou of all ſorts, ſix pieces of canon, and two mortars. Upon which the houſe of commons impeached her of *high treaſon*, for levying forces without conſent of parliament. In the month of *April* the earl of *Eſſex* beſieged and took the town of *Reading*, from whence he marched within ten miles of *Oxford*, where prince *Rupert* with a party of horſe beat up his quarters, and killed the famous Mr. *Hampden* in *Chalgrave field*, after which *Eſſex* retired, and put his ſickly forces into quarters of refreſhment. In the north the king's armies had a train of ſucceſſes. Lord *Fairfax* was defeated by the earl of *Newcaſtle* at *Atherſton Moor*, *June* 30. and Sir *William Waller* at the battles of *Lanſdown* and *Roundaway down*, July 5th and 13th. which was followed with the loſs of *Weymouth*, *Dorcheſter*, *Portland Caſtle*, *Exeter*, and almoſt all the weſt. About the latter end of *July* prince *Rupert* beſieged and took the city of *Briſtol*, and the king himſelf ſat down before *Glouceſter* [*Aug.* 10th.] which ſo alarmed the two houſes, that the ſhops in *London* were ordered to be ſhut till the ſiege was raiſed, and a ſtrong body of the trained bands diſpatched to join the earl of *Eſſex*'s broken troops, who by this means, was in a condition in fifteen days to march to the relief of that important city; upon the earl's approach the king raiſed the ſiege, and *Eſſex* entered the town, when reduced to the laſt extremity; and having ſupplied it with all neceſſaries, after three days returned towards *London*. The king being joined by prince *Rupert* with five thouſand horſe, got before him to *Newbury*, where both armies engaged with pretty equal ſucceſs, till night parted them, when his majeſty retired to *Oxford*, and left the way open for the earl to purſue his march. In this battle the city trained bands, by their undaunted bravery, are ſaid to have gained immortal honour. But it is the opinion of moſt hiſtorians, that if inſtead of ſitting down before *Glouceſter*, the king had marched his victorious army directly to *London* after the taking of *Briſtol*, he might have put an end to the war, the parliament being in no readineſs to oppoſe him; however 'tis certain, that about this time the royal cauſe was in the height of its proſperity, and the parliament's at ſo low an ebb, that they were obliged to throw themſelves into the hands of the *ſcots*. It is no part of my deſign to give a particular deſcription of ſieges and battles, or a recital of the military exploits of the heroes of theſe times, any further than to inform the reader of the true ſituation of affairs, and to enable him to form a juſt idea of the grounds and reaſons of thoſe extraordinary meaſures, that each party took for the ſupport of their cauſe. Let us therefore attend the affairs of the church.

Ruſhw. Vol. V. p. 293.

Sufferings of the puritan clergy. The clergy on both ſides had a deep ſhare in the calamities of the times, being plundered, harraſſed, impriſoned, and their livings ſequeſtered, as they fell into the hands of the enemy. The king's party were greatly incenſed

incenſed againſt the *puritan clergy*, as the chief incendiaries of the people and trumpeters of rebellion. Such as refuſed to read the king's proclamations and orders againſt the parliament, were apprehended and ſhut up in the common goals of *York*, and other places within his majeſty's quarters. When any parties of the royal army got poſſeſſion of a town that adhered to the parliament, they enquired preſently for the *miniſter's houſe*, which was rifled and plundered of every thing that was valuable, and himſelf impriſoned, if he could be found; but the *incumbents* uſually took care to avoid the danger, by flying to the next parliament garriſon. Above thirty puritan miniſters took ſhelter in the city of *Coventry* after the fight of *Edge-Hill*. Great numbers came to *London* with their families in a naked and ſtarving condition, leaving their books, and every thing they could not bring away, to the mercy of the king's ſoldiers. The priſoners underwent uncommon hardſhips, and would have been executed as *rebels*, if the parliament had not threatened repriſals. *K.* Charles *I.* 1643.

On the other hand, the *epiſcopal clergy* were no leſs haraſſed by the parliament ſoldiers; theſe being in poſſeſſion of the beſt livings in the church were liable to ſuffer the greateſt damages; multitudes of them left their cures, and took ſanctuary in the king's armies or garriſons, having diſpoſed of their goods and chattles in the beſt manner they could. Others who had rendered themſelves obnoxious by their ſermons, or declarations for the king, were put under confinement in *Lambeth*, *Wincheſter*, *Ely*, and moſt of the biſhops houſes about *London*; and for want of room about twenty (according to Dr. *Walker*) were impriſoned on board of ſhips in the river *Thames*, and ſhut down under decks, no friend being ſuffered to come near them. The ſame writer obſerves, that about one hundred and ten of the *London* clergy were turned out of their livings in the years 1642, and 1643. and that as many more fled to prevent impriſonment; yet it ought to be remembered, that none were turned out or impriſoned, for their adhering to the doctrine or diſcipline of the church of *England*, till after the impoſing of the *ſcots* covenant, but for immorality, falſe doctrine, non-reſidence, or for taking part with the king againſt the parliament. However it is to be lamented, that ſeveral pious and worthy biſhops, and other clergymen, who withdrew from the world, and were deſirous to live peaceably without joining either ſide, ſuffered afterwards in common with the reſt of their brethren; their eſtates and livings being ſequeſtered, their houſes and goods plundered by ungovernable ſoldiers, and themſelves reduced to live upon the *fifths*, or a ſmall penſion from the parliament, either becauſe they could not take the *covenant*, or comply with the new directory for public worſhip. Among theſe we may reckon the moſt reverend archbiſhop *Uſher*, biſhop *Morton*, *Hall*, and many others. *And of the epiſcopal.* Walker's Suff. Cler. part II. p. 180.

K. Charles I. 1643.

When the biſhops lands were ſeized for the ſervice of the war, which was called *bellum epiſcopale* or the *biſkops war*, it was not poſſible to ſhew favour to any under that character; and though the two houſes voted very conſiderable penſions to ſome of the biſhops, in lieu of their lands that were ſequeſtered, due care was not taken of the payment; nor would ſeveral of their lordſhips ſo far countenance the votes of the houſes as to apply for it.

Committees for religion.

Walker's Attempt. p. 63.

In order to account for theſe things, it will be neceſſary to ſet before the reader the proceedings of the ſeveral committees of religion from the beginning of the preſent parliament. It has been remembered, that a grand committee, conſiſting of the whole houſe of commons, was appointed *Novemb.* 6th. 1640. to enquire into the *ſcandalous immoralities of the clergy*, of which the famous Mr. *White*, member of parliament for *Southwark*, a good lawyer, and, according to Mr. *Whitlook*, an honeſt learned and faithful ſervant of the public, was chairman. Great numbers of petitions with articles of miſbehaviour were brought before them, relating to ſuperſtition, hereſy, or the immorality of their miniſters, inſomuch that the houſe was forced to branch the committee into ſeveral ſub-diviſions, for the quicker diſpatch of buſineſs. *Nov.* 19. 1640. a *ſub-committee* was appointed "to conſider how there may be *preaching miniſters* ſet up where there are none; how they may be maintained where "there is no maintenance, and all other things of that nature; alſo to en- "quire into the true grounds and cauſes of the great ſcarcity of preach- "ing miniſters throughout the kingdom, and to conſider of ſome way "of removing ſcandalous miniſters, and putting others in their places." For which purpoſes the knights of ſhires and burgeſſes of the ſeveral corporations were ordered to bring informations within ſix weeks, of the ſtate of religion in their reſpective counties. This ſub-committee conſiſted of ſixty-one members, together with the knights and burgeſſes of *Northumberland*, *Wales*, *Lancaſhire*, *Cumberland*, and the burgeſſes of *Canterbury*. Mr. *White* was chairman of this, as well as of the grand committee; they had their regular meetings in the *court of wards*, and from the *powers* abovementioned, were ſometimes called the committee for *preaching miniſters*. They had the inſpection of all hoſpitals and free-ſchools, and were authorized to conſider of the expediency of ſending commiſſions into the ſeveral counties, to examine ſuch clergymen as were accuſed, and could not with convenience be brought up to *London*.

Committee for ſcandalous miniſters.

Walker's Attempt. p. 65.

But preſentments againſt the clergy came in ſo faſt, that for the diſpatch of buſineſs they were obliged to divide again into ſeveral ſmaller committees, which from the names of the gentlemen in the reſpective chairs, were called Mr. *White's*, *Corbet's*, Sir *Robert Harlow's*, and Sir *Edward Deering's* committees, *&c.* Within a ſhort ſpace, above two thouſand petitions were brought before them, of which Mr. *Corbet's* committee

mittee had no leſs than nine hundred. Great complaints have been made of their ſeverity, by thoſe who will not believe the clergy were ſo corrupt as really they were, nor remember the political principles for which moſt of them ſuffered. The form of proceeding in the committee was certainly unexceptionable, for they were obliged to give proper notice to the party accuſed to make his appearance; the witneſſes were uſually examined upon oath in his preſence; a copy of the articles was given him if deſired, and a reaſonable time aſſigned to prepare for his defence. The articles of enquiry on which they proceeded were, 1. Scandalous immoralities of life, as drunkenneſs, ſwearing, incontinency, and ſometimes blaſphemy and ſodomy. 2. Falſe or ſcandalous doctrines, *i. e.* popiſh and arminian, theſe being underſtood to be inconſiſtent with the articles of the church of *England*. 3. Profanation of the ſabbath, by reading and countenancing the book of ſports. 4. Practiſing and preſſing the late innovations, after they had been cenſured by the parliament as illegal. 5. Neglect of their cures, by not preaching according to their duty. 6. Malignancy and diſaffection to the parliament, diſcovered by their aſſiſting his majeſty with money, and perſwading others to do ſo; by reading the king's declarations, and refuſing to read the parliament's; by not obſerving the parliament's faſts, but calling them *rebels*, *traytors*, and *wiſhing the curſe of God upon them and their cauſe*. Theſe were apprehended reaſonable matters of enquiry, and juſt grounds of exception, as matters ſtood between the king and the two houſes. And after all, the final determination was not with the committee; their opinion, with the evidence, was firſt laid before the grand committee, then it was reported to the whole houſe, and finally referred to the houſe of lords before it was deciſive. One would think, here ſhould be little room for complaint, and yet there was too much paſſion and prejudice on both ſides, which was owing to the confuſion of the times, and the violent reſentments of each party. The commiſſioners were too forward in expoſing the failings of the clergy, and encouraging witneſſes of ſlender credit; on the other hand, the clergy were inſufferably rude to the committee, defaming their witneſſes, and threatening revenge, for being obliged to plead their cauſe before laymen. However, few clergymen were ſequeſtered by the committee for ſcandalous miniſters before it was joined with that for *plundered miniſters*; an account of which I ſhall lay before the reader, after I have given two or three examples of the proceedings of the preſent committee, from the relations of thoſe clergymen who have left behind them an account of their ſufferings.

K. Charles I. 1643.

Ibid. p. 81.

Reverend Mr. Symmonds *of* Rayne, *his caſe.* Suff. Clergy, p. 67.

The firſt is Mr. *Symmonds* of *Rayne* in *Eſſex*, who acknowledges, that he was ſequeſtered for preaching and publiſhing, that *the king being the ſupreme magiſtrate hath immediate dependance on God, to whom alone he*

K. Charles I. 1643.

he is accountable —— *That authority is a ſacred thing, and eſſential to the king's perſon* —— *That reſiſtance is againſt the way of God, deſtructive to the whole law of God, inconſiſtent with the ſpirit of the goſpel, the perpetual practice of chriſtianity, the calling of miniſters, common prudence, the rule of humanity, nature itſelf, reaſon, the oath of allegiance, and even the late proteſtation.* Beſides, he had notoriouſly defamed the parliament, and preſſed his auditors to believe the king's declarations, *becauſe a divine ſentence was in his mouth, and he cannot err.* And that if *David*'s heart ſmote him for cutting off *Saul*'s garment, what would it have done if he had kept him from his caſtles, towns, and ſhips? For which reaſon the lords and commons in parliament aſſembled, ordered [*March* 3. 1642.] his living to be ſequeſtered into the hands of *Robert Atkins*, M.A. who was appointed to preach every Lord's day till further order. *Mr. Symmonds* endeavoured to diſcredit the evidence, but was ſo far from diſowning the charge, that he afterwards vindicated it in a pamphlet entitled, *The loyal Subject's belief.*

Rev. Mr. Squire's *of* Shoreditch. Suff. Cler. p. 67.

A ſecond gentleman, who has left an account of his ſufferings, is the reverend Mr. *Squire* of *Shoreditch*; he was articled againſt for "*practiſing and preſſing the late innovations, for ſaying the papiſts were the king's beſt ſubjects, becauſe of their loyalty and liberality; for declaring that none ſhould come to the ſacrament, unleſs they were as well affected to the king as the papiſts; for comparing his majeſty to the man that fell among thieves, being wounded in his honour, and robbed of his caſtles, and of the hearts of his people; that the prieſt paſſing by, was the proteſtant; the forward profeſſor the Levite, but the papiſt was the good* Samaritan; *and for affirming, that the king's ſubjects, and all that they had were at his command.*" Mr. *Squire* denied ſome of theſe articles, and extenuated others; he procured a certificate from ſeveral of his pariſhioners of his diligence in preaching, in catechiſing, and in beating down popery, for thirty years paſt, all which might be true; but Dr. *Walker* admits, that from the beginning of the war he was a moſt ſtrenuous champion for *allegiance*, that is, for paſſive obedience and non-reſiſtance, and earneſtly exhorted his people to the practice of it, which, as the times then were, might be a ſufficient reaſon for the parliament to ſilence him.

Ibid. p. 176.

Rev. Mr. Finch *of* Chriſt-church. Walker's Attempt. p. 71, 72.

The other clergyman is Mr. *Finch* of *Chriſt-Church*, who was articled againſt for *extortion, ſuperſtition, non-reſidence, and neglect of his cure, and for being a common ſwearer, tavern-hunter, and drunkard*, which was proved by very ſubſtantial evidence. Dr. *Walker*'s defence of this gentleman is very remarkable, "Common charity (ſays he) will oblige every "one to give more credit to the bare word of a clergyman, though in "his own vindication, than to that of his known and profeſſed enemies."

And

And yet in the next page he owns, he was not ſatisfied in Mr. *Finch*'s character, nor in ſome parts of his defence, in which he thinks, he does by no means acquit himſelf from having been a man of an ill life. His caſe was reported by the grand committee to the houſe of commons, and by them to the *lords*, who all agreed he was unfit to hold any eccleſiaſtical living. *K.* Charles I. 1643.

It muſt be left with the impartial world to judge, whether the parliament had reaſon to ſequeſter theſe clergymen, in their own defence. The laſt was a man of an immoral life, and the two former, allowing them to be otherwiſe good men, were certainly incendiaries againſt the two houſes, and preached up thoſe doctrines which were inconſiſtent with the conſtitution and freedom of this country, as moſt of the parochial clergy at that time did.

Committee for plundered miniſters.

The committee for PLUNDERED MINISTERS took its riſe from thoſe puritan clergymen, who being driven from their cures in the country by the king's ſoldiers, fled to *London* with their families, leaving their ſubſtance and houſhold furniture to the mercy of the enemy; theſe being reduced to very great exigencies, applied to the parliament for relief; the commons firſt ordered a charitable collection for them at their monthly faſt, and four days after *viz. December* 31. 1642. appointeda committee to conſider of the fitteſt way *for the relief of ſuch godly and well affected miniſters as have been plundered; and what malignant clergymen have benefices in and about the town, whoſe benefices being ſequeſtered may be ſupplied by others who may receive their profits.* The committee conſiſted of Mr. *Solicitor General*, Mr. *Martyn*, Sir *Gilbert Gerrard*, Sir *William Armyn*, Mr. *Prideaux*, Mr. *Holland*, Mr. *Rouſe*, Mr. *Caſe*, Mr. *Knightly*, Sir *William Hayman*, Mr. *Wentworth*, Mr. *Ruthen*, Mr. *Wheeler*, and Mr. *Spurſtow*, to whom were afterwards added ſome others; among whom Dr. *Walker* ſuppoſes p. 73. was the famous Mr. *White*, who ſat in the chair of this committee, *March* 2. 1642-3. The commiſſioners were upon their oath; any four had a power to act; they were diſtinguiſhed by the name of the *committee for plundered miniſters*; but the royaliſts, by way of reproach, called them the *committee for plundering miniſters.* They began their meetings in the court of *Exchequer*, *Jan.* 2. in the afternoon; two days after, they were ordered to examine the complaints againſt Dr. *Soam*, miniſter of *Twickenham* and *Stains*, to ſend for parties and witneſſes, to conſider of proper perſons to ſupply the cures, to apply the revenues to their uſe if they found it neceſſary, and to report the proceedings to the houſe. *July* 27. 1643. they were impowered to conſider of informations againſt *ſcandalous miniſters*, though there were no *malignancy* proved againſt them, and to put out ſuch whoſe ſcandal was ſufficiently proved;

K. Charles I. 1643.

proved; from which time the commitee for *ſcandalous and plundered miniſters* were in a ſort united, and ſo continued to the end of the long parliament.

White's Century of ſcandalous Miniſters.

In order to ſilence the clamours of the royaliſts, and juſtify the ſevere proceedings of theſe committees, it was reſolved to print the eaſes of thoſe whom they ejected, and ſubmit their conduct to the public cenſure; accordingly towards the latter end of the year, Mr. WHITE the chairman publiſhed a pamphlet, entitled, *The firſt Century of ſcandalous malignant Prieſts, made and admitted into benefices by the prelates, in whoſe hands the ordination of miniſters, and government of the church hath been; or, a narration of the cauſes for which the parliament has ordered the ſequeſtration of the benefices of ſeveral miniſters complained of before them, for vitiouſneſs of life, errors in doctrine, contrary to the articles of our religion, and for practiſing and preſſing ſuperſtitious innovations againſt law, and for malignancy againſt the parliament.* The author in his preface ſays, the reaſon of his appearing in print was, *that the parliament might appear juſt in their doings, that the mouth of iniquity might be ſtopt; that all the world might ſee, that the tongues of them that ſpeak evil of the parliament are ſet on fire of hell; that they hide themſelves under falſhood, and make lies their refuge.* And then adds, *that the groſſeſt faults which were charged on the clergy were proved by many witneſſes, ſeldom leſs than ſix.* The whole century were convicted of malignity, or diſaffection to the parliament; and about eighty of them of ſcandalous immoralities in their lives. Dr. *Walker* has endeavoured to recover the reputation of ſeven or eight, and would inſinuate that the reſt were convicted upon too ſlender evidence, the witneſſes not being always upon oath, nor in his opinion, of ſufficient credit to impeach a *clergyman*; that ſome of the crimes were capital, and therefore if they had been proved, muſt have touched not only the livings but the lives of the criminals; and that the parliament who ſet up for preciſe morals, accepted the meer verbal evidence of the moſt infamous people. However the doctor himſelf has admitted and confirmed the *centuriſt*'s account of many of theſe ſcandalous miniſters, by the enquiries he has made into their characters in the places from whence they were ejected. Mr. *Fuller* confeſſes, "that ſeveral of the offences of the clergy were ſo foul, "that it is a ſhame to report them, crying to juſtice for puniſhment." But then adds in favour of others, "that witneſſes againſt them were "ſeldom examined on oath. That many of the complainers were fac-"tious people. That ſome of the clergy were convicted for deliver-"ing doctrines that were diſputable, and others only for their loyalty." Biſhop *Kennet* ſays, that ſeveral of them were vicious to a ſcandal. And Mr. archdeacon *Eachard* is of the ſame mind. But Mr. *Baxter*'s teſtimony

Other teſtimonies of their character.

Hiſt. p. 207.

timony is more particular and deciſive, who ſays, "that in all the coun- *K.* Charles I. 1643.
"tries where he was acquainted *ſix to one at leaſt*, if not many more, Baxter's
"that were ſequeſtered by the committees, were by the oaths of wit- Life, p. 74.
"neſſes proved inſufficient or ſcandalous, or eſpecially guilty of drunk-
"enneſs and ſwearing. *This I know* (ſays the reverend author) *will*
"*diſpleaſe the party, but I am ſure that this is true.*"

'Tis impoſſible to account for the particular proceedings of all the committees, of which great outcries have been made by the friends of the ſufferers. "If the meaneſt and moſt vicious pariſhioners could be "brought to prefer a petition againſt their *parſon* to the houſe of com- "mons, how falſly ſoever, (ſays lord *Clarendon*) he was ſure to be "proſecuted for a ſcandalous miniſter." His lordſhip adds, "that the "committees accepted of the evidence not only of mean people, but of "them who were profeſſed enemies of the diſcipline of the church; that they baited the clergy with rude and uncivil language; that they "obliged them to a long and tedious attendance, and were very partial "in voting them out of their livings, right or wrong." In another place "he ſays, "that theſe complaints were frequently exhibited by a few of "the meaneſt of the people againſt the judgment of the pariſh." The like repreſentation is made by moſt of the royaliſts; but the writers on the ſide of the parliament deny the charge, and complain as loudly of the contemptuous behaviour of the king's clergy to the commiſſioners, treating them as a combination of illiterate laymen, who had nothing to do with the church; nay, as rebels and traytors. Some refuſed to obey their ſummons, and others who appeared took up their time in examining the ſpelling of words, the propriety of grammar, and other little evaſions, foreign to the purpoſe. They declared roundly, they did not own the tribunal before which they ſtood; they inſulted the witneſſes, and threatened repriſals out of court, when things ſhould revert to their former channel; and upon the whole behaved as if they had engroſſed all the law, learning, and good ſenſe of the nation to themſelves. The commiſſioners, provoked with this uſage, were obliged to behave with ſome ſharpneſs, in order to ſupport their own authority; they would not indulge them the peculiar privilege they claimed as clergymen, nor allow them as ſcholars to debate the truth of thoſe doctrines of which they were accuſed, but confined them to matters of fact. When they excepted againſt the witneſſes as ignorant mechanicks, factious, ſchiſmatical, enemies to the church, &c. they over-ruled their exceptions, as long as there were no legal objections to their competency or credibility.

Their proceedings cenſured. Suff. Cler. p. 65.

With

K. Charles I. 1643.

Country Committees.

With regard to the *country committees*, the commiſſioners were choſen out of the deputy lieutenants, and the beſt country gentlemen in the parliament intereſt. Moſt of the crimes for which the clergy were ſequeſtered were confeſſed by themſelves; ſuperſtition and falſe doctrine were hardly ever objected; far the greateſt part, being caſt out for *malignity*; and yet the proceedings of the ſequeſtrators were not always juſtifiable; for whereas a court of judicature ſhould rather be counſel for the priſoner than the proſecutor, the commiſſioners conſidered the king's clergy as their moſt dangerous enemies, and were ready to lay hold of all opportunities to diſcharge them their pulpits.

Their inſtructions.

But whatever might be the exceſſes, or partiality of particular committees, no reaſonable blame can be laid upon the two houſes, whoſe inſtructions were, in my opinion, unexceptionable; the words of the ordinance are theſe, —— "And to the end that thoſe who will appear
Huſb. Col. p. 311. "before the committee may have the witneſſes examined in their pre-
"ſence, it is further ordained, that ſummonſes, with ſufficient warning
"of the time and place, when and where the charge againſt them ſhall
"be proved, be either given to their perſons, or left at their houſes;
"and if they deſire it, they ſhall have a copy of the articles againſt
"them, with a convenient time to give in their anſwer under their
"hands, which, together with their charge, and the proofs upon every
"particular of it, the ſaid deputy lieutenants, and committees of parlia-
"ment, ſhall ſend up to the committee of this houſe, appointed to pro-
"vide for plundered miniſters; which committee ſhall from time to
"time tranſmit them to this houſe." And further to prevent all abu-
Ibid. p. 15. ſes, 'tis ordained in the ordinance for ſequeſtration, "that if any per-
"ſon or perſons find themſelves aggrieved with any acts done by the ſe-
"queſtrators, their agents or deputies, and ſhall not therein be relieved by
"the ſequeſtrators, upon complaint made to them, or any two or more of
"them; then upon information given to both houſes of parliament, or
"to the committee of lords and commons aforementioned, ſuch fur-
"ther order ſhall be taken therein as ſhall be agreeable to juſtice."
Suff. Cler. p. 84. Here was an appeal from a lower to a higher court; and to prevent a ſcrutiny into the lives and manners of the clergy, when their witneſſes might be dead, they were limited to ſuch crimes as had been committed within three years before the beginning of the preſent parliament; ſo that if the committees obſerved their orders there could be little cauſe of complaint; yet as no one will undertake to vindicate all their proceedings, we muſt not, on the other hand, give ear to the petulant and angry complaints of every diſcontented clergyman. I ſhall only obſerve further, that theſe country committees hardly began to ſit till the latter

end

end of the year 1643. or the beginning of 1644. that they exerciſed their power very ſparingly while the war was in ſuſpenſe, but when the royal forces had been beat out of the field, and victory declared on their ſide, they proceeded with more freedom, eſpecially againſt thoſe who had made themſelves parties in the war. *K.* Charles I. 1643.

Quality of perſons ejected.

Very different accounts are given of the numbers and quality of the ejected clergy by their ſeveral friends. Lord *Clarendon* ſays, that all the learned and orthodox divines of *England* were deemed ſcandalous. And Dr. *Walker* has taken a great deal of pains to encreaſe their numbers, and vindicate their characters. By this account one would think moſt of them were of the firſt rank and character; but Mr. *Baxter* who was much better acquainted with them, ſays, "that when the parlia- p. 95.
"ment purged the miniſtry, they caſt out the groſſer ſort of inſufficient
"and ſcandalous ones, and alſo ſome few civil men who had aſſiſted in
"the wars againſt the parliament, or ſet up bowing to altars, and ſuch
"innovations, but they left in near one half of the miniſters that were
"not good enough to do much ſervice, nor bad enough to be utterly
"intolerable. Theſe were a company of poor weak preachers, who had
"no great ſkill in divinity, nor zeal for godlineſs, but preached weekly
"that that was true, and were free from notorious ſins." This ſeems a pretty fair relation of the matter; however we ſhall have occaſion to conſider it more fully hereafter.

Sequeſtration of their eſtates.

Beſides the ſequeſtration of *benefices*, the parliament conſidered the king's clergy as *parties in the war*, and ſeized their eſtates both real and perſonal under that character, towards defraying the expences of it; for this purpoſe they paſſed the following ordinance, *April* 1. 1643. the preamble to which ſets forth, "that it is moſt agreeable to common "juſtice, that the eſtates of ſuch notorious delinquents as have been the "cauſers or inſtruments of the public calamities, which have hitherto "been employed to the fomenting and nouriſhing of this miſerable diſ- "traction, ſhould be converted and applied towards the ſupport of the "commonwealth. Huſb. Col. lect. fol. 13.

"Be it therefore enacted, that the eſtates, as well real as perſonal, "of *all ſuch biſhops, deans, deans and chapters, prebends, archdeacons, and* "*of all other perſons eccleſiaſtical or temporal, who have, or ſhall raiſe arms* "*againſt the parliament; or have been, or ſhall be in actual war againſt* "*the ſame; or who have, or ſhall voluntarily contribute money, horſe, plate,* "*arms, ammunition, or other aid or aſſiſtance, towards the maintenance of* "*any force raiſed againſt the parliament, or for the plundering of the* "*king's ſubjects, who have willingly contributed, or yielded obedience to* "*the commands of both houſes of parliament, and of all ſuch who have* "*joined, or ſhall join in any oath or aſſociation againſt the parliament,* &c.

K. Charles I. 1643.

" ſhall be ſeized into the hands of ſequeſtrators, to be named by both " houſes of parliament, which ſequeſtrators, or their deputies, are to " ſeize into their hands, as well as the money, goods, chattels, debts, " and perſonal eſtates, and all the manors. lands, tenements, hereditaments, rents, revenues, and profits, of all the ſaid delinquents before " ſpecified; and alſo, two parts of all the perſonal and real eſtates of " every papiſt, and to let, ſet, and demiſe the ſame from year to year, " as the reſpective landlords or owners thereof might have done. And " the authority of both houſes is engaged, to ſave them harmleſs from " paying any rents to their landlords being delinquents; and all the monies, rents, and revenues, that ſhall ariſe from this ordinance, ſhall be " applied to the maintenance of the army and forces raiſed by the parliament, and ſuch other uſes as ſhall be directed by both houſes of " parliament, for the benefit of the commonwealth."

A further explanation of it.

Auguſt 19th, 1643. this ordinance was further explained, as including in the number of delinquents, *ſuch as abſented from their uſual places of abode, or betook themſelves to the king's forces, ſuch as ſhould embezzle or conceal any of their effects, to avoid payment of taxes, and aſſeſſments to the parliament; or who kept out of the way ſo that no tax could be levied upon them; or who concealed or harboured the goods or perſons of delinquents; or who ſhould ſeize or moleſt any perſon for obeying or executing any of the parliament's orders.* A clauſe was then added to the ordinance, empowering the commiſſioners to allow to the wives and children of ſuch delinquents for their maintainance, any portion of their goods, provided it did not exceed *one fifth part.* This clauſe was conſtrued to extend to the wives and children of all clergymen who were ejected their livings, on any account whatſoever. The commiſſioners were alſo to ſeize two thirds of the eſtates of *papiſts*, both real and perſonal, and for the diſcovering of them, were to tender ſuch whom they ſuſpected, the following oath.

Scobel's Collect. p. 49.

The fifths.

Abjuration oath.

" I *A. B.* do abjure and renounce the pope's ſupremacy, and authority " over the catholick church in general, and over myſelf in particular. And I do believe that there is not any tranſubſtantiation in the " ſacrament of the Lord's ſupper, or in the elements of bread and wine " after conſecration thereof by any perſon whatſoever. And I do alſo " believe that there is not any purgatory, or that the conſecrated hoſt, " crucifixes, or images ought to be worſhipped; or that any worſhip " is due to any of them. And I alſo believe, that ſalvation cannot be " merited by works; and all doctrines in affirmation of the ſaid points, " I do abjure, and renounce, without any equivocation, mental reſervation,

" tion, or ſecret evaſion whatſoever, taking the words by me ſpoken ac- K. Charles I. 1643.
" cording to the common meaning of them.

" *So help me* GOD."

Divers clergymen of conſiderable learning, and blameleſs lives, found proteſtants, and good preachers, loſt their eſtates and livelihoods, by falling within the compaſs of this ordinance. How far ſuch ſeverities are juſtifiable by the law of arms, in a time of civil war and confuſion, I ſhall not determine. It had been well, if thoſe who would have given ſecurity for their peaceable behaviour, could have been diſtinguiſhed. But what could the parliament do in their circumſtances with men who were always dealing in politics, privately ſending the king money, preaching publicly that he was above law, and ſtirring up the people to ſedition and diſaffection to thoſe powers by whom they were protected? If *others* ſuffered in this manner it was very *hard meaſure*; their eſtates might have been double taxed, as thoſe of papiſts and nonjurors have ſince been; but to take away their whole property, and reduce them to a *fifth*, and this at the mercy of ſequeſtrators, was extremely rigorous and ſevere. *The effects of this ordinance.*

However, his majeſty purſued the ſame meaſures, and gave directions to ſeize the lands and goods of the parliamentarians, as appears by his proclamation of *April* 7, and *May* 8. wherein he forbids all his ſubjects to ſubmit to their orders; and by another dated *May* 15. 1643. complains, " that " divers of his clergy, eminent for piety and learning, becauſe they publiſh " his royal and juſt commands and declarations, and will not (againſt the " known laws of the land, and their own conſciences) ſubmit to contri- " butions, nor publicly pray againſt us and our aſſiſtants, but conform to " the book of common prayer eſtabliſhed by law, and preach God's " word according to the purity of it, and in their ſermons will not teach " ſedition, nor publiſh illegal commands and orders for fomenting the un- " natural war levied againſt us, are ſome of them driven from their cures " and habitations, others ſilenced and diſcharged from their cures, and " perſecuted, and their curates, if *orthodox*, diſplaced, in whoſe places fac- " tious and ſeditious perſons are introduced.—His majeſty therefore forbids " all his ſubjects to hinder any of his clergy from exerciſing their func- " tions, or to diſplace them; and if any trangreſs this command his ma- " jeſty declares them aſſiſtants of the rebellion, and will proceed againſt " them according to law, as ſoon he can apprehend them, *and in the* " *mean time will give direction for taking their lands and goods into ſafe* " *cuſtody*." Such were the extremities on both ſides! *The king makes reprisals.* Huſb. Collect. p. 177.

The ſilencing ſo many clergymen at once, made it very difficult to find perſons qualified to fill the vacant pulpits. This was an inconvenience that had attended the reformation of queen *Elizabeth*, and was the caſe *Vacant benefices filled up.*

K. Charles I. 1643.

of the eſtabliſhed church again in the year 1662. when near two thouſand miniſters were ejected on account of their non-conformity. Lord *Clarendon*, with his uſual candor ſays, *that from the beginning of this parliament he is confident not one learned or orthodox man was recommended by them to any church in* England; and yet ſome of the greateſt ornaments of the church for learning and good ſenſe, in the reign of king *Charles* II. were of their promotion, as biſhop *Reynolds*, biſhop *Wilkins*, Dr. *Lightfoot*, Dr. *Cudworth*, Dr. *Wallis*, and others. Mr. *Baxter*, who was a more competent judge in this reſpect, ſays, "that though now and then "an unworthy perſon, by ſiniſter means, crept into the places of the "ejected miniſters, yet commonly thoſe whom they put in, were ſuch as "ſet themſelves laboriouſly to ſeek the ſaving of ſouls. Indeed the one "half of them were very young, but that could not be helped, becauſe "there were no others to be had; the parliament could not make men "learned or godly, but only put in the learnedeſt and ableſt that they "could have; and though it had been to be wiſhed, that they might "have had leiſure to ripen in the univerſities, yet many of them did "(as *Ambroſe*) teach and learn at once ſo ſucceſsfully, as that they much "encreaſed in learning themſelves, whilſt they profited others, and pro-"portionably more than many in the univerſities do." Thoſe clergymen who had been ſilenced and impriſoned by archbiſhop *Laud* were ſet at liberty and promoted; ſome who had fled to *Holland* and *New-England* on the account of non-conformity returned home, and were preferred to conſiderable lectures in the city, or to livings that had been ſequeſtered. The parliament entertained and promoted ſeveral *Scots* divines, and yet after all, wanted a ſupply for ſeveral vacant benefices, which obliged them to admit of ſome unlearned perſons, and pluraliſts, not of choice, but thro' neceſſity; for when things were more ſettled, the aſſembly of divines declared againſt both; and it deſerves to be remembered, that the parliament inſtead of giving their divines an abſolute and full poſſeſſion of the ſequeſtered livings, reſerved to themſelves a right in their warrants to diſplace them if the ſaw occaſion, which ſhews their great prudence and caution; for by this means it was in their power, upon the concluſion of a peace, to reſtore thoſe who had been ejected, meerly for their attachment to the king, without any injuſtice to the preſent poſſeſſor. To put ſome ſtop to the clamors of the royaliſts at *Oxford*, who gave out, that the parliament admitted *butchers*, *coblers*, *bricklayers*, and thoſe who had no call from God or man, they ordained, *July* 27. 1643. "That the committees ſhould not nominate any perſons to vacant bene-"fices, but ſuch as ſhould be examined and approved by the aſſembly of "divines then ſitting at *Weſtmiſter*." Upon the whole it is evident, that the two houſes did the beſt they could in their preſent circumſtances, and

Hiſt. of L. and Times, p. 74.

perhaps better than the royaliſts did at the reſtoration 1660. when according to Dr. *Walker*, all the ſequeſtered clergy who ſurvived were reſtored to their livings, even thoſe who had been convicted of the moſt ſcandalous immoralities, without any marks of repentance or amendment. *K.* Charles I. 1643. Suff. Cler. p. 397. & alibi.

The parliament's affairs being low, and their counſels divided, they not only applied to heaven by extraordinary faſtings and prayers, but went on vigorouſly with their intended reformation. They began with the ſabbath, and on *March* 22. 1642-3. ſent to the lord-mayor of the city of *London*, to deſire him to put in execution, the ſtatutes for the due obſervation of the Lord's day; his lordſhip accordingly iſſued his precept the very next day to the aldermen, requiring them to give ſtrict charge to the church-wardens and conſtables within their ſeveral wards, that from henceforth "they do not permit or ſuffer any perſon or perſons, in time of "divine ſervice, or at any time on the Lord's day, to be tipling in any "tavern, inn, tobacco-ſhop, ale-houſe, or other victualling houſe whatſo-"ever; nor ſuffer any fruiterers or herb-women to ſtand with fruit, herbs, "or other victuals or wares in any ſtreets, lanes, or allies, or any other "ways to put thoſe things to ſale, at any time of that day, or in the even-"ing of it; or any milk-women to cry milk; nor to ſuffer any perſons "to unlade any veſſels of fruit, or other goods, and carry them on ſhore; "or to uſe any unlawful exerciſes or paſtimes; and to give expreſs charge "to all inn-keepers, taverns, cook-ſhops, ale-houſes, &c. within their "wards, not to entertain any gueſts to tipple, eat, drink, or take tobacco "in their houſes on the Lord's day, except inn-keepers, who may receive "their ordinary gueſts or travellers, who come for the diſpatch of their "neceſſary buſineſs; and if any perſons offend in the premiſes, they are "to be brought before the lord mayor, or one of his majeſty's juſtices of "the peace to be puniſhed as the law directs." This order had a very conſiderable influence upon the city, which began to wear a different face of religion to what it had formerly done. *May* 5. the book tolerating ſports upon the Lord's day was ordered to be burnt by the hands of the common hangman in *Cheapſide*, and other uſual places; and all perſons having any copies in their hands were required to deliver them to one of the ſheriffs of *London* to be burnt. *Strict obſervation of the ſabbath.* Hſband's Collect. p. 7. Huſb. Col. p. 159.

Next to the *Lord's day* they had a particular regard to their monthly faſt: *April* 24. all conſtables, or their deputies, were ordered to repair to every houſe within their reſpective liberties, the day before every public faſt, and charge all perſons ſtrictly to obſerve it according to the ſaid ordinances. And upon the day of the public faſt, they were enjoined to walk through their ſaid liberties, to ſearch for perſons who either by following the work of their calling, or ſitting in *taverns*, victualing *Manner of keeping the monthly faſt.*

K. Charles I. 1643.

tualing, or *ale-houſes*, or any other ways ſhould not duly obſerve the ſame; and to return their names to the committee for examination, that they might be proceeded againſt for contempt. The faſt was obſerved the laſt *Wedneſday* in every month, the public devotions continued with little or no intermiſſion from nine in the morning till four in the afternoon, and (as has been already obſerved) with uncommon ſtrictneſs and rigor.

Occaſional faſts. Huſb. Col. p. 534.

Beſides the *ſtated* faſts, it was uſual upon extraordinary emergencies to appoint *occaſional* ones; as when the army was going upon any hazardous enterprize, or were within ſight of the enemy, or under very diſadvantageous circumſtances. When the earl of *Eſſex* was ſhut up in *Cornwal*, the two houſes appointed a day of faſting and a prayer in ſix churches within the lines of communication, and in ſuch other churches where it ſhould be deſired; and the crowds of ſerious and attentive hearers on ſuch occaſions is almoſt incredible.

King diſſolves the parliament-faſt, and appoints another. Huſb. Col. p. 353.

The king apprehending the parliament's monthly faſt was perverted from its original deſign, and turned into a nurſery of rebellion, was pleaſed to diſſolve it, and appoint another, for the reaſons contained in the following proclamation from *Oxford*, dated *Octob.* 5. 1643. "When "a general faſt was firſt propounded to us in contemplation of the miſe- "ries of our kindom of *Ireland*, we readily conſented to it.—But when "we obſerve what ill uſe has been made of theſe public meetings, in pul- "pits, in prayers, and in the ſermons of many ſeditious lecturers, to ſtir "up and continue the rebellion raiſed againſt us within this kingdom.— "We thought fit to command that ſuch an hypocritical faſt, to the diſ- "honour of God, and ſlander of true religion, be no longer continued "and countenanced by our authority.——And yet we being deſirous to "expreſs our own humiliation, and the humiliation of our people, for "our own ſins, and the ſins of the nation, are reſolved to continue a "monthly faſt, but not on the day formerly appointed.——We do there- "fore hereby command, that from henceforth no faſt be held on the laſt "*Wedneſday* in the month, as for many months it has been; nor any "other day than is hereby appointed by us.——But we do expreſsly "charge and command, that in all churches and chapels, *&c.* there be a "ſolemn faſt religiouſly obſerved on the ſecond *Friday* in every month, "with public prayers and preaching where it may be had, that as one "man we may pour out our prayers to God, for the continuance of "his gracious preſence and bleſſing upon us, and for eſtabliſhing a "happy peace; for which purpoſe we have cauſed devout forms of "prayer to be compoſed and printed, and intend to diſperſe them, "that they may be uſed in all parts of our kingdom." Agreeably

Ruſhw. Vol. V. p. 380.

to

to this proclamation, the king's friends in the counties of *Cornwal* and *Devonſhire* took an oath, and entered into an aſſociation upon ſundry articles, of which this was one, that if any miniſter ſhall refuſe, or wilfully neglect to obſerve the faſt appointed by his majeſty, or ſhall not read the ſervice and prayers appointed for that faſt, and being carried before a juſtice of peace, ſhall not promiſe and proteſt for their future conformity, he ſhall be forthwith ſecured, and *his eſtate ſequeſtered*; the like courſe to be taken with ſuch miniſters as abſent themſelves that day, unleſs upon ſickneſs, or other cauſe allowed by two juſtices of peace; and with thoſe that will not read ſuch books as ſhall be appointed to be read by his majeſty; and the conſtables are to certify their defaults to the next juſtice of peace. This was a new hardſhip upon clergy and people, for the parliament having enjoined the continuance of the faſt on *Wedneſday*, the royaliſts were obliged to an open ſeparation, by changing it to *Friday*. Thus the devotions of the kingdom were divided, and almighty God called into the quarrel on both ſides.

Removal of monuments of ſuperſtition.

The next thing the parliament undertook, was the removal of thoſe monuments of ſuperſtition out of churches, *&c.* which had been voted down the laſt year, but without any conſiderable effect, becauſe of the diſſent of the houſe of lords. In the beginning of *May*, Sir *Robert Harlow*, by order of the two houſes took down the croſſes in *Cheapſide*, *Charing-Croſs*, and St. *Paul's Croſs*, which was a pulpit of wood covered with lead, in form of a croſs, and mounted on ſeveral ſteps of ſtone about the middle of St. *Paul's* church yard, where the firſt reformers uſed to preach frequently to the people; and upon a further repreſentation of the aſſembly of divines, they paſſed the following ordinance, "that "before the firſt of *November* all altars and tables of ſtone ſhall be ut- "terly taken away and demoliſhed; and all communion-tables removed "from the eaſt end of every church, chapel, or place of public wor- "ſhip, and be ſet in ſome other fit and convenient place or places of "the body of the church or chapel; and all rails whatſoever which have "have been erected near to, or before, or about any altar or commu- "nion-table, in any of the ſaid churches or chapels, ſhall before the ſaid "day be taken away, and the chancel ground of every ſuch church, or "chapel, or other place of public prayer, which has been within theſe "twenty years raiſed for any altar or communion-table to ſtand upon, "ſhall before the ſaid day be laid down and levelled as it was before; "and all tapers, candleſticks, and baſins, ſhall before the ſaid day be re- "moved and taken away from the communion-table in every church, "chapel, or place of public prayer, and not be uſed again afterwards. "And all crucifixes, croſſes, images, and pictures, of any one or more "perſons

Ordinance for that purpoſe. Huſb. Col. fol. 307.

K. Charles I. 1643. "perſons of the trinity, or of the virgin *Mary*, and all other images, "and pictures of ſaints, or ſuperſtitious inſcriptions in, or upon any of "the ſaid churches, church-yards, or other places belonging to the ſaid "churches or church-yards, or any other open place, ſhall before the "ſaid firſt of *November*, be taken away and defaced by the proper of-"ficers that have the care of ſuch churches. And 'tis further ordain-"ed, that the walls, windows, grounds, and other places that ſhall be "broken, impaired, or altered by any the means aforeſaid, ſhall be made "up and repaired in good and ſufficient manner, in all and every "the ſaid pariſh churches, chapels, or places of public prayer belonging "to the pariſh, by the church-wardens for the time being, and in any "cathedral or collegiate church or chapel by the deans or ſub-deans; "and in the the inns of court, by the benchers and readers of the ſame, "at the coſt and charge of all and every ſuch perſon or perſons, bodies "politic, or corporations, to whom the charge of repair does uſually "belong, upon penalty of forty ſhillings to the uſe of the poor, for the "ſpace of twenty days after ſuch default; and if default be made af-"ter *December* 1. the juſtice of peace of the county or city ſhall have "power to perform it. Provided that this ordinance ſhall not extend "to any image, picture, or coat of arms in glaſs, ſtone, or otherwiſe "in any church, chapel, or church-yard, ſet up by, or engraven for a "monument of any king, prince, nobleman, or other dead per-"ſon, which has not been commonly reputed or taken for a "ſaint."

Manner of the execution of it.

This ordinance is of the ſame tenor with the bill againſt innovations, preſented to the king at the treaty of *Oxford*, and does not much differ from queen *Elizabeth*'s injunctions at the reformation; there were ſome diſorders and tumults in putting it in execution, and great neglect of repairs; but if the reader will look back to the ſuperſtitious decorations and ornaments of the cathedrals, mentioned in the former volume of this work, he will ſee there was ſome need of a reformation. *December* 14. the commiſſioners cleared the cathedral of *Canterbury* of all the images, and paintings in the windows. *Heylin* ſays, the rabble violated the monuments of the dead, ſpoiled the organs, took down the rails, *&c.* and affronted the ſtatue of our bleſſed Saviour. *Dec.* 30. they removed the pictures, images and crucifixes in *Henry* the ſeventh's chapel; and about *lady-day* the paintings about the walls and windows were defaced, and the organs taken down in the preſence of a committee of the houſe. The cathedral of St. *Paul*'s was ſtripped about the ſame time, the candleſticks, crucifixes, and plate, being ſold for the ſervice of the war; and within a few months moſt of the cathedrals throughout *England* underwent the ſame fate. If the parliament, inſtead

p. 224. Hiſt. Pref. p. 45.

ſtead of leaving this work to the officers of every pariſh, had put it into the hands of ſome diſcreet perſons, to give directions what might remain, and what was fit to be removed, all the miſchiefs that have been complained of might have been prevented; the monuments of the dead might have remained entire, and a great many fine paintings been preſerved. Dr. *Heylin* charges the officers with ſacrilege, and fixes the divine vengeance upon them as a terror to others, one of them being killed in pulling down the croſs in *Cheapſide*, and another hanged ſoon after he had pulled down the rich croſs in *Abingdon*. But without remarking on the doctor's prognoſtications, it might be very proper to remove theſe images and croſſes, becauſe of the ſuperſtitious reſort of great numbers of people to them; though it ought to have been done in a peaceable manner, without any damage to the truly venerable remains of antiquity. *K. Charles I. 1643.*

Orders for reſtraining the preſs.

The paper combat between the two parties at *Oxford* and *London*, was carried on with no leſs fury than the war itſelf; numberleſs pamphlets were ſcattered up and down the kingdom, big with diſſaffection and ſcandal againſt the two houſes; to put a ſtop to which, the commons by an order of *March* 6. 1642-3. had impowered the committee of examinations to ſearch for printing preſſes, in ſuch places where they had cauſe to ſuſpect they were employed againſt the parliament, and to break them in pieces, and deſtroy the materials. They were alſo to ſeize the pamphlets, and to commit the printer and vender to priſon. But this order not being effectual, another was publiſhed *June* 14. 1643. the preamble to which ſets forth, "that the former orders of parliament to prevent the printing and diſperſing ſcandalous pamphlets having been ineffectual, it is ordained, that no perſon or perſons ſhall print any book or pamphlet without licence, under the hands of ſuch perſons as ſhall be appointed by parliament; nor ſhall any book be reprinted without the licence and conſent of the owner, and the printer to put his name to it; the company of *ſtationers*, and the committee of examinations, are required to make ſtrict enquiry after private preſſes, and to ſearch all ſuſpected ſhops and warehouſes for unlicenſed books and pamphlets, and to commit the offenders againſt this order to priſon, to be puniſhed as the parliament ſhall direct." The names of the licenſers appointed by this ordinance were theſe; Ruſhw: Vol. V. p. 335.

For books of divinity.

The Rev. Mr. Tho. Gataker,
The Rev. Mr. J. Downham,
The Rev. Mr. Callicut Downing,

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The Rev. Dr. Tho. Temple,
The Rev. Mr. Joſ. Caryl,
The Rev. Mr. Edmund Calamy,
The Rev. Mr. Carter *of* Yorkſhire,
The Rev. Mr. Ch. Herle,
The Rev. Mr. Ja. Cranford,
The Rev. Mr. Obad. Sedgwick,
The Rev. M. Batchelor,
The Rev. Mr. John Ellis, *jun.*

For law books.

Sir John Brampſton,
Mr. Serj. Rolls,
Mr. Serj. Pheaſant,
Mr. Serj. Jermyn.

For phyſick and ſurgery.

The preſident and four cenſors of the college of phyſicians, for the time being.

For civil and canon law.

Sir Nath. Brent, or any three doctors of the civil law.

For heraldry, titles of honour, and arms.

One of the three kings at arms.

For philoſophy, hiſtory, poetry, morality, and arts.

Sir Nath. Brent, Mr. Langley, *and* Mr. Farnaby, *ſchool-maſters of St.* Paul's.

For ſmall pamphlets, pictures, &c.

The clerk of the company of *ſtationers*, for the time being, and

For mathematicks, almanacks and prognoſtications.

The reader of *Greſham* College for the time being.

But neither this, nor any other regulation of the preſs, could reſtrain the *Oxonians* from diſperſing their *mercuries and diurnals* over the whole kingdom, as long as the univerſity was in the king's hands.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

From the calling the aſſembly of divines *at* Weſtminſter *to the* Oxford *parliament.*

IT has been obſerved, that at the ſetting down of this parliament, the reſolution of the leading members was to remove the grievances of the church as well as ſtate, and for this purpoſe to addreſs the king, to call an aſſembly of divines to reform the liturgy and diſcipline. To forward this deſign, the *London* miniſters in their petitions in the year 1641. prayed the houſes to be mediators to his majeſty for a free ſynod, and the commons accordingly mentioned it in their grand remonſtrance of *Dec.* 1. 1641. "*We deſire* (ſay they) *that there may be a general ſy-* "*nod of the moſt grave, pious, learned, and judicious divines of this iſland,* "*aſſiſted with ſome from foreign parts profeſſing the ſame religion with us,* "*who may conſider of all things neceſſary for the peace and good govern-* "*ment of the church, and to repreſent the reſult of their conſultations, to* "*be allowed and confirmed, and to receive the ſtamp of authority.*" In the treaty of *Oxford* a bill was preſented to the ſame purpoſe and rejected: Some time after Dr. *Burges*, at the head of the puritan clergy, applied again to parliament, but the houſes were unwilling to take this ſtep without the king's concurrence, till they were reduced to the neceſſity of calling in the *ſcots*, who inſiſted, that *there ſhould be an uniformity of doctrine and diſcipline between the two nations.* To make way for which, the houſes turned their bill into an ordinance, and convened the aſſembly by their own authority. *K.* Charles I. 1643.

The ordinance bears the date *June* 12. 1643. and is the very ſame with the *Oxford* bill, except in the point of lay-aſſeſſors, and of reſtraining the aſſembly, from exerciſing any juriſdiction or authority eccleſiaſtical whatſoever. It is entitled,

An ordinance of the lords and commons in parliament, for the calling of an aſſembly of learned and godly divines, and others, to be conſulted with by the parliament, for ſettling the government and liturgy of the church of England, *and for vindicating and clearing of the doctrine of the ſaid church, from falſe aſperſions and interpretations.* *Ordinance for calling an aſſembly of divines.* Ruſhw. Vol. II. part III. P. 337.

The preamble ſets forth,

"That whereas amongſt the infinite bleſſings of almighty God up- "on this nation, none is, or can be more dear to us, than the purity

K. Charles I. 1643.

" of our religion; and forasmuch as many things as yet remain in the discip-
" line, liturgy, and government of the church, which necessarily require
" a more perfect reformation. And whereas it has been declared and
" resolved, by the lords and commons assembled in parliament, that
" the present church government by archbishops, bishops, their chan-
" cellors, commissaries, deans, deans and chapters, archdeacons, and o-
" ther ecclesiastical officers depending on the hierarchy, is evil, and just-
" ly offensive and burdensome to the kingdom, and a great impediment
" to reformation, and growth of religion, and very prejudicial to the
" state and government of this kingdom, that therefore they are resolved,
" the same shall be taken away, and that such a government shall be
" settled in the church as may be most agreeable to God's holy word,
" and most apt to procure and preserve the peace of the church at home,
" and nearer agreement with the church of *Scotland*, and other reform-
" ed churches abroad. And for the better effecting hereof, and for the
" vindicating and clearing of the doctrine of the church of *England*
" from all false calumnies and aspersions, it is thought fit to call an as-
" sembly of learned, godly, and judicious divines, to consult and advise
" of such matters and things touching the premises, as shall be proposed
" to them by both, or either houses of parliament; and to give their
" advice and counsel therein to both, or either of the said houses, when
" and as often as they shall be thereunto required.

" Be it therefore ordained by the lords and commons in this present
" parliament assembled, that all and every the persons hereafter in this
" ordinance named [the ordinance here names the persons] and such
" other persons as shall be nominated by both houses of parliament, or
" so many of them as shall not be letted by sickness, or other necessa-
" ry impediment, shall meet and assemble, and are hereby required and
" enjoined, upon summons signed by the clerks of both houses of par-
" liament left at their several respective dwellings, to meet and assemble
" at *Westminster*, in the chapel called king *Henry* the seventh's chapel,
" on the first of *July*, 1643. and after the first meeting, being at least
" of the number of forty, shall from time to time sit, and be removed
" from place to place; and also, that the said assembly shall be dissolved
" in such manner as by both houses of parliament shall be directed. *And*
" *the said* ASSEMBLY *shall have power and authority, and are hereby en-*
" *joined from time to time, during this present parliament, or till further*
" *order be taken by both the said houses to confer and treat among them-*
" *selves of such matters and things concerning the liturgy, discipline, and*
" *government of the church of* England, *or the vindicating and clearing*
" *of the doctrine of the same, from all false aspersions and misconstructions,*
" *as shall be proposed by either or both houses of parliament, and no other;*

" *and*

" and to deliver their advices and opinions touching the matters aforeſaid, " as ſhall be moſt agreeable to the word of God, to both or either hou- " ſes from time to time, in ſuch manner as ſhall be required, and not " to divulge the ſame by printing, writing, or otherwiſe, without con- " ſent of parliament." *K. Charles I.* 1643.

If any difference of opinion aroſe, they were to repreſent it to parliament with their reaſons, that the houſes might give further direction. Four ſhillings *per* day was allowed for each one during his attendance. Dr. *William Twiſſe* of *Newbury* was appointed prolocutor, and in caſe of his ſickneſs or death, the parliament reſerved to themſelves the choice of another. The ordinance concludes with the following proviſo: " *Provided always, that this ordinance ſhall not give them, nor ſhall they* " *in this aſſembly aſſume or exerciſe any juriſdiction, power, or authority* " *eccleſiaſtical whatſoever, or any other power than is herein particularly* " *expreſſed.*"

Then follow the names of thirty *lay-aſſeſſors*, (viz.) ten lords, and twenty commoners, and one hundred twenty-one divines.

N. B. The LAY-ASSESSORS had an equal liberty of debating and voting with the divines, and were theſe;

Peers.

Algernoon *E. of* Northumberland,
William *E. of* Bedford,
Philip *E. of* Pembroke *and* Montgomery,
William *E. of* Saliſbury,
Henry *E. of* Holland,
Edward *E. of* Mancheſter,
William *lord viſ.* Say *and* Seal,
Edward *lord viſc.* Conway,
Philip *lord* Wharton,
Edward *lord* Howard *of* Eſrick.

Commoners.

John Selden *Eſq;*
Francis Rouſe *Eſq;*
Edmund Prideaux *Eſq;*
Sir Henry Vane *Knt. ſen.*
Sir Henry Vane *Knt. jun.*
John Glynne *Eſq; recorder of* London.
John White *Eſq;*
Bulſtrode Whitlocke *Eſq;*
Humphrey Salway *Eſq;*
Oliver St. John *Eſq;*
Sir Benj. Rudyard *Knt.*
John Pym *Eſq;*
Sir John Clotworthy *Knt.*
Sir Tho. Barrington *Knt.*
William Wheeler *Eſq;*
William Pierpont *Eſq;*
Sir John Evelyn *Knt.*
John Maynard *Eſq;*
Mr. Serjeant Wild,
Mr. Young,
Sir Matth. Hale, *afterwards lord chief juſtice of the* King's-Bench [*appeared*

Names of the lay-aſſeſſors.

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appeared ſays Anthony Wood, *among the* lay-aſſeſſors.]

E. Lothian,
A. Johnſton, *called lord* Warriſton.

Lay-Aſſeſſors from *Scotland.*
Lord Maitland, *afterwards duke* Lauderdale,

The divines were choſen out of ſuch liſts as the knights and burgeſſes brought in, of perſons beſt qualified in their ſeveral counties, out of which the parliament agreed upon two; though according to Dr. *Calamy* ſome counties had only one.

A LIST *of the* aſſembly *of* divines *at* Weſtminſter, *in alphabetical order.*

Thoſe with two ** *gave conſtant attendance; thoſe with one* * *ſat in the aſſembly and took the* proteſtation, *but withdrew, or ſeldom appeared; thoſe with no ſtar did not appear at all.*

To ſupply the the vacancies that happened by death, ſeceſſion, or otherways, the parliament named others from time to time, who were called ſuperadded divines.

** *The Rev.* Dr. WILLIAM TWISSE, *of* Newbury, *was appointed by parliament,* prolocutor.

** *The Rev.* { Dr. CORNELIUS BURGES, *of* Watford, / Mr. JOHN WHITE, *of* Dorcheſter, A M. } Aſſeſſors.

* *The Rev.* { Mr. HENRY ROBOROUGH, / Mr. ADONIRAM BYFIELD, A. M. } Scribes *but had no votes.*

Names of the divines.

** *The Rev.* John Arrowſmith *of* Lynne, *afterwards* D. D. *and maſter of* Peter-Houſe Cambridge.
** Simeon Aſh, *of St.* Brides, *or* Baſingſhaw.
** Mr. Theodore Backhurſt, *of* Overton Waterville.
** Mr. Thomas Bayly, B. D. *of* Manningford Bruce.
** Mr. John Bond, *a ſuperadded divine.*
* Mr. Boulton, *ſuperadded.*
** Mr. Oliver Bowler, B. D. *of* Sutton.
** Mr. William Bridge, A. M. *of* Yarmouth.
The Right Rev. Dr. Ralph Brownrigge, *biſhop of* Exon.
Mr. Richard Buckley.
** Mr. Antony Burges, A. M. *of* Sutton Coldfield.
** Mr. Jer. Burroughs, A. M. *of* Stepney.

** Mr.

** Mr. Richard Byfield, A. M. *ſuperadded.*
** Edmund Calamy, B. D. Aldermanbury.
** Mr. Tho. Caſe, Milk-Street.
Mr. Richard Capel, *of* Pitchcombe, A. M.
** Mr. Joſeph Caryl, A. M. Lincoln's-Inn.
** Mr. William Carter, *of* London.
** Mr. Thomas Carter, *of* Oxon.
** Mr. William Carter, *of* Dynton, Bucks.
** Mr. John Cawdrey, A. M. *St.* Mart. Fields, *ſuperadded.*
** Humph. Chambers, D. D. *of* Claverton.
** Francis Cheynel, D. D. *of* Petworth.
** Mr. Peter Clarke, A. M. *of* Carnaby.
** Mr. Richard Clayton, *of* Showel.
** Mr. Francis Coke, *of* Yoxhall.
** Mr. Thomas Coleman, A. M. *of* Bliton.
** John Conant *of* Lymington, D. D. *afterwards archdeacon of* Norwich, *and prebendary of* Worceſter.
** Mr. Edw. Corbet, A. M. Merton *Coll.* Oxon.
* Rob. Croſſe. D. D. *afterwards vicar of* Chew, Somerſet.
** Mr. Philip Delmé, *ſuperadded.*
Mr. Tho. Dillingham, *of* Dean.
* Calibute Downing, D. D. *of* Hackney.
Mr. William Dunning, *of* Godalſton.
** *The Rev.* Mr. John Drury, *ſuperadded.*
Mr. Edward Ellis, B. D. Gilfield.
Mr. John Erle, *of* Biſhopſtowne.
* Dan. Featley D. D. *of* Lambeth.
** Mr. Tho. Ford, A. M. *ſuperadded.*
** Mr. John Foxcroft, *of* Gotham.
Mr. Hannibal Gammon, A. M. *of* Cornwall.
** Tho. Gataker, B. D. Rotherhithe.
** Mr. Samuel Gibſon, *of* Burleigh.
** Mr. John Gibbon, *of* Waltham.
** Mr. George Gippes, *of* Aylſton.
** Tho. Goodwin, D. D. *of* Lond. *aft. preſi.* Mag. *C.* Oxon.
** Mr. William Goad, *ſuperadded.*
** Mr. Stanly Gower, *of* Brampton-Bryan.
** William Gouge, D. D. *of* Black-Friars.
** Mr. William Greenhill, *of* Stepney.
** Mr. Green, *of* Pentecomb.
John Hacket, D. D. *of St.* Andrew's, Holborn, *afterwards biſhop of* Lichfield.

Henry

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Henry Hammond, D. D. *of* Penſhurſt, Kent.
** Mr. Henry Hall, B. D. Norwich.
** Mr. Humphry Hardwicke, *ſuperadded.*
* John Harris, D. D. *preb.* Winch. *warden of* Wickham.
** Rob. Harris, D. D. *of* Hanwell, *preſi.* Trin. *Coll.* Oxon.
** Mr. CHARLES HERLE, A. M. Winwick, *aft.* proloc.
** Mr. Rich. Heyrick, A. M. *of* Mancheſter.
** Thomas Hill D. D. *of* Tichmarch, *afterwards maſter of* Trin. *Coll.* Cambridge.
* Samuel Hilderſham, B. D. *of* Felton.
** Mr. Jaſper Hickes, A. M. *of* Lawrick.
** Mr. Tho. Hodges, B. D. *of* Kenſington.
Richard Holdſworth, D. D. *M.* Eman. *Coll.* Camb.
** Joſhua Hoyle, D. D. *of* Dublin, Ireland.
Mr. Henry Hutton.
** Mr. John Jackſon, A. M. *of* Queen's *Coll.* Camb.
* Mr. Johnſon.
Mr. Lance, Harrow, Middleſex.
** Mr. John Langley, *of* Weſt Tuderly, *preb.* Glou.
** Mr. John Ley, A, M. Great Budworth.
** *The Rev.* John Lightfoot, D. D. *of* Aſhby, *M.* Cath. *H.*
* Rich, Love, D. D. *of* Ekinton.
* Mr. Chriſtoph. Love, A. M. *ſuperadded.*
Mr. William Lyford, A. M. Sherbourne.
* Mr. John de la March, *miniſter of the* french *church.*
** Mr. Stephen Marſhal, B. D. *of* Finchingfield.
* Mr. William Maſſam, *ſuperadded.*
Mr. John Maynard, A. M. *ſuperadded.*
** Mr. William Mew, B. D. *of* Eſſington.
** Mr. Thomas Micklethwaite, Cheriburton.
George Morley, D. D. *afterwards biſhop of* Wincheſter.
Mr. William Moreton, Newcaſtle.
* Mr. Moore.
** Mr. Matth. Newcomon, Dedham.
* Mr. William Newſcore, *ſuperadded.*
William Nicholſon, D. D. *afterwards biſhop of* Glouceſter.
Mr. Henry Nye, *of* Clapham.
** Mr. Philip Nye, *of* Kimbolton.
Mr. HERBERT PALMER, B. D. Aſhwel, *aft.* aſſeſſor.
Mr. Henry Painter, *of* Exeter.
Mr. Chriſtopher Parkly, *of* Hawarden.
** Mr. Edw. Peal, *of* Compton:

** Mr.

** Mr. Andrew Pern, *of* Wilby Northampton.
** Mr. John Philips, Wrentham.
** Mr. Benj. Pickering, Eaſt Hoatly.
* Mr. Samuel de la Place, *miniſter of* french *church.*
** Mr. Will. Price, *of St.* Paul Covent-Garden.
John Prideaux, D. D. *biſhop of* Worceſter.
** Mr. Nicholas Proffet, *of* Marlborough.
Mr. John Pyne, *of* Bereferrars.
** Mr. William Rathband, *of* Highgate.
** Mr. William Reyner, B. D. Egham.
** Edw. Reynolds *of* Brampton, D. D. *afterwards bp.* Norwich.
** Mr. Arthur Salway, Severn Stoke.
Rob. Saunderſon, D. D. *afterwards biſhop of* Lincoln.
** Mr. Henry Scudder, *of* Colingbourne.
** Lazarus Seaman B. D. *of* Lond. *M.* Peter *H.* Camb.
** Mr. Obadiah Sedgwick, B. D. Coggeſhall.
Mr. Joſias Shute, B. D. Lombard-Street.
** *The Rev.* Mr. Sydrach Sympſon, London.
** Peter Smith, D. D. *of* Barkway.
** William Spurſtow, D. D. *of* Hampden.
** Edmund Staunton, D. D. *of* Kingſton.
** Mr. Peter Sterry, London.
** Mr. John Strickland, B. D. New Sarum, *ſuperadded.*
** Matth. Styles, D. D. Eaſtcheap.
* Mr. Strong, Weſtminſter, *ſuperadded.*
** Mr. Francis Taylor, A. M. Yalding.
** Tho. Temple, D. D. *of* Batterſea.
** Mr. Tho. Thoroughgood, Maſſingham.
** Mr. Chriſtoph. Tiſdale, Uphurſt Bourne.
* Mr. Henry Tozer, B. D. Oxon.
** Antony Tuckney, D. D. *of* Boſton, *afterwards maſter of ſaint* John's *Coll.* Oxon, *and* Regius *profeſſor.*
** Mr. Tho. Valentine B. D. Chalfort *ſaint* Giles's.
** Mr. Rich Vines, A. M. *of* Calcot, *M.* Pemb. *H.* Camb.
The moſt Rev. Dr. James Uſher, *archbiſhop of* Armagh.
** Mr. George Walker, B. D. *St.* John Evans.
Samuel Ward, D. D. *maſter of* Sidney *Coll.* Camb.
** Mr. JOHN WALLIS, *afterwards* D. D. *and* Scribe.
** Mr. John Ward, *ſuperadded.*
Mr. James Welby, Sylatten.
* Thomas Weſtfield, D. D. *biſhop of* Briſtol.

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** Mr. Jeremiah Whitaker, A. M. Stretton.
Mr. Francis Whiddon, Moreton.
** Henry Wilkinſon, *ſen.* D. D. Waddeſdon, *afterward* Margaret *Profeſſor*, Oxon.
** Mr. Henry Wilkinſon, *jun.* B. D. *St.* Dunſtans.
** Mr. Tho. Wilſon, Otham.
* Tho. Wincop, D. D. Eleſworth.
** John Wincop, D. D. *St.* Martin's *in the fields.*
** Mr. Francis Woodcock, *proctor of the univerſity* Cambridge.
** Mr. Thomas Young, Stow-Market.

Miniſters from Scotland.

** Mr. Alexander Henderſon.
** Mr. George Gilleſpie.
** Mr. Samuel Rutherford.
** Mr. Robert Bayly.

Before the aſſembly ſat, the king by his royal proclamation of *June* 22. forbid their meeting, for the purpoſes therein mentioned; and declared, that no acts done by them ought to be received by his ſubjects; he alſo threatened to proceed againſt them with the utmoſt ſeverity of the law. Nevertheleſs, ſixty-nine aſſembled in king *Henry* the ſeventh's chapel the firſt day, according to ſummons, not in their canonical habits, but chiefly in black coats and bands, in imitation of the foreign proteſtants. Few of the epiſcopal divines appeared, and thoſe who did, after ſome time withdrew, for the following reaſons.

Reaſons of the epiſcopal divines againſt the aſſembly.

Obj. 1. " Becauſe the aſſembly was prohibited by the royal proclama-
" tion; which Dr. *Twiſſe* in his ſermon, at the opening the aſſembly
" lamented, but hoped in due time his majeſty's conſent might be ob-
" tained.

Anſw. To which it was replied, " that the conſtitution at preſent was
" diſſolved; that there were two ſovereign contending powers in the na-
" tion; and if the war in which the parliament was engaged was juſt
" and neceſſary, they might aſſume this branch of the prerogative, till
" the nation was ſettled, as well as any other.

Obj. 2. " Becauſe the members of the aſſembly were not choſen
" by the clergy, and therefore could not appear as their repreſentatives.

Anſw. To which it was anſwered, " that the aſſembly was not de-
" ſigned for a *national ſynod*, or *repreſentative body of the clergy*, but on-
" ly as a committee, or council to parliament, to give their opinion
" touching ſuch church matters as the houſes ſhould lay before them;
" they had no power of themſelves to make laws or canons, or deter-
" mine

" mine controverſies in matters of faith. They were to enter upon no " buſineſs but what the parliament appointed, and when they had done " they were to offer it to the two houſes only as their *humble advice*; " and ſurely the parliament might chooſe their own council, without " being obliged to depend upon the nomination of the clergy. K. Charles I. 1643.

Obj. 3. " But as great an exception as any, was their diſlike of the " company, and of the buſineſs they were to tranſact; there was a mix- " ture of *laity* with the *clergy*; the *divines* were for for the moſt part " of a puritanical ſtamp, and enemies to the hierarchy; and their bu- " ſineſs (they apprehended) was to pull down that which they would " uphold.

Anſw. " This being not deſigned for a legal convocation, but for a " *council* to the parliament in the reformation of the church, they ap- " prehended they had a power to join ſome of their own members with " ſuch a *committee* or *couucil*, without intrenching upon the rights of " convocation. —— The *divines*, except the *ſcots* and *french*, were in " epiſcopal orders, educated in our own univerſities, and moſt of them " graduates; their buſineſs was only to adviſe about ſuch points of doc- " trine and church diſcipline as ſhould be laid before them, in which " the epiſcopal divines might have been of ſervice, if they had con- " tinued with the aſſembly, to which they were moſt earneſtly in- " vited."

I believe no ſet of clergy ſince the beginning of chriſtianity, have ſuf- fered ſo much in their characters and reputations as theſe, for their *ad- vices* to the two houſes of parliament. In his majeſty's proclamation of *June* 22. the far greateſt part of them are ſaid to be *men of no learning or reputation.* Lord *Clarendon* admits, " about twenty of them were " reverend and worthy perſons, and epiſcopal in their judgments; but as " to the remainder, they were but pretenders to divinity; ſome were in- " famous in their lives and converſations, and moſt of them of very " mean parts and learning, if not of ſcandalous ignorance, and of no " other reputation than of malice to the church of *England.*" His lord- ſhip would inſinuate, that they underſtood not the original text, be- cauſe the learned Mr. *Selden* ſometimes corrected the *engliſh* tranſlation of their little pocket bibles, and put them into confuſion, by his un- common acquaintance with *jewiſh* antiquities; as if that great man would have treated a convocation with more decency or reſpect. But arch- biſhop *Laud*'s account is ſtill more extravagant; for though 'tis notorious the aſſembly would not allow a toleration to thoſe whom they called ſectaries, yet his *grace* ſays, " the greateſt part of them were *browniſts* " or *independents*, or *New-England* miniſters, if not worſe, or at beſt " enemies to the doctrine and diſcipline of the church of *England*;" *Character of the aſſembly.* Vol. I. p. 530.

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whereas in truth there were not above ſix *independents* in the aſſembly, and not one *New-England* miniſter that I know of. If the reader will carefully peruſe the liſt, he will find in it ſome of the moſt conſiderable lawyers and ableſt divines of the laſt age; and though they might have miſtaken notions of church diſcipline, and were no better acquainted with the rights of conſcience and private judgment, than their predeceſſors the biſhops, yet with all their faults, impartial poſterity muſt acknowledge the far greater number were men of exemplary piety and devotion, who had a real zeal for the glory of God, and the purity of the chriſtian faith and practice. Mr. *Eachard* confeſſes, that lord *Clarendon* had, perhaps with too mnch ſeverity ſaid, that ſome of theſe divines were infamous in their lives and characters; but Mr. *Baxter* who was better acquainted with them than his lordſhip, or any of his followers, affirms "that they were men of eminent learning, godlineſs, "miniſterial abilities, and fidelity."

The aſſembly opens.

The aſſembly was opened on *Saturday July* 1. with a ſermon preached by Dr. *Twiſſe* in king *Henry* the ſeventh's chapel, both houſes of parliament being preſent. The ordinance for their convention was then read, and the names of the members called over, after which they adjourned to *Monday*, and agreed on the following rules.

Rules agreed to by the aſſembly.

(1.) "That every ſeſſion begin and end with a prayer.

(2.) "That after the firſt prayer, the names of the aſſembly be call-"led over, and thoſe that are abſent marked; but if any member comes "in afterwards, he ſhall have liberty to give in his name to the "*ſcribes.*

(3.) "That every member before his admiſſion to ſit and vote, do "take the following vow or proteſtation.

"I *A. B.* do ſeriouſly and ſolemnly, in the preſence of almighty God, "declare that in this aſſembly whereof I am a member, I will not "maintain any thing in matter of doctrine but what I believe in my "conſcience to be moſt agreeable to the word of God; or in point of "diſcipline, but what I ſhall conceive to conduce moſt to the glory of "God, and the good and peace of his church."

And to refreſh their memories this *proteſtation* was read in the aſſembly every *Monday* morning.

(4.) "That

(4.) "That the apointed hour of meeting be ten in the morning; "the afternoon to be reſerved for committees. K. Charles I. 1643.

(5.) "That three of the members of the aſſembly be appointed weekly as chaplains, one to the houſe of lords, another to the houſe of "commons, and a third to the committee of both kingdoms." The uſual method was to take it by turns, and every *Friday* the chaplains were appointed for the following week.

(6.) "That all members of the aſſembly have liberty to be covered, "except the ſcribes;" who ſome time after had alſo this liberty indulged them.

Beſides theſe, the parliament on *Thurſday* following ſent them ſome further regulations. As,

Regulations ſent them by the parliament.

(1.) "That *two aſſeſſors* be joined with the prolucutor, to ſupply his "place in caſe of abſence or ſickneſs, (*viz.*) Dr. *Cornelius Burges* and "the reverend Mr. *John White* of *Dorcheſter*.

(2.) "That *ſcribes* be appointed, who are not to vote in the aſſembly, *viz.* the reverend Mr. *Roborough* and Mr. *Byfield*.

(3.) "That every member at his firſt entrance into the aſſembly take "the forementioned *proteſtation*.

(4.) "That no reſolution be given upon any queſtion the ſame day "wherein it was firſt propoſed.

(5.) "What any man undertakes to prove as a neceſſary truth in religion, he ſhall make good from the holy ſcriptures.

(6.) "No man ſhall proceed in any diſpute, after the prolucutor has enjoined him ſilence, unleſs the aſſembly deſire he may "go on.

(7.) "No man ſhall be denied the liberty of entering his diſſent from "the aſſembly, with his reaſons for it, after the point has been debated; "from whence it ſhall be tranſmitted to parliament, when either houſe "ſhall require it.

(8.) "All things agreed upon, and prepared for the parliament, ſhall "be openly read and allowed in the aſſembly, and then offered as "their judgment, if the majority aſſent; provided that the opinions "of the perſons diſſenting, with their reaſons, be annexed, if they "deſire it, and the ſolution of thoſe reaſons by the aſſembly."

The proceedings being thus ſettled, the parliament ſent the aſſembly an order to review the XXXIX articles of the church; but before they entered upon buſineſs, *viz. July* 7th. they petitioned the two houſes for a faſt, on a day when the reverend Mr. *Bowles* and *Matth. Newcomen* preached before them. Upon which petition biſhop *Kennet* paſſes the following

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lowing ſevere cenſure, *impartially ſpeaking, 'tis ſtuft with ſchiſm, ſedition and cruelty*, I will therefore ſet the ſubſtance of the petition before the reader in their own language, that he may form his own judgment upon it, and upon the ſtate of the nation.

To the right honourable the lords and commons aſſembled in parliament,

The humble petition of divers miniſters of Chriſt in the name of themſelves, and ſundry others,

Humbly ſheweth,

Aſſembly's petition for a faſt. Ruſhw. Vol. V. p. 344.

"THAT your petitioners upon ſerious conſideration, and deep "ſenſe of God's heavy wrath lying upon us, and hanging over "our heads, and the whole nation, manifeſted particularly by the two "late ſad and unexpected defeats of our forces in the north and in the "weſt, do apprehend it to be our duty, as watchmen for the good of "the church and kingdom, to preſent to your religious and prudent con-"ſideration theſe enſuing requeſts, in the name of JESUS CHRIST, your "Lord and ours.

Firſt, "That you will be pleaſed to command a public and extra-"ordinary day of humiliation this week, throughout the cities of *London*, "*Weſtminſter*, the ſuberbs of both, and places adjacent within the week-"ly bills of mortality, that every one may bitterly bewail his own ſins, "and cry mightily to God, for Chriſt ſake, to remove his wrath, and "to heal the land; with profeſſedly new reſolution of more full "performance of the late covenant, for the amendment of our "ways.

Secondly, "That you would vouchſafe inſtantly to take into your moſt "ſerious conſideration, how you may more ſpeedily ſet up CHRIST "more gloriouſly in all his ordinances within this kingdom, and reform "all things amiſs throughout the land, wherein God is more ſpecially, "and more immediately diſhonoured, among which we humby lay be-"fore you theſe particulars.

1. "That the brutiſh ignorance, and palpable darkneſs poſſeſſing "the greateſt part of the people, in all places of the kingdom may be "remedied, by a ſpeedy and ſtrict charge to all miniſters, conſtantly "to catechize all the youth and ignorant people within their pa-"riſhes.

2. "That the grievous and heinous pollution of the Lord's ſupper, "by thoſe who are groſly ignorant, and notoriouſly profane, may be hence-

" henceforth with all chriſtian care, and due circumſpection pre- K. Charles I. 1643.
" vented.

3. " That the bold venting of corrupt doctrines, directly contrary to " the ſacred law of God, may be ſpeedily ſuppreſſed.

4. " That the profanation of any part of the Lord's day, and the " days of ſolemn faſting, by buying, ſelling, working, ſporting, travel- " ling, or neglecting of God's ordinances, may be remedied, by appoint- " ing ſpecial officers in every place, for the due execution of all good " laws and ordinances againſt the ſame.

5. " That there may be a thorough and ſpeedy proceeding againſt " blind guides, and ſcandalous miniſters; and that your wiſdom would " find out ſome way to admit into the miniſtry, ſuch godly and hope- " ful men as have prepared themſelves, and are willing thereunto, with- " out which there will ſuddenly be ſuch a ſcarcity of able and faithful " miniſters, that it will be to little purpoſe to caſt out ſuch as are un- " able, idle, or ſcandalous.

6. " That the laws may be quickened againſt ſwearing and drunken- " neſs, with which the land is filled and defiled, and under which it " mourns.

7. " That ſome ſevere courſe be taken againſt fornication, adultery " and inceſt, which do greatly abound.

8. " That all monuments of idolatry and ſuperſtition, but more eſ- " pecially the whole body and practice of popery, may be totally abol- " iſhed.

9. " That juſtice may be executed on all delinquents, according to " your religious *vow* and *proteſtation* to that purpoſe.

10. " That all poſſible means may be uſed for the ſpeedy relief and " releaſe of our miſerable, and extreamly diſtreſſed brethren, who are " priſoners in *Oxford*, *York*, and elſewhere, whoſe heavy ſufferings cry " aloud in the ears of our God; and it would lie very heavy on the " kingdom ſhould they miſcarry, ſuffering as they do for the cauſe of " God.

" That ſo God, who is now by the ſword avenging the quarrel of " his covenant, beholding your integrity and zeal, may turn from the " fierceneſs of his wrath, hear our prayers, go forth with our armies, " perfect the work of reformation, forgive our ſins, and ſettle truth and " peace throughout the kingdom.

" *And your petitioners ſhall ever pray*, &c."

Purſuant to this petition, *Friday July* 21. was appointed for a faſt, when the reverend Mr. *Hill*, Mr. *Spurſtow*, and Mr. *Vines*, preached before

K. Charles I. 1642.

fore both houſes of parliament and the aſſembly together; and the faſt was obſerved with great ſolemnity in all the churches within the limits abovementioned.

Alterations in the XXXIX. *articles.*

Next day a committee of divines was appointed to conſider what amendments were proper to be made in the doctrinal articles of the church of *England*, and report them to the aſſembly, who were ten weeks in debating upon the firſt *fifteen*, before the arrival of the *ſcots* commiſſioners; the deſign was to render their ſenſe more expreſs and determinate in favour of *calviniſm*. 'Tis not neceſſary to trouble the reader with the theological debates; but the articles, as they were new modelled, being rarely to be met with, I have placed them in the appendix, with the original articles of the church, in oppoſite columns, that the reader by comparing them may judge, whether the alterations are real improvements.

Appendix. N° I.

Cenſures of antinomianiſm.

As the aſſembly were for ſtrengthening the doctrines of the church againſt *arminianiſm*, they were equally ſolicitous to guard againſt the oppoſite extream of *antinomianiſm*, for which purpoſe they appointed a committee to peruſe the writing of Dr. *Criſp*, *Eaton*, *Saltmarſh*, and others; who having drawn out ſome of their moſt dangerous poſitions, reported them to the aſſembly, where they were not only condemned, but confuted in their public ſermons and writings.

Parliament and aſſembly apply to the ſcots.

At this time the intereſt of the parliament was ſo reduced, that they were obliged to call in the aſſiſtance of the *ſcots*. The conſervators of the peace of that kingdom had appointed a convention of the ſtates, *June* 22. under pretence of ſecuring their country againſt the power of the royal army in the north; and a general aſſembly, *Aug.* 2. to conſider the ſtate of religion. His majeſty would have prevented their meeting, but that being impracticable, he gave orders to limit their conſultations to the concerns of their own country; but the parliament of *England* ſent the earl of *Rutland*, Sir *William Armyn*, Sir *H. Vane*, Mr. *Hatcher*, Mr. *Darley*, and two divines from *Weſtminſter*, (viz.) Mr. *Marſhal* and Mr. *Nye*, with letters to each of theſe aſſemblies, deſiring their aſſiſtance in the war, and the aſſiſtance of ſome of their divines with thoſe at *Weſtminſter*, to ſettle an uniformity of religion and church government between the two nations. To enforce theſe requeſts they delivered a letter from the aſſembly, "ſetting forth the deplorable con-"dition of the kingdom of *England*, which was upon the edge of a "moſt deſperate precipice, ready to be ſwallowed up by Satan and his "inſtruments; they repreſent the cruelty of their enemies againſt ſuch "as fall into their hands, being armed againſt them, not only as men, "but as chriſtians, as proteſtants, and as reformers, and that if they "ſhould be given up to their rage, they fear it will endanger the ſafety

Ruſhw. Vol. V. p. 463, 466, 469.

of

" of all the proteſtant churches. In a deeper ſenſe of this danger (ſay they) than we can expreſs, we addreſs you in the bowels of Chriſt, for your moſt fervent prayers and advice, what further to do for the making our own and the kingdom's peace with God, and for the uniting the proteſtant party more firmly, that we may all ſerve God with one conſent, and ſtand up againſt antichriſt as one man." K. Charles I. 1643.

The commiſſioners arrived at *Edinburgh Aug.* 9. and were favourably received by the aſſembly, who propoſed as a preliminary, that the two nations ſhould enter into a perpetual *covenant* for themſelves and their poſterity, that all things might be done in God's houſe according to his will; and having appointed ſome of their number to conſult with the *engliſh* commiſſioners about a proper form, they choſe delegates for the *Weſtminſter* aſſembly, and unanimouſly adviſed the *convention of ſtates* to aſſiſt the parliament in the war, for the following reaſons.

1. " Becauſe they apprehend the war was for religion. 2. Becauſe the proteſtant faith was in danger. 3. Gratitude for former aſſiſtances at the time of the *ſcots* reformation, required a ſuitable return. 4. Becauſe the churches of *Scotland* and *England* being imbarked in one bottom, if one be ruined the other can't ſubſiſt. 5. The proſpect of uniformity between the two kingdoms in diſcipline and worſhip, will ſtrengthen the proteſtant intereſt at home and abroad. 6. The preſent parliament had been friendly to the *ſcots*, and might be ſo again. 7. Though the king had ſo lately eſtabliſhed their religion according to their deſires, yet they could not confide in his royal declarations, having ſo often found *facta verbis contraria*." *Reaſons of the G. aſſembly of* Scotland *for aſſiſting the* engliſh parliament. Ruſhw. Vol. V. P. 472.

The inſtructions of the commiſſioners ſent to the aſſembly at *Weſtminſter*, were to promote the extirpation of popery, prelacy, hereſy, ſchiſm, ſcepticiſm and idolatry, and to endeavour an union between the two kingdoms in one confeſſion of faith, one form of church government, and one directory of worſhip.

The committee for drawing up the ſolemn league and covenant delivered it into the aſſembly, *Aug.* 17. where it was read, and highly applauded, by the miniſters and *lay-elders*, none oppoſing it except the king's commiſſioners; ſo that it paſſed both the aſſembly and convention in one day, and was diſpatched next morning to *Weſtminſter*, with a letter to the two houſes, wiſhing that it might be confirmed, and ſolemnly ſworn and ſubſcribed in both *kingdoms*, as the ſureſt and ſtricteſt obligation to make them ſtand and fall together in the cauſe of religion and liberty. *Committee appointed to frame a ſolemn league and covenant.* Hamil. M. P. 239.

K. Charles I. 1643.

Mr. Marſhal *and* Nye's *letter to the aſſembly at* Weſtminſter.

Mr. *Marſhal* and *Nye* in the letter to the aſſembly of *Aug.* 18. aſſure their brethren, the *ſcots* clergy were entirely on the ſide of the parliament in this quarrel, againſt the popiſh and epiſcopal faction; that there were between twenty and thirty of the prime nobility preſent, when the *covenant* paſſed the *convention*; and that even the king's commiſſioners confeſſed, that in their private capacity they were for it, though as his majeſty's commiſſioners they were bound to oppoſe it. So that if the *engliſh* parliament (ſay they) comply with the form of this *covenant*, we are perſwaded the whole body of the *ſcots* kingdom will live and die with them, and ſpeedily come to their aſſiſtance.

Debates upon it.

When their commiſſioners arrived at *London*, they preſented the *covenant* to the two houſes, who referred it to the aſſembly of divines, where it met with ſome little oppoſition; Dr. *Featly* declared, he durſt not abjure prelacy *abſolutely*, becauſe he had ſworn to obey his biſhop in all things lawful and honeſt, and therefore propoſed to qualify the ſecond article thus, *I will endeavour the extirpation of popery, and all antichriſtian, tyrannical, or independent prelacy*; but it was carried againſt him. Dr. *Burges* objected to ſeveral articles, and was not without ſome difficulty perſwaded to ſubſcribe, after he had been ſuſpended. The *prolocutor* Mr. *Gataker*, and many others, declared for primitive epiſcopacy, or for *one ſtated preſident with his preſbyters to govern every church*; and refuſed to ſubſcribe till a parentheſis was inſerted, declaring what ſort of prelacy was to be abjured, (*viz.*) [*church government by archbiſhops, biſhops, deans and chapters, archdeacons, and all other eccleſiaſtical officers depending upon them.*] The *ſcots*, who had been introduced into the aſſembly *Sept.* 15. were for abjuring epiſcopacy as ſimply unlawful, but the *engliſh* divines were generally againſt it.

Calamy's Abridg. p. 81.

Hamil. M. p. 237, 240.

Biſhop *Burnet* ſays, our commiſſioners preſſed chiefly for a *civil league*, but the *ſcots* would have a *religious one*, to which the *engliſh* were obliged to yield, taking care at the ſame time, to leave a door open for a latitude of intepretation. Sir *Henry Vane* put the word LEAGUE into the title, as thinking that might be broken ſooner than a *covenant*; and in the firſt article he inſerted that general phraſe, of reforming ACCORDING TO THE WORD OF GOD; by which the *engliſh* thought themſelves ſecure from the inroads of preſbytery; but the *ſcots* relied upon the next words, AND ACCORDING TO THE PRACTICE OF THE BEST REFORMEED CHURCHES; in which they were confident their diſcipline muſt be included. When Mr. *Colman* read the *covenant* before the houſe of lords, in order to their ſubſcribing it, he declared, that by *prelacy* all ſorts of epiſcopacy were not intended, but only the form therein deſcribed. Thus the wiſe men on both ſides endeavoured to out-wit each other in wording the articles; and with theſe ſlight amend-

amendments the covenant paſſed the aſſembly, and both houſes of parliament; and by an order dated *September* 21. was printed and publiſhed as follows: K. Charles I. 1643.

A ſolemn league and covenant for reformation, and defence of religion, the honour and happineſs of the king, and the peace and ſafety of the three kingdoms of England, Scotland, *and* Ireland.

The ſolemn league and covenant. Ruſhw. Vol. V. p. 478.

" WE noblemen, barons, knights, gentlemen, citizens, burgeſſes, " miniſters of the goſpel, and commons of all ſorts, in the king- " doms of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, by the providence of God, " living under one king, and being of one reformed religion, having be- " fore our eyes the glory of God, and the advancement of the king- " dom of our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, the honour and happi- " neſs of the king's majeſty, and his poſterity, and the true public li- " berty, ſafety and peace of the kingdoms, wherein every one's private " condition is included; and calling to mind the treacherous and bloody " plots, couſpiracies, attempts, and practices of the enemies of God, a- " gainſt the true religion and profeſſors thereof in all places, eſpecially " in theſe three kingdoms, ever ſince the reformation of religion; and " how much their rage, power, and preſumption, are of late, and at " this time encreaſed and exerciſed, whereof the deplorable eſtate of the " church and kingdom of *Ireland*, the diſtreſſed eſtate of the church " and kingdom of *England*, and the dangerous eſtate of the " church and kingdom of *Scotland*, are preſent and public teſtimonies; " we have (now at laſt) after other means of ſupplication, remonſtrance, " proteſtations, and ſufferings, for the preſervation of our lives, and our " religion, from utter ruin and deſtruction, according to the commend- " able practice of theſe kingdoms in former times, and the example of " God's people in other nations, after mature deliberation, reſolved and " determined to enter into a mutual and ſolemn league and covenant, " wherein we all ſubſcribe, and each one of us for himſelf, with our " hands lifted up to the moſt high God, do ſwear,

I.

" That we ſhall ſincerely, really, and conſtantly, through the grace " of God, endeavour in our ſeveral places and callings, the preſervation " of the reformed religion in the church of *Sotland*, in doctrine, wor- " ſhip, diſcipline, and government, againſt our common enemies; the " reformation of religion in the kingdoms of *England* and *Ireland*, in " doctrine, worſhip, diſcipline, and government, according to the word

K. Charles I. 1643.

" of God, and the example of the beſt reformed churches; and we " ſhall endeavour to bring the church of God in the three kingdoms to " the neareſt conjunction, and uniformity in religion, confeſſing of faith, " form of church government, directory for worſhip, and cathechiſing, " that we and our poſterity after us, may as brethren, live in faith " and love, and the Lord may delight to dwell in the midſt " of us.

II.

" That we ſhall in like manner, without reſpect of perſons, endea- " vour the extirpation of popery, prelacy (that is, church government " by archbiſhops, biſhops, their chancellors and commiſſaries, deans, " deans and chapters, archdeacons, and all other eccleſiaſtical officers de- " pending on that hierarchy) ſuperſtition, hereſy, ſchiſm, profaneneſs, " and whatſoever ſhall be found to be contrary to ſound doctrine, and " the power of godlineſs, leſt we partake in other mens ſins, and there- " by be in danger to receive of their plagues; and that the Lord may " be one, and his name one, in the three kingdoms.

III.

" We ſhall with the ſame reality, ſincerity and conſtancy, in our " ſeveral vocations, endeavour with our eſtates and lives, mutually to " preſerve the rights and privileges of the parliaments, and the liberties " of the kingdoms, and to preſerve and defend the king's majeſty's " perſon and authority, in the preſervation and defence of the true re- " ligion and liberties of the kingdoms, that the world may bear wit- " neſs with our conſciences, of our loyalty, and that we have no " thoughts or intentions to diminiſh his majeſty's juſt power and great- " neſs.

IV.

" We ſhall alſo with all faithfulneſs, endeavour the diſcovery of all " ſuch as have been, or ſhall be incendiaries, malignants, or evil inſtru- " ments, by hindring the reformation of religion, dividing the king " from his people, or one of the kingdoms from another, or making " any factions or parties among the people, contrary to the league and " covenant, that they may be brought to public trial, and receive con- " dign puniſhment, as the degree of their offences ſhall require or de- " ſerve, or the ſupream judicatories of both kingdoms reſpectively, " or others having power from them for that effect, ſhall judge con- " venient.

V.

V.

" And whereas the happineſs of a bleſſed peace between theſe king- *K.* Charles I.
" doms, denied in former times to our progenitors, is by the good pro- 1643.
" vidence of God granted unto us, and has been lately concluded and
" ſettled by both parliaments, we ſhall each one of us according to our
" places and intereſts, endeavour that they may remain conjoined in a
" firm peace and union to all poſterity, and that juſtice may be done
" on all the wilful oppoſers thereof, in manner expreſſed in the pre-
" cedent articles.

VI.

" We ſhall alſo, according to our places and callings, in this com-
" mon cauſe of religion, liberty, and peace of the kingdom, aſſiſt and
" defend all thoſe that enter into this league and covenant, in the main-
" taining and purſuing thereof; and ſhall not ſuffer ourſelves, direct-
" ly or indirectly, by whatſoever combination, perſwaſion, or terror, to
" be divided and withdrawn from this bleſſed union and conjunction,
" whether to make defection to the contrary part, or give ourſelves to
" a deteſtable indifferency or neutrality in this cauſe, which ſo much
" conerneth the glory of God, the good of the kingdoms, and honour
" of the king; but ſhall all the days of our lives, zealouſly, and con-
" ſtantly continue therein againſt all oppoſition, and promote the ſame
" according to our power, againſt all letts and impediments whatſoever;
" and what we are not able ourſelves to ſuppreſs or overcome, we ſhall
" reveal and make known, that it may be timely prevented or re-
" moved.

" And becauſe theſe kingdoms are guilty of many ſins and provoca-
" tions againſt God, and his Son Jeſus Chriſt, as is too manifeſt by our
" preſent diſtreſſes and dangers, the fruits thereof, we profeſs and de-
" clare before God and the world, our unfeigned deſire to be humbled
" for our own ſins, and for the ſins of theſe kingdoms; eſpecially that we
" have not, as we ought, valued the ineſtimable benefit of the goſpel;
" that we have not laboured for the purity and power thereof; and that
" we have not endeavoured to receive Chriſt in our hearts, nor to walk
" worthy of him in our lives, which are the cauſe of other ſins and
" tranſgreſſions, ſo much abounding amongſt us; and our true and un-
" feigned purpoſe, deſire, and endeavour for ourſelves, and all others
" under our charge, both in public and private, in all duties we owe to
" God and man, to amend our lives, and each one to go before an-

" other

K. Charles I. 1643. "other in the example of a real reformation, that the Lord may turn "away his wrath and heavy indignation, and eſtabliſh theſe churches "and kingdoms in truth and peace. And this covenant we make in "the preſence of almighty God, the ſearcher of all hearts, with a true "intention to perform the ſame, as we ſhall anſwer at that great day, "when the ſecrets of all hearts ſhall be diſcloſed; moſt humbly beſeech-"ing the Lord to ſtrengthen us by his holy ſpirit for this end, and to "bleſs our deſires and proceedings with ſuch ſucceſs, as may be a deli-"verance and ſafety to his people, and encouragement to the chriſtian "churches, groaning under, or in danger of the yoke of antichriſtian "tyranny, to join with the ſame or like atteſtation and covenant, to "the glory of God, the enlargement of the kingdom of Jeſus Chriſt, "and the peace and tranquility of chriſtian kingdoms and common-"wealths."

Manner of taking it. *Monday September* 25. was appointed for ſubſcribing this covenant, when both houſes, with the *ſcots* commiſſioners, and aſſembly of divines, being met in the church of St. *Margaret's Weſtminſter*, the reverend Mr. *White* of *Dorcheſter* opened the ſolemnity with prayer; after him Mr. *Henderſon* and Mr. *Nye* ſpoke in juſtification of taking the covenant from ſcripture precedents, and diſplayed the advantage the church had received from ſuch ſacred combinations. Mr. *Henderſon* ſpoke next, and declared that the ſtates of *Scotland* had reſolved to aſſiſt the parliament of *England*, in carrying on the ends and deſigns of this *covenant*; then Mr. *Nye* read it from the pulpit with an audible voice article by article, each perſon ſtanding uncoverred, with his right hand lifted up bare to heaven, worſhipping the great name of God, and ſwearing to the performance of it. Dr. *Gouge* concluded the ſolemnity with prayer, after which the houſe of commons went up into the chancel, and ſubſcribed their names in one roll of parchment, and the aſſembly in another, in both which the *covenant* was fairly tranſcribed. *Lord's day* following it was tender'd to all perſons within the bills of mortality, being read in the ſeveral churches to their congregations as above. *Oct.* 15. it was taken by the houſe of lords, after a ſermon preached by Dr. *Temple*, from *Nehemiah* x. 29. and an exhortation by Mr. *Coleman*. *October* 29. it was ordered by the committee of ſtates in *Scotland* to be ſworn to, and ſubſcribed all over that kingdom, on penalty of the confiſcation of goods and rents, and ſuch other puniſhment as his majeſty and the parliament ſhould inflict on the refuſers. All the lords of the council were ſummoned to ſign the covenant *Nov.* 2. and thoſe who did not, to appear again the 14th of the ſame month, under the ſevereſt penalties, when ſome of the king's party not attending were declared enemies to religion,

Ruſhw. Vol. V. p. 475.

Hamil. M. p. 240.

and

and to their king and country; *Nov.* 17. their *goods* were ordered to be seized, and their persons apprehended; upon which they fled into *England.* Such was the unbounded zeal of that nation! *February* 2. following, the covenant was ordered to be taken throughout the kingdom of *England*, by all persons above the age of eighteen years; and the assembly were commanded to draw up an exhortation to dispose people to it, which being approved by both houses, was published under the title of K. Charles I. 1643.

An exhortation to the taking of the solemn league and covenant, *for reformation and defence of religion, the honour and happiness of the king, and the peace and safety of the three kingdoms of* England, Scotland *and* Ireland, *and for satisfying such scruples as may arise in the taking of it; assented to by the house, and ordered to be printed.*

Die veneris, Feb. 9. 1643.

An exhortation to the taking the solemn league and covenant. Rushw. Vol. V. p. 475. Husb. Col. p. 424.

"IF the power of religion, or solid reason; if loyalty to the king, "and piety to their native country, or love to themselves, and na- "tural affection to their posterity; if the example of men touched with "a deep sense of all these; or extraordinary success from God there- "upon, can awaken an embroiled bleeding remnant to embrace the so- "vereign and only means of their recovery, there can be no doubt but "this solemn league and covenant will find, wheresoever it shall be "tendered, a people ready to entertain it with all chearfulness and "duty.

"And were it not commended to the kingdom by the concurrent "encouragement of the honourable houses of parliament, the assembly "of divines, the renowned city of *London*, multitudes of other persons "of eminent rank and quality of this nation, and the whole body of "*Scotland*, who have all willingly sworn and subscribed it with rejoicing "at the oath, so graciously seconded from heaven already, by blasting "the counsels, and breaking the power of the enemy more than ever, "yet it goeth forth in its own strength with such convincing evidence "of equity, truth, and righteousness, as may raise in all (not wilful- "ly ignorant, or miserably seduced) inflamed affections to join with "their brethren in this happy bond, for putting an end to the present "miseries, and for saving both king and kingdom from utter ruin, now "so strongly and openly laboured by the popish faction, and such as "have been bewitched and besotted by that viperous and bloody gene- "ration. ——

K. Charles I. 1643.

It then proceeds to anſwer objections againſt taking the covenant; as,

Obj. 1. That *it obliges to the extirpation of prelacy, which ſtands as yet by the known laws of the land.*

Anſw. The life and ſoul of the hierarchy is already taken away; nothing of juriſdiction remaining; and ſince 'tis but a human conſtitution, if it be found a grievance, we may certainly endeavour its extirpation in a lawful way.

Obj. 2. 'Tis ſaid *to be inconſiſtent with the oath of canonical Obedience.*

Anſw. If men have ſworn obedience to the laws of the land, may they not endeavour by lawful means the repealing thoſe laws, if they are found inconvenient? or if any miniſters have taken oaths not warranted by the laws of God and the land, ought they not to repent of them?

Obj. 3. But *the covenant croſſes the oaths of ſupremacy and allegiance.*

Anſw. This is falſe, for it binds to the preſervation of the king's perſon and authority, in the defence of the religion and liberties of the kingdom.

Obj. 4. But *it is done without the king's conſent.*

Anſw. So was the *proteſtation* of *May* 5. which went through the whole kingdom, his majeſty not excepting againſt it, though he was then at *Whitehall.* The ſame has been done by the united *Netherlands* under king *Philip*; and more lately in *Scotland*, his majeſty himſelf declaring by act of parliament, that they had done nothing but what became loyal and obedient ſubjects.

It is anſwered. L. *of* Bar. p. 35.

Dr. *Barwick* ſays, that ſome perſons in the univerſity of *Cambridge*, publiſhed an anſwer to this exhortation, which I have not ſeen; but if the reader will look forward to the year 1647. he will find the reaſons of the univerſity of *Oxford* againſt it, confirmed in convocation, the validity of which he will judge of for himſelf. 'Tis certain moſt of the religious part of the nation, who apprehended the proteſtant religion in danger, and were deſirous of reducing the hierarchy of the church, were zealous for the *covenant.* Others took it only in obedience to the parliament, being ſenſible of the diſtreſſed circumſtances of their affairs, and that the aſſiſtance of the *ſcots* was to be obtained on no other terms. But as it was a teſt of a mixed nature, and contained ſome obligations upon conſcience, which wiſe and honeſt men might reaſonably ſcruple, who were otherwiſe well affected to the proteſtant religion, and the liberties of their country; the impoſing it as a teſt can never

Rapin, Vol. XII. p. 133.

ver be juſtified, though it appears moſt of the epiſcopal divines who made the greateſt figure in the church after the reſtoration, did not refuſe it. K. Charles I. 1643.

Together with the *exhortation of the aſſembly*, the following orders and inſtructions were diſperſed over the kingdom.

Inſtructions for taking the covenant in the country.

Ordered, " That copies of the covenant be ſent to all commanders in " chief, and governors of towns, forts, garriſons, and ſoldiers, that it " may be taken by all ſoldiers under their command.

" That copies be ſent to the committees of parliament, in the ſeveral " counties that are under the power of the parliament, and that the com- " mittees within ſix days diſperſe the ſaid copies, and cauſe them to be " delivered to the miniſters, church-wardens, or conſtables of the ſe- " veral pariſhes. Huſb. Col. p. 420.

" That the ſeveral miniſters be required to read the covenant to the " people, the next lord's day after they have prepared the people to " take it.

" That the committees of parliament take it themſelves within ſeven " days after they have received the copies; and then diſperſe themſelves " throughout their counties, ſo as three or four of them may be toge- " ther at the ſeveral places appointed for the people to take it. That they " ſummon all the miniſters, church-wardens, conſtables, and other " officers, to that place, and after a ſermon preached by a miniſter " whom they ſhall appoint, they ſhall cauſe the ſaid miniſter to tender " the covenant to all ſuch miniſters, and other officers, to be taken and " ſubſcribed in the preſence of the committee.

" The ſaid miniſters are then to be required to tender the covenant to " all the reſt of their pariſhioners next lord's day, and if any miniſter re- " fuſe, or neglect to appear at the ſaid ſummons, or refuſe to take the " ſaid covenant, the committee ſhall appoint another miniſter to do it in " his place.

" If any miniſter refuſe to take, or tender the covenant; or if any " other perſon refuſes to take it after a ſecond tender, upon two lord's " days, their names ſhall be returned to the committee, and by them to " the houſe of commons; and all perſons that abſent themſelves after " notice given, ſhall be returned as refuſers."

The *Engliſh* in foreign parts were not exempted from this teſt; directions were ſent to Mr. *Strickland*, the parliament's agent at the *Hague*, to tender it to all the *Engliſh* in thoſe countries, and to certify the names of ſuch as refuſed. Here the elector *Palatine* took it, and after ſome time came into *England*, and condeſcended to ſit in the aſſembly of divines. *December* 20, 1643. it was ordered by the lords and commons, that no perſon ſhould be capable of being elected a common-council-man of the city of *London*, or ſo much as have a voice in ſuch elections, who Whitlock, p. 79. Parl. Chr. p. 172. Huſb. Col. p. 404.

K. Charles I. 1643. has not taken the covenant. On the 29th of *Jan.* 1644. it was ordered by the commons, that the ſolemn league and covenant be upon every day of faſting, and public humiliation, publickly read in every church and congregation within the kingdom; and every congregation is enjoined to have *one* fairly printed in a large letter, in a table fitted to be hung up in a public place of the church or congregation, to be read by the people. All young miniſters were required to take the covenant at their ordination; none of the laity were continued in any office of truſt, either civil or military, who refuſed it. When the war was ended, all the noblemen, knights, gentlemen, and officers who had oppoſed the parliament, were obliged to ſubmit to it, before they were admitted to compoſition. Notwithſtanding all this ſeverity, Dr. *Calamy* ſays, Mr. *Baxter* kept his people from taking the covenant, as fearing it might be a ſnare to their conſciences; nay he prevented its being much taken in the county he lived in, by keeping the miniſters from offering it their people, except the city of *Worceſter*, where he had no great intereſt.

Abridg. p. 104.

King forbids it.

The king could not be unacquainted with theſe proceedings, for the *covenant* lay before the parliament and aſſembly almoſt a month, during which time his majeſty took no public notice of it; but a fortnight after it had been ſubſcribed by both houſes, and by all the clergy and laity within the bills of Mortality, he iſſued out the following proclamation, dated from *Oxford*, *October* 9. in the nineteenth year of his reign.

By the king.

Ruſh. Vol. V. p. 482.

"WHEREAS there is a printed paper, entitled *a ſolemn league and covenant, for reformation and defence of religion*, &c. pretended to be printed by order of the houſe of commons, *September* 21. which covenant, though it ſeems to make ſpecious expreſſions of piety and religion, is in truth nothing elſe but a traiterous and ſeditious combination againſt us and the eſtabliſhed religion and laws of this kingdom, in purſuance of a traiterous deſign and endeavour to bring in foreign force to invade this kingdom: We do therefore ſtraitly charge and command all our loving ſubjects, of what degree or quality ſoever, upon their allegiance, that they preſume not to take the ſaid ſeditious and traiterous covenant. And we do likewiſe hereby further inhibit and forbid all our ſubjects to impoſe, adminiſter, or tender the ſaid covenant, as they, and every one of them, will anſwer the contrary at their utmoſt and extreameſt perils."

His majeſty ſent the like declaration into *Scotland*, to which the ſtates of that kingdom paid no further regard, than to ſend him the reaſons of their

their conduct, with their advice to his majeſty to take the *covenant* himſelf. K. Charles I. 1643.

Great complaints have been made, and not without reaſon, of the execution this teſt did upon the king's clergy throughout the kingdom. It was a new weapon put into the hands of the committees, which enabled them with more eaſe and certainty to detect *malignant or diſaffected miniſters*; for inſtead of producing a number of witneſſes, as had been the method hitherto, they now tender'd the *covenant*, which the others refuſing, gave occaſion to the general report, that the clergy were turned out of their livings, *only for refuſing the covenant*, whereas their ſequeſtration was grounded upon other cauſes: or at leaſt the articles of immorality or diſaffection to the parliament, were almoſt always joined with it. When the *covenant* paſſed through the parliament quarters, in ſome towns it was neglected, in others the incumbent avoided it, by withdrawing for a few weeks, and getting another to officiate. Some who refuſed were diſplaced, and the names of thoſe who abſented were returned to the parliament, but little or nothing came of it. The writer of the life of biſhop *Saunderſon* ſays, that in the aſſociated counties of *Cambridgeſhire*, &c. all were ejected who refuſed the *covenant*, that is, all to whom it was tender'd; for though it was preſſed pretty cloſely in ſome places notorious for diſaffection, in others, that had been quiet, it was little regarded. The earl of *Mancheſter* had particular inſtructions to tender the *covenant* to the *Cambridge* ſcholars, and yet the commiſſioners impoſed it only upon ſuch who had adher'd to the king, or of whoſe diſaffection they had ſufficient evidence, ſeveral who behaved peaceably being permitted to keep their places, who would certainly have refuſed it. It has been obſerved already, that Mr. *Baxter* prevented its being much taken in *Worceſterſhire*; and no doubt, there were men of moderation and influence who did the ſame in other counties. Thoſe clergymen who had declared for the king were uſually put to the trial; but reputed *calviniſts*, of ſober lives, who had ſtood neuter, were frequently overlooked; ſo that the beneficed clergy ſuffered by the *covenant*, rather as *parties in the war*, than as friends of the hierarchy. However, it being a *religious teſt*, the impoſing it was, in my opinion, unwarrantable, and a very great hardſhip, eſpecially as it was for ſome time a door of entrance into eccleſiaſtical preferments, for ſuch young divines as had no concern in the war. A teſt of a civil nature, would have anſwered all the ends of civil government, without ſhackling the conſciences of men, which ought always to be left free, and open to conviction. But if the puritan powers bore hard upon the loyaliſts, in *impoſing* the *covenant*, the king's clergy were even with them at the reſtoration, when they obliged them publickly to *abjure* it, or quit their preferments.

The influence it had on the Clergy.

K. Charles I. 1643.

King brings over forces from Ireland. p. 75, 76. Rapin, p. 141, 144. Clarend. Vol. II. Part I. p. 414.

The neceſſity of the king's affairs having obliged him to arm the papiſts, and commiſſion the duke of *Ormond* to agree to a ceſſation of arms with the *iriſh catholicks*, in order to draw off his forces from thence, his majeſty fell under the ſuſpicion of favouring that religion, eſpecially when it appeared that not only the proteſtant ſoldiers, but the *iriſh* rebels were tranſported with them. Mr. *Whitlock* ſays, ſeveral of their officers and ſoldiers came over with the king's army; that a month or two after, eight hundred native *iriſh* rebels landed at *Weymouth*, under the lord *Inchequin*, and another party at *Beaumaris*, which committed great ſpoils, deſtroying with fire what they could not carry off. Another party landed near *Cheſter*, under the earl of *Cork*, and fifteen hundred were caſt away at ſea: theſe wretches brought hither the ſame ſavage diſpoſition, which they had diſcovered in their own country; they plundered and killed people in cold blood, obſerving neither the rules of honor, nor the law of arms. The *Scots* forces in the north of *Ireland*, enter'd into a confederacy to ſtand by each other againſt the ceſſation, the parliament of *England* proteſted againſt it, and publiſhed a declaration informing the world, that his majeſty had broke through his royal promiſe, of leaving the *iriſh* war to them; they forbid all maſters of ſhips to bring over any officers or ſoldiers, on penalty of the forfeiture of their veſſels, and gave letters of mart to merchants and others, who would fit out ſhips at their own expence, impowering them to take to their own profit all ſuch ſhips and goods, as they ſhould meet coming over with ſoldiers or warlike ſtores for the king. Next year an ordinance was publiſhed, that no quarter ſhould be given to any *iriſh* papiſt taken in arms againſt the parliament; all officers were to except them out of their capitulations, and upon making them priſoners, were immediately to put them to death.

Ill conſequences of it. Ruſhw. p. 383.

This unhappy management of the king, alienated the affections of great numbers of his friends who had the proteſtant religion at heart; many who wiſhed well to his perſon deſerted him upon this occaſion, and made their peace with the parliament, as the earls of *Holland*, *Bedford*, *Clare*, *Carliſle*, Sir *Edw. Deering*, and others; this laſt gentleman publiſhed the reaſons of his conduct to the world, the principal of which, were the *iriſh* ceſſation; his majeſty's preferring popiſh officers to chief places of truſt and honour; and the language of the *Oxford* clergy and others, that *the king ſhould come no other way to his palace but by conqueſt.* There was certainly a very malignant ſpirit among thoſe gentlemen at this time, as appears by their form of thankſgiving, or rather imprecation, for the taking of *Briſtol*, and the ſucceſs of the earl of *Newcaſtle*'s army in the north; "O lord (ſay they) though our ſins cry aloud, hear them not, but "look to the righteouſneſs of our cauſe; ſee the ſeamleſs coat of thy ſon "torn; the throne of thine anointed trampled upon; thy church invad-

" ed by ſacrilege, and thy people miſerably deceived by lyes; ſee it, O " God, as ſee it thou doſt, and vindicate what thou ſeeſt on the heads of " thoſe who lead theſe wretches." Many of the earl of *Newcaſtle*'s ſoldiers in the north, upon news of the *iriſh ceſſation* threw down their arms, and offered a compoſition; and if we may believe the parliamentary chronicle, this ſingle action loſt the king all the northern counties. To put a ſtop to the clamours of the people, and prevent any farther deſertions, his majeſty reſolved to ſupport his own character as a *proteſtant*, and accordingly made the following proteſtation in preſence of the congregation at *Chriſt-church Oxford*, immediately before his receiving the ſacrament from the hands of archbiſhop *Uſher*.

K. Charles I. 1643.

Part III. p. 86.

My Lord,

" I Eſpy here many reſolved proteſtants, who may declare to the " world the declaration I do now make. I have to the utmoſt of my " power, prepared my ſoul to be a worthy receiver, and may I ſo receive " comfort from the bleſſed ſacrament, as I do intend the eſtabliſhment of " the true reformed proteſtant religion, as it ſtood in its beauty in the " happy days of queen *Elizabeth*, *without any connivance at popery*. I " bleſs God, that in the midſt of theſe public diſtractions, I have ſtill " liberty to communicate. And may this ſacrament be my damnation, " if my heart do not join with my lips in this proteſtation."

King's proteſtation. Ruſhw. p. 346. Vide Rapin, p. 169, &c.

How conſonant was this with his majeſty's actions, when within a few days he agreed to a ceſſation with the *iriſh* papiſts for a year, and a toleration of their religion? all men knew, that his majeſty not only connived at popery, but indulged it as far as was in his power; hiſtorians therefore are at a loſs to reconcile this ſolemn appeal to heaven, with the king's piety and ſincerity. The parliament was ſo apprehenſive of the conſequences of bringing over the *iriſh* papiſts, that by an order of *November* 22. they deſired the aſſembly of divines, to write letters to the foreign churches of *Holland*, *France*, *Switzerland*, and other places, to inform them of the artifices of his majeſty's agents; of the conſtant employment of *iriſh* rebels, and other papiſts, to be governors, commanders, and ſoldiers in his armies; of the many evidences of their intentions to introduce popery; to hinder the intended reformation, and to condemn other proteſtant churches, as unſound becauſe not prelatical; and that the *Scots* commiſſioners be deſired to join with them. In purſuance of this order, the aſſembly wrote the following letter, dated *November* 30, 1643.

The

K. Charles I. 1643.

To the Belgick, French, Helvetian, *and other reformed churches.*

Right reverend and dearly beloved in our Lord Jeſus Chriſt,

Aſſembly's letter to foreign churches. Ruſhw. p. 371.

" WE the aſſembly of divines, and others, convened by the authority of both houſes of parliament, with the commiſſioners from " the general aſſembly of the church of *Scotland*, do heartily ſalute you " in the lord. We doubt not, but the ſad reports of the miſeries under " which the church and kingdom of *England* do bleed, and wherewith " we are ready to be ſwallowed up, is long ſince come to your ears; and " 'tis probable, the ſame inſtruments of ſatan and anti-chriſt have by their " emiſſaries, endeavoured to repreſent us as black as may be among your- " ſelves.——And we ſometimes doubt, whether we have not been want- " ing to our own innocence, and your ſatisfaction, in being thus long " ſilent; but pardon us, *dear brethren*, if this cup of trembling where- " with our ſpirits have been filled to amazement, and our wreſtling with " extream difficulties ever ſince our meeting, has hindered from that " which was our duty; and give us leave now a little to eaſe our grief, " while we relate the deſolation made by the antichriſtian faction, who " are for hindring the work of reformation, and for introducing and " cheriſhing popery; and are now arrived to that ſtrength, that if the " lord do not ſpeedily help us, we ſhall be altogether laid waſte by " them.

" How great a hand they [the prelates] have had, in the miſeries of " other reformed churches, in the deſtruction of the *Palatinate*, in the " loſs of *Rochel*, are ſo fully known and felt by you all, that we need " not ſpeak any thing of them. And we ſuppoſe their inveterate hatred " againſt you all is ſufficiently manifeſt, in that multitudes of them have " refuſed to acknowledge any of you for churches of Chriſt, becauſe you " are not prelatical, and thereby (as they conceive) want a lawful voca- " tion of miniſters. Sure we are, that among ourſelves, ſcarce one " thing can be thought of, which may be ſuppoſed an argument of their " deſign to advance popery, that has not been attempted. The laws " againſt popery have been ſuſpended; *judges* forbid to proceed againſt " condemn'd prieſts; jeſuits ſet free; houſes of ſuperſtition in *Ireland* and " *England*, have been ſet up and not diſcountenanced; notorious papiſts " harbour'd about the court and preferr'd; many releaſed from legal pe- " nalties, and their proſecutors diſcountenanced; agents have been ſent " into *Italy*, and nuncios from *Rome* received, while the moſt zealous pro- " teſtants have been perſecuted; many prelates and clergymen have pub- " lickly preached, and endeavoured to leaven the people with all points

" of

" of popery, except the *Supremacy*, and introduced abundance of corrupt in- *K.* Charles I.
" novations into the worſhip of God; for noncompliance with which, many 1643.
" have been forced to fly for refuge, to the remote parts of the world.

" They impoſed upon the kingdom of *Scotland* a new popiſh ſervice
" book and canons, to which, when that nation would not ſubmit, they
" prevailed with his majeſty to proclaim them rebels, and raiſe an army
" againſt them, to which all the papiſts, and thoſe who were popiſhly
" affected, contributed; and had not the lord, by his bleſſing on the
" *ſcots* arms, and by the calling of this parliament prevented it, the two
" nations had been imbruing their hands in each others blood.

" But though we hoped through the goodneſs of God, and his bleſſing
" upon this parliament, whoſe hearts were inclined to a more perfect re-
" formation, that our winter had been paſt, yet alas! we find it to be quite
" otherwiſe. We know our ſins have deſerved all, and if we die and periſh,
" the Lord is righteous; to his hand we ſubmit, and to him alone we look
" for healing. The ſame antichriſtian faction not being diſcouraged, by
" their want of ſucceſs in *Scotland*, have ſtirr'd up a bloody rebellion in *Ire-*
" *land*, wherein above one hundred thouſand proteſtants have been deſtroy-
" ed in one province, within a few months. They have alienated the heart
" of his majeſty from his parliament, and prevailed with him to withdraw
" and raiſe an army, which at firſt pretended only to be made up of proteſ-
" tants—but ſoon after papiſts were armed by commiſſion from the king;
" many great papiſts were put into places of public command, and the body
" of all the papiſts have join'd his majeſty with all their might; they pro-
" ſeſs and exerciſe their religion publickly in ſeveral parts of the kingdom,
" and go up and down plundering, murdering, and ſpoiling of their
" goods, all ſuch as adhere to the parliament, and to the cauſe of religion.
" Nor has the parliament been able, by their petitions and remonſtrances,
" to recover his majeſty out of their hands, or bring theſe men to deſerv-
" ed puniſhment, but the ſword rages almoſt in every corner of this wo-
" ful land.

" And to compleat our miſeries, they have prevailed with his majeſty
" ſo far to own the *rebels* in *Ireland*, as not only to call them his *roman*
" catholick ſubjects now in arms, but to grant them a ceſſation of arms
" for a year, and to hold what they have gotten, with liberty to ſtrength-
" en themſelves with men, money, arms, ammunition, *&c.* whereby
" they are enabled not only to deſtroy the remnant of proteſtants in *Ire-*
" *land*, but to come over hither, (as many of them are already) to act the
" ſame butchery upon us.

" In the midſt of theſe troubleſome times, the two houſes of parlia-
" ment have called this aſſembly, to give them our beſt counſel for the
" reformation of the church, requiring us to make God's word only our
rule,

K. Charles I. 1643.

" rule, and to endeavour the neareſt conformity to the beſt reformed " churches, and uniformity to all the churches of the three king- " doms ——

" The church and kingdom of *Scotland* have made offer of their hum- " ble mediation to the king for a *pacification*, which being rejected, both " nations have entered into a mutual *league and covenant*; and the *ſcots* " have reſolved to join in arms with their brethren in *England*, for their " mutual preſervation from the common enemy, and ſo far as in them " lieth for the ſafety of their native king. They have alſo ſent their " commiſſioners hither, for uniformity of religion in the churches of " both kingdoms.

" And we their commiſſioners do exceedingly rejoice, to behold the " foundation of the houſe of God, not only in doctrine, but in church " government, laid before our eyes in a reverend aſſembly of ſo wiſe, " learned, and godly divines. And we find ourſelves bound in all chriſtian " duty, as well as by our late *covenant*, to join in repreſenting to the re- " formed churches abroad, the true condition of affairs here, againſt all " miſtakes and miſinformations.

" And now, dear brethren, we beg of you, *firſt*, to judge aright of " our innocence and integrity in this our juſt defence; if our enemies " ſay, that we are riſen up in rebellion to deprive the king of his juſt " power and greatneſs, and to bring anarchy and confuſion into the " church of Chriſt, we doubt not but our *ſolemn covenant* (a copy of " which we humbly preſent you herewith) will ſufficiently clear us. " Let the righteous Lord judge between us, whom we implore to help " us no further than we can plead theſe things in ſincerity.

Secondly, " That you would ſympathize with us as brethren, who " ſuffer in and for the ſame cauſe wherein yourſelves have been op- " preſſed.

Thirdly, " That you would conceive of our condition as your own " common cauſe, which, if it be loſt with us, yourſelves are not like " long to eſcape, the quarrel being not ſo much againſt mens perſons, " as againſt the power of godlineſs, and the purity of God's word. " The way and manner of your owning us we leave to yourſelves, on- " ly we importunately crave your fervent prayers, both public and pri- " vate, that God would bring ſalvation to us; that the bleſſings of truth " and peace may reſt upon us; that theſe three nations may be joined " as one ſtick in the hands of the Lord; and that we ourſelves, con- " temptible builders, called to repair the houſe of God, in a troubleſome " time, may ſee the pattern of this houſe, and commend ſuch a platform " to our *Zerubbabels* as may be *moſt agreeable to his ſacred word, neareſt* " *in conformity to the beſt reformed churches, and to eſtabliſh uniformity among*

" *among ourſelves*; that all mountains may become plains before them, " and us; that when all who now ſee the plummet in our hands, may " alſo behold the top ſtone ſet upon the head of the Lord's houſe " among us, and may help us with ſhouting to cry, *grace*, *grace*, " to it. K. Charles I. 1643.

" Thus much we have been commanded to inform you of, reverend " brethren (and by you all faithful chriſtians under your charge) by the " honourable houſe of commons, in whoſe name, and in our own, we " bid you heartily farewel in the Lord."

Your moſt affectionately devoted brethren in Chriſt,

William Twiſſe, *prolocutor*,

Cornelius Burges, John White, } *aſſeſſors*,

Henry Roborough, Adoniram Byfield, } *ſcribes*,

John Maitland, A. Johnſton, Alex. Henderſon, Sam. Rutherford, Rob. Bailie, Geo. Gilleſpie. } *Commiſſioners of the church of* Scotland.

The inſcription was, *To the reverend and learned paſtors and elders of the claſſes and churches of the province of* Zealand, *our much honoured brethren.*

Letters of the ſame import were ſent to the ſeveral churches of the *ſeven provinces*; to the churches of *Geneva*; the proteſtant cantons of *Switzerland*; the churches of *Heſſe*, *Hannaw*, and *Anhault*; and to the proteſtant congregation at *Paris*; all which were received with reſpect, and anſwered by the ſeveral claſſes. But the churches of *Bohemia*, *Tranſilvania*, *Poland*, *Sileſia*, and *Auſtria*, and other cities and principalities of *Germany*, were not written to. The anſwer from the *french* church at *Paris* was read in the aſſembly the beginning of *March*; from *Switzerland June* 12. 1644. and from *Geneva* at the ſame time; from the claſſes of *Amſterdam* and *Gelderland June* 29. and Mr. *Whitlock* obſerves, that the *Netherland* divines expreſſed not only their Hiſt. Stuarts, p. 232. *MS.* penes me.

K. Charles I. 1643. approbation of the proceedings of the parliament and aſſembly touching the covenant, but deſired to join with the two kingdoms therein.

The king apprehending himſelf miſrepreſented to the foreign churches, in that part of the aſſembly's letter which inſinuates a deſign to introduce popery, and being adviſed to vindicate his character from that imputation, cauſed a manifeſto to be drawn up in *latin* and *engliſh*, to all foreign proteſtants; which though not publiſhed till the beginning of next year, may be properly inſerted in this place.

CHARLES, *by the eſpecial providence of almighty God, king of* England, Scotland, France, *and* Ireland, *defender of the faith*, &c. *to all thoſe who profeſs the true reformed proteſtant religion, of what nation, degree, or condition ſoever they be, to whom this preſent declaration ſhall come, greeting.*

King's reply. Ruſhw. Vol. V. p. 752.

" WHEREAS we are given to underſtand, that many falſe rumours " and ſcandalous letters, are ſpread up and down among the re- " formed churches in foreign parts, by the politic, or rather the pernicious " induſtry of ſome ill affected perſons that we have an inclination to " recede from that orthodox religion which we were born, baptized, and " bred in, and which we have firmly profeſſed and practiſed through- " out the whole courſe of our life to this moment; and that we intend " to give way to the introduction, and public exerciſe of popery again, " in our dominions; which moſt deteſtable calumny being grounded up- " on no imaginable foundation, hath raiſed theſe horrid tumults, and " more than barbarous wars, throughout this flouriſhing iſland, under " pretence of a kind of reformation which is incompatible with the fun- " damental laws and government of this kingdom; we deſire that the " whole chriſtian world ſhould reſt aſſured, that we never entertained " the leaſt thought to attempt ſuch a thing, or to depart a jot from that " holy religion, which when we received the crown and ſcepter of this " kingdom, we took a moſt ſolemn ſacramental oath to profeſs and pro- " tect. Nor does our conſtant practice, and daily preſence in the ex- " erciſe of this religion, with ſo many aſſeverations at the head of our " armies, and the public atteſtation of our barons, with the *circumſpec- " tion uſed in the education of our royal offspring*, beſides divers other un- " deniable arguments only demonſtrate this, but alſo that happy alliance " of marriage we contracted between our eldeſt daughter and the illuſtri- " ous prince of *Orange*, moſt cloſely confirms the reality of our inten- " tions herein; by which it appears, that our endeavours are not only to

" make a profeſſion thereof in our own dominions, but to ſtrengthen it " abroad as much as lieth in our power. K. Charles I. 1643.

" This moſt holy religion of the *anglicane* church, ordained by ſo " many convocations of learned divines, confirmed by ſo many acts of " parliament, and ſtrengthened by ſo many royal proclamations, together " with the eccleſiaſtical diſcipline and liturgy, which the moſt eminent " proteſtant authors, as well as *germans*, *french*, *danes* and *ſwedes*, *dutch* " and *bohemians*, do with many elogies, and not without a kind of en- " vy, approve and applaud in their public writings, particularly in the " tranſactions of the ſynod of *Dort*, wherein (beſides others of our di- " vines who were afterwards prelates) one of our biſhops aſſiſted, to " whoſe dignity all due reſpects and precedency were given; this reli- " gion, we ſay, which our royal father of bleſſed memory, doth pub- " lickly aſſert in his famous conceſſion addreſſed to all chriſtian princes, " with the hierarchy and liturgy thereof, we ſolemnly proteſt, that by " the help of God, we will endeavour to our utmoſt power, and laſt " period of our life, to keep intire and inviolable; and will be care- " ful, according to our duty to heaven, and the tenor of our oath " at our coronation, that all our eccleſiaſtics, in their ſeveral degrees and " incumbencies, ſhall preach and practiſe. Whereof we command all " our miniſters of ſtate beyond the ſeas, as well ambaſſadors as reſidents, " agents and meſſengers; and we deſire all the reſt of our loving ſub- " jects that ſojourn in foreign parts, to communicate and aſſert this our " ſolemn and ſincere proteſtation, when opportunity of time and place " ſhall be offered."

Given in our univerſity and city of Oxford, May 14. 1644.

This declaration did the king little ſervice among foreign proteſtants, for though it aſſured them his majeſty would not turn papiſt, it convinced them that no alteration in the *engliſh* hierarchy was to be expected. His marrying his daughther to the prince of *Orange* was perhaps the only evidence of his charity for the *dutch* reformation; his appeal to the education of his children was trifling, when all the world knew they were under *popiſh inſtructors*, in purſuance of a marriage contract, till twelve or fourteen years of age, and had received impreſſions not to be eaſily defaced. His inſinuating to the foreign churches, that their moſt learned divines preferred the *engliſh* hierarchy to the government of their own countries, convinced them they ought to be more ſparing of their compliments for the future, to perſons who would draw ſuch concluſions from them. As to the ſynod of *Dort*, no precedence was given to the *Remarks.*

K. Charles I. 1643.

biſhop on account of his epiſcopal character, but as a baron of the *engliſh* parliament. Nor is there any thing in the declaration that might encourage the foreign clergy to hope his majeſty would own their churches, miniſters, or ſacraments, or unite with them againſt the common enemy of the reformation, any more than before theſe unhappy troubles began.

All the epiſcopal divines left the aſſembly before the bringing in of the covenant, except Dr. *Featly*, who was expelled for holding correſpondence with archbiſhop *Uſher* at *Oxford*, and for revealing their proceedings, contrary to the expreſs words of the ordinance, which obliges them *not to divulge by printing or writing or otherwiſe, their opinions or advices, touching the matters propoſed to them by parliament, without the conſent of both or either houſes.* The doctor was a learned man, and a *calviniſt*, upon which account the aſſembly paid him a high regard, and indulged him in all his ſpeeches in favour of epiſcopacy, and againſt the *covenant*, ſome of which were afterwards publiſhed to the world. They appointed him to anſwer a popiſh pamphlet called the *Safeguard*; and he bore a part in the annotations on the bible, which go under the name of the aſſembly. Lord *Clarendon* ſays, the king ſent him a letter forbidding him to ſit any longer, but that the doctor excuſed it in a letter to archbiſhop *Uſher*, which being intercepted, he was committed priſoner to Lord *Peter*'s houſe in *Alderſgate-ſtreet* as a ſpy; the archbiſhop at the ſame time being declared incapable of ſitting in the aſſembly for the like reaſon. And here was an end of all the public concern the epiſcopal party had in the government of the church till the reſtoration.

Diſcipline of the church diſſolved.

From the time of taking the *covenant*, we may date the entire diſſolution of the hierarchy, though it was not yet aboliſhed by an ordinance of parliament. There were no eccleſiaſtical courts, no viſitations, no wearing the habits, no regard paid to the canons or ceremonies, nor even to the common-prayer itſelf. The archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, by an ordinance of *May* 16. had been forbid to collate any benefices in his gift, but to perſons nominated by parliament; for diſobedience to which he was by another ordinance of *June* 10. "ſuſpended *ab officio & beneficio*, "and from all archiepiſcopal juriſdiction, till he ſhould be acquitted, or "convicted of the high treaſon of which he was impeached; and as to "ſuch livings, dignities, promotions, *&c.* in the ſaid archbiſhop's gift "or collation, as are, or ſhall hereafter become void, inſtitution or in-"duction, ſhall henceforward be given by the archbiſhop's vicar general, "or any other having authority on his behalf, upon the nomination and "recommendation of both houſes of parliament." By this extraordinary method the reverend Mr. *Corbet* was inducted into the living of *Chat-*

Parliament nominate men to livings.

ham, ratione ſuſpenſionis dom. Guil. *archiepiſcopi* Cant. *& ſequeſtrationis temporalium archiepiſcopatus in manibus ſupremae curiae parliamenti, jam exiſtentis. By reaſon of the ſuſpenſion of the archbiſhop of* Canterbury, *and the ſequeſtration of the temporalities of his archbiſhopric into the hands of the preſent high court of parliament, the ſame belonging to their gift.* K. Charles I. 1643.

But this ordinance was of no long continuance, for upon the ſitting of the aſſembly of divines, all church buſineſs went through their hands; the *pariſhes* elected their miniſters, the *aſſembly* examined and approved them, and the *parliament* confirmed them in their benefices without any regard to the archbiſhop or his vicar. Thus the earl of *Mancheſter* filled the vacant pulpits in the aſſociated counties; and when lord *Fairfax* was authorized to ſupply thoſe in the north, by an ordinance of *Feb.* 27. the preamble ſays, "the houſes being credibly informed that many miniſters in the county of *York* were not only of a ſcandalous life, but having left their churches and cures, had withdrawn themſelves wilfully from the ſame, and joined ſuch forces as had been raiſed againſt the parliament, and aſſiſted them with men, money, horſes, and arms; therefore it is ordained, that lord *Fairfax* be authorized to fill up their places, with ſuch learned and godly divines as he ſhall think fit, with advice of the aſſembly." Parl. Chr. part IV. p. 128.

Committee to examine clergymen.

This created a great deal of buſineſs; for though the aſſembly had not a parliamentary authority to *ordain*, yet the examination and approbation of ſuch clergymen already in orders, as petitioned for ſequeſtered livings, being by expreſs order of the two houſes referred to them, they were obliged to chuſe a ſelect committee for this work; their names were,

The Rev. Dr. Gouge,	*The Rev.* Mr. Conant,
Dr. Staunton,	Mr. Gower,
Dr. Lightfoot,	Mr. Colman,
Dr. Smith,	Mr. Hill,
Dr. Temple.	Mr. Corbet,
Dr. Tuckney,	Mr. Gataker,
Dr. Hoyle,	Mr. Herle,
Dr. Burges,	Mr. Hall,
Dr. Spurſtow,	Mr. Whitaker,
Mr. Ley,	Mr. Bathurſt,
Mr. Reynolds,	Mr. Cheynel.

Their method of examination.

The method of examination was this; the names of the miniſters who petitioned for livings, or were recommended by either houſe of parliament, being publiſhed in the aſſembly two or three days before the examina-

K. Charles I. 1643.

examination, liberty was given in that time to make exceptions to their characters; if nothing was objected they were examined by the committee, or any five of them, who reported their qualifications to the houſe, upon which each candidate received a certificate from the aſſembly to the following effect:

"ACCORDING to an order bearing date—from the committee of "the houſe of commons for plundered miniſters, to the commit- "tee of divines for the examination of *A. B.* concerning his fitneſs to be "admitted to the benefit of the ſequeſtration of the church of———, "in the county of———, and ſo to officiate in the cure thereof, theſe "are to certify the ſaid committee of plundered miniſters, that upon "examination of the ſaid *A. B.* and ſome trial of his gifts and abili- "ties, we conceive him fit to officiate in the cure of———, in the "county aforeſaid. In witneſs whereof we have hereunto ſubſcribed "our names."

The ſcribes of the *aſſembly* were ordered to keep a record of all orders and certificates concerning miniſters recommended to ſequeſtrators, and to enter them in a regiſter book. This continued for about a year, till the new directory and form of church government took place.

Death of Mr. Chillingworth.

Towards the latter end of this year died *William Chillingworth*, A.M. whom I mention not as a *puritan*, but as a witneſs againſt ſome of thoſe hardſhips the *preſent diſſenters* complain of; he was born at *Oxford*, 1602. and educated in *Magdalen-College*, of which he became fellow in *June* 1628. He afterwards turned *romon* catholic, and went to the jeſuits college at St. *Omers*, where not being thoroughly ſatisfied in ſome of their principles he returned to *England*, 1631. and having embraced the religion of the church of *England*, publiſhed an excellent treatiſe, entitled *The Religion of Proteſtants a ſafe Way to Salvation*, for which he was preferred to the chancellorſhip of the church of *Sarum*, and made maſter of *Wygſton hoſpital* in *Leiceſter*. He was inſerted in the liſt with other loyaliſts to be created D.D. in the year 1642. but came not thither to receive that honour. It was the general opinion of the times that he was a *ſocinian*, but in his laſt letter at the end of his works, he appears an *Arian*. 'Tis very certain he refuſed to ſubſcribe the thirty-nine articles for ſome years after his converſion, (1.) Becauſe he did not believe the morality of the fourth commandment. (2.) Becauſe he did not agree to the damnatory clauſes in the *athanaſian* creed, and therefore could not read the common-prayer. He objected alſo to the twentieth article,

Chill. Life, p. 370.

Chill. *letter to Dr.* Sheldon, *at the end of his works*, p. 5.

article, *of the churches power to decree rites and ceremonies*; to the nineteenth article, *that works done before the grace of Chriſt*, &c. *are not pleaſing to God*; and indeed, ſays the writer of his life, to the articles in general, as an impoſition on men's conſciences, much like the authority which the church of *Rome* aſſumes. K. Charles I. 1643. p. 101.

Mr. *Chillingworth* bleſſes God, that when he had entertained ſome thoughts of ſubſcription, two unexpected impediments diverted him from it; "for (ſays he) I profeſs, ſince I entertained it I never enjoyed quiet "day nor night, till now that I have rid myſelf of it again; and I plain-"ly perceive, that if I had ſwallowed this pill, howſoever gilded over "with gloſſes and reſervations, and wrapt up in conſerves of *good in-"tentions and purpoſes*, yet it would never have agreed nor ſtayed with "me, but I ſhould have caſt it up again, and with it whatſoever pre-"ferment I ſhould have gained as the wages of unrighteouſneſs; but "now I thank God, I am reſolved that I will never do that while I am "living and in health, which I would not do if I was dying; and this "I am ſure I would not do, and therefore whenever I make ſuch a "prepoſterous choice, I will give you leave to believe, that I am out of "my wits or do not believe in God—" Notwithſtanding theſe reſolutions, he was prevailed with to ſubſcribe, by his godfather archbiſhop *Laud*, to qualify him for the above-mentioned preferments. *How the pill* was gilded over is not certain; the writer of his life ſays he ſubſcribed as articles of peace, not of belief. Mr. *Chillingworth* was a quick diſputant, and of very high principles, for in one of his ſermons before the king, he ſays, that *the moſt unjuſt and tyrannical violence of princes may not be rejected; this being unlawful, even though princes be moſt impious, tyrannical, and idolatrous.* But though his political principles were high, he was low enough with regard to the authority of councils, fathers, and convocations, in matters of faith; adhering ſtedfaſtly to that celebrated declaration, *that the* BIBLE *alone is the religion of a proteſtant.* He was an excellent mathematician, and ſerved as engineer in *Arundel Caſtle* in *Suſſex*, in which he was taken priſoner, and when indiſpoſed had the favour of being lodged in the biſhop's houſe at *Chicheſter*, where he died *Jan.* 20. 1643-4. 'Tis ſurpriſing, that lord *Clarendon* ſhould ſay, *the parliament clergy proſecuted him with all the inhumanity imaginable, ſo that by their barbarous uſage he died within a few days*; when, as he himſelf acknowledged, he wanted for nothing; and by the intereſt of Dr. *Cheynel* who attended him in his ſickneſs, was courteouſly uſed. The doctor would have reaſoned him out of ſome of his principles but could not prevail, and therefore at his interment, after a reflecting ſpeech upon his character, threw his book, entitled *The Religion of Proteſtants a ſafe Way*

Chilling. L. p. 97. p. 162.

Chill. Life, Ib. p. 314.

K. Charles I. 1643.

Way to ſalvation, into the grave ſaying, "Get thee gone, thou curſed "book, which haſt ſeduced ſo many precious ſouls; earth to earth, duſt "to duſt; get thee into the place of rottenneſs, that thou mayſt rot "with thy author, and ſee corruption." A moſt unchriſtian and uncharitable imprecation!

Ib. p. 362.

Character of Mr. Hampden.

Among the conſiderable ſtates-men who died this year, may be juſtly reckoned *John Hampden*, Eſq; of *Buckinghamſhire*, a gentleman of good extraction, and one of the greateſt patriots of his age, as appears by his ſtanding trial with the king in the caſe of *ſhip-money*, which raiſed his reputation to a very great height throughout this kingdom. He was not a man of many words, but a very weighty ſpeaker; his reputation for integrity univerſal, and his affections ſo publickly guided, that no corrupt or private ends could biaſs them. He was indeed a very wiſe man, of great parts and modeſty, and poſſeſſed of the moſt abſolute ſpirit of popularity (ſays lord *Clarendon*) I ever knew. He was one of the impeached members of the houſe of commons, and in the beginning of the war took the command of a regiment, and performed the duty of a colonel on all occaſions punctually, being a man of great perſonal courage, not to be tired out by the moſt *laborious*, and of parts not to be impoſed upon by the moſt *ſubtle*, but becauſe he fought againſt the court, lord *Clarendon* ſays (if this be not an interpolation of the editors) that he had *a head to contrive, a tongue to perſwade, and a hand to execute any miſchief*. A moſt unaccountable character of one whom his lordſhip had commended as a perſon not only of chearfulneſs and affability, but of extraordinary ſobriety and ſtrictneſs of life. Mr. *Hampden* was certainly in all reſpects one of the greateſt and beſt men of his age, and the parliament ſuſtained an irreparable loſs in his death, which happened *June* 24. about a week after his ſhoulder bone had been broken by a muſket ball, in a ſkirmiſh with prince *Rupert*'s forces in *Chalgrave-field*.

Hiſt. Stuarts, p. 227.

Character of Mr. Pym.

John Pym, Eſq; member for *Taviſtock* in all the parliaments of king *Charles* I. was a man of the greateſt experience in parliamentary affairs of any man of his time. He was an admirable ſpeaker, and by the gravity of his countenance and graceful behaviour, could turn the houſe which way he pleaſed; he was a man of buſineſs and for moderate meaſures, according to lord *Clarendon*, till the king impeached him of high treaſon. In his private life he was eminent for true piety and exactneſs of manners; and though inclined to the puritan party, not averſe to the hierarchy with ſome emendations. He was one of the lay-members of the aſſembly of divines, and at the head of all public buſineſs, the fatigue of which wore out his conſtitution, and put an end to his life, *December* 8. 1643. in

in the ſixtieth year of his age. The news of no man's death was more welcome to the royaliſts than his, who ſpread a report, that he died of the *morbus pediculoſus*, to confute which aſperſion, his body was expoſed to public view for many days, and at laſt interred in the moſt honourable manner in *Weſtminſter-Abby*. A little before his death, he publiſhed his own vindication to the world, againſt the many ſlanders that went abroad concerning him, wherein "he declares himſelf a faithful ſon of the "proteſtant religion, and of the orthodox doctrine of the church of "*England*. He confeſſes he had been for reforming abuſes in the govern- "ment of the church, when the biſhops, inſtead of taking care of men's "ſouls, were baniſhing their bodies into the moſt deſolate places; bring- "ing in new canons, *arminian* and *pelagian* errors, and ſuch a number of "rites and ceremonies, as the people were not able to bear.——When "ſince that time they had as much as in them lay, fomented the civil "differences between the king and his parliament, abetting and encour- "aging malignants with large ſupplies of men and money, and ſtirring up "the people to tumults by their ſeditious ſermons. For theſe reaſons (ſays "he) I gave my opinion for aboliſhing their functions, which, I con- "ceive, may as well be done as the diſſolution of monaſteries monks "and friars was, in king *Henry* the eighth's time. He concludes with de- "claring, that he was not the author of the preſent diſtractions; with ac- "knowledging the king for his lawful ſovereign, but thinks when "he was, proſcribed for a traitor, meerly for the ſervice of his country, "no man can blame him for taking care of his own ſafety, by flying for "refuge to the protection of parliament, who were pleaſed to make *his* "*caſe their own*."

K. Charles I. 1643.

Ruſhw. p. 376.

CHAP. III.

The Oxford *parliament. Progreſs of the war. Viſitation of the univerſity of* Cambridge, *by the earl of* Manchester. *Committees for plundered, ſequeſtered, and ſcandalous miniſters.*

THE campaign being ended without any proſpect of peace, both parties endeavoured to ſtrengthen themſelves by new and ſovereign acts of power. The parliament experiencing the want of a *great ſeal* for many purpoſes, gave orders that one ſhould be made. They continued to liſt ſoldiers, to levy taxes, and to uſe every method to ſupport their cauſe, which their policy ſuggeſted, and their neceſſity urged. On the

1643-4.

The Oxford *parliament.*

Ruſhw. Vol. V. p. 560.

K. Charles I. 1643-4.

other hand, the king raiſed contributions without form of law; ordered the removal of the courts of juſtice from *Weſtminſter*; and that he might ſeem to act in a parliamentary way, ſummoned the members who had been expelled the houſes, and all others willing to withdraw from the rebellious city of *London*, to meet him at *Oxford*, *January* 22, 1643-4. which was, in effect, diſannulling the act for continuing of the preſent parliament. In obedience to the proclamation, there appeared forty-nine peers, and one hundred forty-one of the houſe of commons, not reckoning thoſe employed in his majeſty's ſervice, or abſent with leave. Lord *Clarendon* ſays, the appearance of both houſes with the king, was ſuperior in number, as well as quality, to thoſe at *Weſtminſter*; which muſt be a miſtake; for though the majority of peers were on that ſide, Mr. *Whitlock* aſſures us, that upon a call of the houſe of commons, the very day the others were to meet at *Oxford*, there were preſent two hundred and eighty members, not reckoning one hundred more, who were engaged in their ſervice in the ſeveral counties. This is a very conſiderable majority, though if there had been only *forty*, the king could not have prorogued or diſſolved them, without their own conſent. However the *Oxford* members ſtiled themſelves the *parliament*, Lord *Littleton* being ſpeaker for the peers, and ſerjeant *Evers* for the commons. Their firſt ſtep was to ſatisfy the world they deſired peace, ſuch a peace, to uſe the king's own words, "wherein God's true religion may be ſecured from "the danger of popery, ſectaries, and innovations; the crown may poſ-"ſeſs thoſe juſt prerogatives, which may enable me to govern my people "according to law, and the ſubjects be confirmed in thoſe rights which I "have granted them in parliament, to which I ſhall be ready to add ſuch "new *graces*, as I ſhall find may moſt conduce to their happineſs." They laid an exciſe upon *tobacco*, *wine*, *ſtrong-waters*, *ale*, *cyder*, *grocery* and *mercery wares*, *ſoap*, *ſalt*, and *butcher's meat*, and ſubſcribed conſiderable ſums of money for ſupport of the war; they declared the *Scots* then entering *England* with an army, *traytors*, and the lords and commons at *Weſtminſter*, guilty of *high treaſon*, for inviting them, as well as for counterfeiting the *great ſeal*. On the other hand, the parliament at *Weſtminſter* would not acknowledge the *Oxford* members, or receive a meſſage from them under the character of a parliament, but expelled them their houſe, except they returned to their ſeats within a limited time. *April* 16. the king prorogued his *Oxford* members, to *November* following, when they fell under his diſpleaſure, for adviſing to pacific meaſures at the treaty of *Uxbridge*, which was then upon the carpet, and in a fair way of producing an accommodation. This was ſo diſagreeable to the queen, and her *roman* catholic counſellors, that they never left off teazing the unhappy king, till he had diſmiſſed them, and broke

Clar. rem. p. 165.

Mem. p. 76.

Ruſhw. p. 567, 688. Rapin, p. 202, 230. H ſt Stuarts, p. 246.

Ruſhw. Vol. V. p. 383. Rapin, p. 186, 192.

broke off the treaty; an account of which, he ſent her in the following letter, which ſeems to breathe an air of too great ſatisfaction. *K.* Charles I. 1643-4.

Dear Heart,

King's letter to the queen.

"WHAT I told thee laſt week, concerning a good parting with our "lords and commons here, was on *Monday* laſt handſomly per- "formed; now if I do any thing unhandſome, or diſadvantagious to my "ſelf or friends, in order to a treaty, it will be meerly my own fault— "Now I promiſe thee, if the treaty be renewed (which I believe it will "not) without ſome eminent good ſucceſs on my ſide, it ſhall be to my "honour and advantage, I being now as well free from the place of baſe "and mutinous motion (that is to ſay, our *mungrel parliament* here) as "of the chief cauſers, for whom I may juſtly expect to be chidden by "thee, for having ſuffered thee to be vexed by them—

Mr. *Whitlock* ſays, this aſſembly ſat again at *Oxford* in the year 1645. and voted againſt the *directory*, and for the common prayer; but the king's cauſe being grown deſperate, they ſoon after ſhifted for themſelves, and made their peace at *Weſtminſter*, upon the beſt terms they could obtain.

Scots *army enters* England. Ruſhw. Vol. VI. p. 603.

On the 19th of *January* 1643-4, the *ſcots* army, conſiſting of twenty one thouſand men, under the command of general *Leven*, croſſed the *Tweed* at *Berwick*, and enter'd *England*. The two houſes ſent a committee to meet them, which being joined by another of that nation, was called the *committee of both kingdoms*, and were a ſort of camp parliament, to direct the motions of the army, which after ſome time united with the lord *Fairfax*'s forces, and with thoſe under the command of the earl of *Mancheſter*, and lieutenant general *Cromwel*, from the aſſociated counties. The united armies laid ſiege to the city of *York*, which prince *Rupert* having relieved, occaſioned the battle of *Marſton Moor*, wherein the prince was routed, with the loſs of three thouſand men and his whole train of artillery; and thereupon the marquis of *Newcaſtle*, leaving the royal army, embarked with divers lords and gentlemen for *Hamburgh*, prince *Rupert* retiring towards *Cheſter*, and deſerting all the northern garriſons to the mercy of the enemy, which falling into their hands next ſummer, concluded the war in thoſe parts.

E. *of* Eſſex *defeated in* Cornwall. Ruſhw. Vol. V. p. 691, 701, 705, 710.

His majeſty however had better ſucceſs in the weſt, where being ſtrengthened by prince *Maurice*, he followed the earl of *Eſſex*, and ſhut up his army within the narrow parts of *Cornwal*, ſo that he could neither engage or retreat. Here the king invited the earl to make his peace, but he chooſing rather to retire in a boat to *Plymouth*, left his men to the fortune of war. As ſoon as the general was gone, the horſe under the com-

K. Charles I. 1644.

mand of Sir *William Balfour*, bravely forced their way through the royal quarters by night; but the foot under the command of major general *Skippon*, were obliged to ſurrender their arms, artillery, ammunition and baggage, conſiſting of forty braſs cannon, two hundred barrels of powder, match and ball proportionable, ſeven hundred carriages, and between eight and nine hundred arms, and to ſwear not to bear arms againſt the king, till they came into *Hampſhire*. This was the greateſt diſgrace the parliament's forces underwent in the courſe of the war, the foot being forced to travel in a naked and ſtarving condition to *Portſmouth*, where they were ſupplied with new cloaths and arms. And now again, the king made offers of ſuch a peace, as he ſays, he had been labouring for, that is, to be reſtored to his prerogatives as before the war; but the houſes would not ſubmit.

Riſe of the club men. Rapin, p. 239.

Upon the defeat of the earl of *Eſſex*, his majeſty reſolved to march directly for *London*, and upon the road iſſued a proclamation, *September* 30. requiring all his loving ſubjects to appear in arms, and accompany him in his preſent expedition. This gave riſe to a combination of men, diſtinguiſhed by the name of Club-Men, who aſſociated in *Worceſterſhire* and *Dorſetſhire*, agreeing to defend themſelves againſt the orders both of king and parliament. Their increaſe was owing to the prodigious ravages of the king's forces in their march. Prince *Rupert* was a fiery youth,

Character of the king's Officers. Whitl. p. 87.

and with his flying ſquadrons of horſe, burnt towns and villages, deſtroying the countries where he came, and indulging his ſoldiers in plunder and blood. In *Wales* he drove away the people's cattle, rifled their houſes, and ſpoiled their ſtanding corn. Aged and unarmed people were ſtript naked, ſome murdered in cool blood, and others half hanged and burnt, and yet ſuffered to live. "Lord *Goring* the king's general of the horſe,

Clar. Vol. II. p. 555.

"was one of the moſt finiſhed debauchees of the age, and wanted no-
"thing but induſtry to make him as eminent and ſucceſsful in the higheſt
"attempts of wickedneſs as ever any man was. *Wilmot* the lieutenant-
"general, was as great a debauchee as the other, and had no more re-
"gard to his promiſes, or any rules of honour or integrity." Sir *Richard Greenville*, who commanded the army before *Plymouth*, is repreſented by the noble hiſtorian, as having been exceeding barbarous and cruel in *Ireland*, hanging up old men and women of quality, even though they were bed-rid, if he did not find the plunder he expected; when he came into the *Weſt*, he exerciſed all kinds of cruelty, and would ſometimes make one of the company hang all the reſt, contrary to the law of arms.

P. 537.

Ib. p. 534.

And ſoldiers.

The licentiouſneſs of the king's ſoldiers, was not inferior to that of their officers, for having no regular pay, they committed rapines and plunders, without diſtinction of friends or foes; and were infamous for the

the moſt execrable oaths, and all kinds of impiety. "Lord *Goring*'s "horſe (ſays the noble hiſtorian) committed horrid outrages and barba- "rites in *Hampſhire*, and infeſted the borders of *Dorſetſhire*, *Somerſet-* "*ſhire*, and *Devon*, with unheard of rapines, ſo that the people who "were well devoted to the king, wiſhed for the acceſſion of any forces to "redeem them." They raiſed vaſt contributions in ſeveral counties, without any other pretence but the king's ſovereign pleaſure. In *Corn-* *wall* they levied ſeven hundred pounds a week; in *Devonſhire* two thouſand two hundred pounds a week, and proportionable in other parts. As the army marched along the country, they ſeized the farmers horſes, and carried them away without any conſideration. At *Barnſtable* they plundered the town, and hanged the mayor, though it was ſurrendered upon articles. At *Eveſham* the king ſent the mayor and aldermen priſoners to *Oxford*. At *Woodhouſe* in *Devonſhire*, they ſeized fourteen ſubſtantial weſt-country clothiers, who were not in arms, and hanged them, by way of repriſal for ſome *iriſh* rebels, that had been executed according to the ordinance of parliament. In ſhort, whereever they came they lived at free-quarter, and took but every thing they could, and therefore no wonder the Club Men united in their own defence.

K. Charles I. 1644. Clar. p. 631. Clar. p. 643.

The king thought to have reached *London* before the parliament could recruit their army, but the two houſes ſent immediately ſix thouſand arms, and a train of artillery to *Portſmouth*, with new clothing for the *Corniſh* ſoldiers. They ordered Sir *William Waller* and the earl of *Manchеſter* to join them, and diſpatched thither five thouſand of the city train-bands, under the command of Sir *James Harrington*, by which acceſſion they were enabled to face his majeſty's army at *Newbury October* 27, and having forced the town, which the king had fortified, after a ſmart engagement they took nine of his canon and ſeveral colours, but under covert of the night, his majeſty ſecured the reſt of his artillery in *Dennington-Caſtle*, and retreated with his broken army to *Oxford*; the parliament generals left a body of troops to block up the caſtle, being aſſured it muſt ſurrender in the winter for want of proviſion; when on a ſudden a party of the king's horſe raiſed the blockade, and carried off the artillery to *Oxford*. This occaſioned great murmurings at *London*, and quarrels among the generals, *Eſſex*, *Manchеſter*, and *Cromwel*, which ended in the new modelling of the army, as will be ſeen under the next year.

Battle of Newbury.

While the royal army was little better than a company of *banditti*, or public robbers; the parliament's were kept under the ſtricteſt diſcipline, and grew up, for the moſt part, into great diligence and ſobriety, which (ſays Lord *Clarendon*) begot courage and reſolution in them, and notable dexterity in atchievements and exerciſes. Moſt of their officers were men of religion; their ſoldiers poſſeſſed with a belief, that their cauſe was the

Character of the parliament army. Vol. III. p. 384.

cauſe

K. Charles I. 1644.

cauſe of God, and that they fought for the *proteſtant religion*, and *magna charta*; however there were among them men of diſſolute lives, who fought only for pay and plunder; ſtrange complaints being ſent up from *Bedfordſhire*, *Buckinghamſhire*, and *Suſſex*, of the diſorders of the common ſoldiers, the parliament appointed a committee to enquire into the facts, and make examples of the offenders, which put an effectual ſtop to the growing miſchief. And as the parliament were enabled, by the inexhauſtible treaſure of the city of *London*, to give their ſoldiers regular pay, they had them under ſuch ſtrict government, that they were little or no burden to the towns and villages where they were quartered.

State of affairs at the end of the year.

Upon the whole, the parliament affairs were low at the end of this year, and their counſels divided, by reaſon of the length of the war, and the king's were much worſe; for though he had triumphed over the Earl of *Eſſex* in *Cornwal*, and was maſter of the open country in the weſt, he had no acceſſion of real ſtrength, nor had taken any conſiderable garriſons: the entrance of the *Scots* broke his army in the *north*, and loſt him that part of the kingdom, whereby the parliament were enabled to draw off their forces to the *weſt*; and the worſt circumſtance of all was, that his majeſty having exhauſted his treaſure, had no way of raiſ-

Clar. Vol II. p. 389, 391.

ing a ſupply, which obliged him to connive at his ſoldiers living at free quarter; his officers being poor, quarreled in the royal preſence, and carried their reſentments to ſuch an height, that the king himſelf could not reconcile them, which had a very ill aſpect on the ſucceeding campaign. The parliament generals alſo were cenſuring each others conduct in the houſe, on occaſion of the eſcape of the king's artillery from *Dennington caſtle*. The Earl of *Eſſex*'s party were charged with a deſign of protracting the war, in order to an accommodation, while others being weary, were for putting it to a deciſive iſſue. In ſhort, both parties were in confuſion and diſtreſs; they were divided amongſt themſelves, ſome being for peace, and others for carrying on the war to the laſt extremity. All property was in a manner loſt, the farmers paying no rent to their landlords; nor could any man be ſecure of what he poſſeſſed, except he buried it under ground. The ſpirits of the contending parties were as much exaſperated as ever, and there was no ſeeing to the end of their troubles.

Affairs of the church.

To return to the church. The ſtate of the controverſy about eccleſiaſtical diſcipline was now changed; for whereas before the entrance of the *Scots*, the parliament inſiſted only upon a *reformation of the hierarchy*, now they were engaged to attempt the *total extirpation of it*, and to eſtabliſh another ſcheme for both kingdoms in its room; tho' it was a conſiderable time before this could be perfected. In the mean while, they reſolved to purge the univerſity of *Cambridge*, which was the head quarters of

their forces, that they might have a ſucceſſion of clergymen training up in the principles they had eſpouſed. *K.* Charles I. 1644.

Behaviour of the univerſity of Cambridge.

The town of *Cambridge* was in the intereſt of the parliament, but the *colleges* were ſo many little garriſons for the king, and ſanctuaries of diſaffection; the univerſity preſs was at his majeſty's diſpoſal, and their ſermons filled with invectives againſt the two houſes. Frequent quarrels happened between the townſmen and ſcholars, which would have ended in the ruin of the univerſity, had not the parliament forbid the offering any violence to the colleges, chapels, libraries and ſchools, under ſevere penalties. Indeed the *committee* enjoyned the proper officers of the pariſh, to put in execution the ordinance for deſtroying the relicks of ſuperſtition, whereby the paintings in windows, images of the deity, and a great deal of carved work was demoliſhed, at which the maſters and fellows were ſo incenſed, that when they were ordered to repair the damages, they peremptorily refuſed, and were fined forty ſhillings a college, as the ordinance directed.

Suff. Clergy, p. 168.

Suff. Cler. p. 111.

The heads of the univerſity raiſed a great clamour, at this pretended invaſion of their rights, as if the parliament intended to ſeize all their revenues, and deſtroy the very fountains of learning; whereupon the houſes publiſhed the following ordinance, *Jan.* 6, 1643-4. declaring " that none of the eſtates, rents, and revenues of the univerſity, or of " the colleges and halls reſpectively, ſhall be ſequeſtered or ſeized upon, " or in any wiſe diſpoſed of, by virtue of the ordinance for ſequeſtring " the eſtates, rents, and revenues of delinquents, but ſhall remain to the " univerſity, and the reſpective halls and colleges, to all intents and purpoſes as if the ſaid ordinance had not been made; and the rents and revenues, *&c.* are ordered to be approved of by the earl of *Mancheſter*, " and to be applied to their proper uſes as heretofore. But if any of the " heads, fellows, ſcholars, or other officers, were convicted of delinquency, the receiver was to pay their dividend into the hands of the " committee of ſequeſtrations."

Huſb. Col. p. 409.

Cambridge *viſitation.*

Ordinance for the committee of ſequeſtration.

Huſb. Col. p. 415.

This committee was founded upon an ordinance of *Jan.* 22. for regulating the univerſity of *Cambridge*, and removing ſcandalous miniſters in the ſeven aſſociated counties; the preamble ſets forth, " that the ſervice of " the parliament was retarded, the people's ſouls ſtarved, by the idle, ill-" affected, and ſcandalous clergy of the univerſity of *Cambridge*, and the " aſſociated counties; and that many who were willing to give evi-" dence againſt them, not being able to bear the charges of a journey to " *London*, the earl of *Mancheſter* was therefore empowered to appoint " committees in all the aſſociated counties, to conſiſt of ten perſons, be-" ing deputy-lieutenants, or ſuch as had been nominated to committees, " by ſome former ordinance of parliament; *five* of theſe were a *quorum*,

" and

K. Charles I. 1644.

" and they were empowered to call before them all provoſts, maſters, " and fellows of colleges, all ſtudents and members of the univerſity, all " miniſters in any of the counties of the aſſociation, all ſchool maſters, " *that were ſcandalous in their lives, or ill-affected to the parliament, or fo-* " *menters of this unnatural war, or that ſhall wilfully refuſe obedience to the* " *orders of parliament, or have deſerted their ordinary places of reſidence,* " *not being employed in the ſervice of the king and parliament.* The ſaid " committee were alſo empowered to ſend for witneſſes, and to examine " any complaints againſt the forementioned delinquents upon oath, and " to certify the names of the perſons accuſed to the earl of *Mancheſter*, " with the charge and proof, who ſhall have power to eject ſuch as he " ſhall judge unfit for their places; to ſequeſter their eſtates, means and " revenues, and to diſpoſe of them as he ſhall think fit, and place others " in their room, being firſt approved by the aſſembly of divines ſitting " at *Weſtminſter*. He had alſo power to order the *covenant* to be admi- " niſtered where he thought fit, and to aſſign the fifths of ſequeſtered " eſtates for the benefit of their wives and children." The ordinance makes no mention of the doctrine or diſcipline of the church, ſeeming to be levelled only againſt thoſe who took part with the king in the war.

Character of earl of Manchester.

Clarend. Vol. I. p. 183. Vol. II. p. 211.

The earl of *Mancheſter*, who was at the head of theſe ſequeſtrations, was ſtiled in the life-time of his father, lord *Kimbolton*, and was one of the impeached members of the houſe of commons: Lord *Clarendon* obſerves, that " he was of a genteel and generous nature; that his natural " civility and good manners flowed to all men, and that he was never " guilty of any rudeneſs, even to thoſe whom he was obliged to oppreſs; " that he long and heartily wiſhed for the reſtoration, and never forfeited " that grace and favour, to which his majeſty received him after his re- " turn." The earl repaired in perſon to *Cambridge*, about the middle of *February*, with his two chaplains Mr. *Aſhe* and Mr. *Good*, and by his warrant of the 24th inſtant, required the heads of the ſeveral colleges and halls to ſend him their ſtatutes, with the names of their members, and to certify who were preſent, and who abſent, with the expreſs time of their diſcontinuance. Two days after, the officers of each college and hall were ordered to give ſpeedy advertiſement to the maſters, fellows, ſcholars, *&c.* to repair to *Cambridge* by the 10th of *March*, in order to anſwer ſuch enquiries as ſhould be made by himſelf or his commiſſioners. But the earl being informed, that this notice was too ſhort, the time was prolonged to the 3d of *April*, when the earl ſummoned Mr. *Tunſtal* and Mr. *Palgrave*, fellows of *Corpus Chriſti college*, to appear before the commiſſioners at the *Bear-Inn*, in *Cambridge*, on penalty of ejectment. Warrants of the ſame nature were ſent to ſeveral of the fellows of *Caius*, St. *John*'s, *Queen*'s, *Peter Houſe*, *Sidney*, *Trinity*, *Chriſt*'s, *Magdalen*, and

Manner of his proceeding. Suff. Cler. p. 112.

and *Jeſus colleges*; and to *Pembroke* and *Clare Hall*; who not appearing according to the ſummons, were by a warrant of *April* 8. ejected, to the number of ſixty-five. The reaſons aſſigned for their expulſion were, *non-reſidence*, and *not returning upon due ſummons, and ſeveral other political miſdemeanors*. If the parties ejected returned after this, they were required not to continue in the univerſity above three days, on pain of impriſonment, and confiſcation of their goods; their names were put out of the *butteries*, and the profits of their places reſerved for their ſucceſſors. Not one fellow or ſtudent in *Trinity Hall*, or *Katherine Hall*, was turned out, but all *Queen's-College* was evacuated. K. Charles I. 1644. Suff. Cler. p. 151, 160.

The *covenant* which was read *March* 18. in the churches and chapels of the town and univerſity, and tendered to the inhabitants and ſoldiers, was not offered to the whole univerſity, but only to ſuch of whoſe diſaffection they had ſufficient evidence. Arch-biſhop *Tillotſon* ſays, the greateſt part of the fellows of *King's College* were exempted, by the intereſt of Dr. *Witchcott*, ; and no doubt others who had behaved peaceably, obtained the ſame favour. Dr. *Barwick* author of the *Querela Cantabrigienſis*, a famous loyaliſt, mentions an *oath of diſcovery* for the univerſity, like that of the oath *ex officio*; but Mr. *Fuller* the hiſtorian, about the year 1653. having requeſted an account of this oath from Mr. *Aſhe* the earl's chaplain, he returned for anſwer, that he remembered no ſuch thing. Mr. *Fuller* adds, that he is upon juſt grounds daily confirmed in his confidence, that neither the earl of *Manchеſter*, or any under him by his command or conſent, enforced ſuch an oath. Covenant *not tendered to the whole univerſity.* Introd. Suff. Cler. p. 113. Appeal, p. 72.

The whole number of graduates expelled the univerſity in this and the following years, by the earl of *Manchеſter* and his commiſſioners, including maſters and fellows of colleges, were according to Dr. *Walker*, near two hundred, beſides inferior ſcholars, which was ſomething more than one half; for the ſame author tells us in another place, there were about three hundred fifty-five fellowſhips in the ſeveral houſes of the univerſity; above one hundred and fifty kept their places, and far the greateſt part of the reſt, had deſerted their ſtations and fled to the king. There were ſix heads of colleges out of ſixteen that complied, (*viz.*) Dr. *Bainbrigge* of *Chriſt's College*, Dr. *Eden* of *Trinity Hall*, Dr. *Richard Love* of *Bennet College*, Dr. *Brownrigge* of *Katharine Hall*, ejected in the year 1645. Dr. *Bachcroft* of *Caius College*, and Dr. *Rainbow* of *Magdalen College*. The ten who were ejected by the earl of *Manchеſter*, *March* 13, or ſome little time after, with the names of their ſucceſſors, are contained in the following table. *Numbers ejected.* Introd. Suff. Cler. p. 114. Suff. Cler. p. 163.

K. Charles I. 1644.

Maſters turn'd out.	*Colleges.*	*Succeeded by*
Dr. Jn. Coſins, *from*	*Peter Houſe*	Dr. Laz. Seaman,
Dr. Tho. Paſke,	*Clare Hall*	Dr. R. Cudworth,
Dr. Benj. Laney,	*Pembroke Hall*	Mr. Rich. Vines,
Dr. Sam. Collins,	*King's college*	Dr. Ben. Witchcott,
Dr. Edw. Martin,	*Queen's College*	Mr. Herb. Palmer,
Dr. Rich. Stern,	*Jeſus College*	Dr. T. Young,
Dr. Will. Beale,	St. *John's College*	Dr. J. Arrowſmith,
Dr. Tho. Comber,	*Trinity Hall*	Dr. Tho. Hill,
Dr. R. Holdſworth,	*Eman. College*	Dr. Ant. Tuckney,
Dr. Sam. Warn,	*Sidney College*	Dr. Rich. Minſhull,
Anno 1645. Dr. Ralph Brownrigge,	*Kath. Hall*	Dr. W. Spurſtow, *and afterwards,* Dr. Lightfoot.

Reaſonableneſs of it.

It has been objected to the proceedings of the commiſſioners, that they were not according to the ſtatutes of the univerſity; to which it was replied, that the nation was in a ſtate of war; that theſe gentlemen were declared enemies to the proceedings of parliament; that they inſtilled into their pupils, the unlawfulneſs of reſiſting the king upon any pretence whatſoever, and preached upon theſe ſubjects to the people. It was therefore neceſſary to take the education of the youth out of their hands, which could not be done any other way at preſent; but in all future elections they returned to the ſtatutes——It has been ſaid further, that it was a great loſs to learning, becauſe thoſe who ſucceeded were not equal to thoſe who were ejected. Had this been true, it is no ſufficient reaſon for keeping them in their places, in a time of war, if they were enemies to the conſtitution and liberties of their country. But the beſt way of determining the queſtion as to their learning, is by comparing their reſpective characters.

Walker's attempt. p. 114.

Characters of the ejected profeſſors.

Dr. COSINS had been ſequeſtered by the parliament in the year 1640. for his high principles, and was retired to *France*, where he continued till the reſtoration, and was then preferred to the rich biſhoprick of *Durham:* He was a learned man, of an open frank and generous temper, and well verſed in the canons councils and fathers.

Suff. Cler. p. 68.

Ib. p. 141.

Dr. PASKE lived peaceably and chearfully under the parliament, and was reinſtated in all his livings at the reſtoration, except the maſterſhip of this college, which he quitted to his ſon. The *querela cantab* ſays, he was

was eminent for learning; but I do not remember that he has given any ſpecimens of it to the world. K. Charles I. 1644.

Dr. LANEY was firſt chaplain to Dr. *Neil*, and afterwards prebendary of *Weſtminſter*; he was one of the king's divines at the treaty of *Uxbridge*, and attended upon king *Charles* II. in his exile; after the reſtoration he was ſucceſſively biſhop of *Peterborough*, *Lincoln*, and *Ely*, and was more favourable to the non-conformiſts than ſome of his brethren. He has ſome ſermons extant, and a ſmall treatiſe againſt *Hobbes*. Ib. p. 153. Calamy's abridg. p. 173.

Dr. COLLINS was *regius profeſſor*, provoſt of *King's College*, and rector of *Fenny Ditton*; of which laſt he was deprived by the earl of *Mancheſter*, for his ſteady adherence to the royal cauſe. He kept his provoſtſhip till the year 1645. and his profeſſorſhip much longer. He died in the year 1651. and had the reputation of a great ſcholar (ſays Dr. *Barwick*,) and his name was famous in foreign univerſities, though he has tranſmitted very little down to poſterity. Suff. Cler. p. 150.

Dr. MARTIN was one of archbiſhop *Laud*'s chaplains, and one of Mr. *White*'s ſcandalous miniſters; he was accuſed not only of practiſing the late innovations, and of being in the ſcheme of reconciling the church of *England* with *Rome*; but of ſtealing wheat ſheaves out of the field in harveſt on the ſabbath day, and laying them to his tithe ſtock. He was very high in his principles, and was impriſoned for ſending the univerſity plate to the king. After his enlargement, he retired to *France*, and at the reſtoration was preferred to the deanry of *Ely*. *Loyd* ſays he was a godly man, and excellently well ſkilled in the canon, civil, and common law; but Mr. *Prynne* gives him a very indifferent character; and biſhop *Kennet* acknowledges his principles were rigid, and his temper ſour. Ken. chr. p. 670.

Dr. STERN was another of archbiſhop *Laud*'s chaplains, and impriſoned for the ſame reaſon as the former. He afterwards aſſiſted the archbiſhop on the ſcaffold, and lived retired till the reſtoration, when he was made biſhop of *Carliſle*, and in 1664. archbiſhop of *York*. He had a ſober, honeſt, mortified aſpect, but was of very arbitrary principles, and a very uncharitable temper; for when Mr. *Baxter*, at the *Savoy* conference, was entreating the biſhops not to caſt out ſo many miniſters in the *nation*, he made this mean remark to his brethren, that Mr. *Baxter* would not uſe the word *kingdom* leſt he ſhould own a king. Suff. Cler. p. 146.

Dr. BEALE was alſo impriſoned for ſending the univerſity plate to the king; after his enlargement he retired to *Oxford*, and was one of the preachers before the court, but upon the declining of the king's cauſe, he retired to *Madrid*, where he died about the year 1651. He was a man of very high principles; though if we may believe the *querela*, a perſon of ſuch worth, as rendered him above the reach of commendation. Suff. Cler. p. 148.

K. Charles I. 1644.

Dr. COMBER was another of the king's chaplains, though impriſoned and deprived, for ſending the univerſity plate to the king; after his enlargement he lived privately till the year 1654. when he died; he was a learned man, and of great piety and charity.

Dr. HOLDSWORTH had been a celebrated preacher in the city of *London*, and divinity profeſſor in *Greſham-College*; he was afterwards choſen maſter of *Emanuel-College Cambridge*, and was a zealous advocate for the king, for which he was ſometime under confinement. He attended his majeſty at *Hampton Court* and the *Iſle of Wight*, and ſoon after died with grief. He was a pious and charitable man, but high in his principles, and of an haſty paſſionate temper. He publiſhed one ſermon in his lifetime, and after his death his friends publiſhed his *Prelectiones*, and a volume of ſermons.

Dr. WARD was one of the *engliſh* divines at the ſynod of *Dort*, and nominated of the committee of divines that ſat in the *Jeruſalem-Chamber*, and of the aſſembly at *Weſtminſter*, though he never ſat; he was a very learned man, and died ſoon after his ejectment.

Dr. BROWNRIGGE was inſtalled biſhop of *Exeter* 1642. and deprived of his maſterſhip in the year 1645. for ſome expreſſions in his ſermon upon the king's inauguration. He was an excellent man, and of a peaceable and quiet diſpoſition; after the war he was allowed the liberty of the pulpit, and was choſen maſter of the *Temple*, where he died about the year 1659.

Far be it from me to detract from the perſonal merit of any of theſe ſufferers, or from their rank in the commonwealth of learning; but their political principles, like thoſe of archbiſhop *Laud*, were certainly inconſiſtent with the conſtitution and liberties of *England*, and expoſed them very naturally to the reſentments of the parliament in theſe boiſterous times.

Thoſe who ſucceeded the ejected *maſters*, having been firſt examined and approved by the aſſembly of divines at *Weſtminſter*, were theſe;

And of their ſucceſſors. Calamy's Abridg. Vol. II. p. 16.

Dr. LAZARUS SEAMAN, a very conſiderable divine, according to Mr. *Wood*, a compleat maſter of the oriental languages, an excellent caſuiſt, and a judicious moving preacher. He was well verſed in the controverſy of church government, which made the parliament ſend him with their commiſſioners to the iſle of *Wight*, where his majeſty was pleaſed to take particular notice of his abilities. He was ejected out of his maſterſhip of *Peter-Houſe* in 1662. and died in 1667. He printed ſeveral ſermons, and a *Vindication of the Judgment of the reformed Churches concerning ordination.*

Dr.

Dr. RALPH CUDWORTH is ſo univerſally known in the learned world for his great learning, which he diſcovered in his *intellectual ſyſtem*, that I ſhall only obſerve, he conformed at the reſtoration, and a little before reſigned his maſterſhip of *Clare-Hall* into the hands of Dr. *Dillingham*, who continued in it to his death. *K.* Charles I. 1644.

Mr. RICHARD VINES was a very learned and excellent divine, a popular and laborious preacher, one of the parliament divines at the treaty of the *Iſle of Wight*, and a moſt induſtrious and uſeful man in his college. He was turned out of his maſterſhip for refuſing the *engagement*, and died before the reſtoration.

Dr. BENJAMIN WHICHCOT was fellow of *Emanuel-College*, and upon the ejectment of Dr. *Collins* preferred to the maſterſhip of *King's-College*, in which he continued till the reſtoration, and then conformed. The account archbiſhop *Tillotſon* gives of him is this; "that he was an "excellent tutor and inſtructor of youth, and bred up many perſons of "quality and others, who afterwards proved uſeful and eminent; that "he contributed more to the forming the ſtudents to a ſober ſenſe of re- "ligion than any man of that age. He never took the *covenant*, and by "his particular friendſhip and intereſt with ſome of the chief viſitors, "prevailed to have the *greateſt part of the fellows of his college exempted* "*from that impoſition.*" Til. *Works*, Vol. I. p. 277.

Mr. HERBERT PALMER, B. D. was one of the univerſity preachers in 1632. and clerk in convocation for the dioceſe of *Lincoln*, at the beginning of this parliament; he was one of the aſſeſſors of the aſſembly of divines at *Weſminſter*, and on *April* 11. 1644. conſtituted maſter of *Queen's-College* by the earl of *Mancheſter*. He was very careful to appoint ſuch perſons for tutors of youth as were eminent for learning and piety; and being poſſeſſed of a good paternal eſtate was unbounded in his liberality. He was a polite gentleman, a compleat maſter of the *french* language, in which he could preach as well as in *engliſh*; but his conſtitution being infirm he died in the year 1647. when he was only forty-ſeven years of age. Cl. Lives, p. 183.

Dr. T. YOUNG was an eminent member of the aſſembly of divines (ſays Mr. *Clarke*) a man of great learning, of much prudence and piety, and of great ability andfidelity in the work of the miniſtry. He was a preacher at *Duke's-Place* in *London*, from whence he was preferred to the maſterſhip of *Jeſus-College*, where he behaved with great prudence and piety, till he was turned out for refuſing the engagement. He was one of the authors of the pamphlet called *Smectymnuus*. p. 194.

Dr. JOHN ARROWSMITH was fellow of *Catherine-Hall*, and of an unexceptionable character for learning and piety. He was an acute diſputant,

K. Charles I. 1644.

putant, and a judicious divine, as appears by his *tactica ſacra*, a book of great reputation in thoſe times. He died before the reſtoration.

Cl. Lives, p. 230.

Dr. THOMAS HILL was fellow of *Emanuel-College*, and one of the aſſembly of divines at *Weſtminſter*. He was firſt conſtituted maſter of *Emanuel*, and afterwards removed to *Trinity-College*, where he employed all his zeal in the advancement of knowledge and virtue, and in keeping up the college exerciſes. He was twice vice-chancllor, and as ſolicitous to preſerve the honour and privileges of the univerſity as any of his predeceſſors. He was a zealous *calviniſt*, and after about ten years government of his college died in the year 1653.

Dr. ANTONY TUCKNEY had been vicar of *Boſton* in *Lincolnſhire*, from whence he was called up to ſit in the aſſembly of divines at *Weſtminſter*. In the year 1645. he was conſtituted maſter of *Emanuel-College*. In 1653. he was choſen maſter of St. *John*'s, and upon the death of Dr. *Arrowſmith* regius profeſſor, which place he enjoyed till the reſtoration, when king *Charles* II. by letter under the hand of ſecretary *Nicholas*, ordered him to reſign, promiſing him, in conſideration of his great pains and diligence in diſcharge of his duty, one hundred pounds *per ann.* which was paid by his ſucceſſor till his death, in the year 1671. He left behind him the character of a pious and learned man, an indefatigable ſtudent, a candid diſputant, and a zealous promoter of truth and piety. He publiſhed ſome practical treatiſes in his life; and his *prælectiones theologicæ*, with a volume of ſermons, were printed after his death.

Calamy's Abridg. p. 77.

Dr. RICHARD MINSHULL was fellow of *Sidney-College*, and upon the death of Dr. *Ward* choſen regularly, according to the ſtatutes, into the vacant maſterſhip, and continued therein till the reſtoration, when he conformed, and was confirmed in his place, which he filled with reputation to his death.

Calamy's Abridg. Vol. II. p. 471.

Dr. WILLIAM SPURSTOW one of the aſſembly of divines, and one of the commiſſioners at the *Savoy* in the year 1662. was a perſon of good learning, of a peaceable and quiet diſpoſition, and of great humility and charity. He was turned out of his maſterſhip of *Katherine-Hall* for refuſing the *engagement*, and ſucceeded by the famous

Dr. LIGHTFOOT, the moſt compleat maſter of oriental learning of his age; the doctor enjoyed this maſterſhip, with the ſequeſtered living of *Much-Munden*, given him by the aſſembly of divines, till the reſtoration, when he would have reſigned it back into the hands of Dr. *Spurſtow*, but he declining it, *Lightfoot* conformed, and upon his application to the king was confirmed in both his preferments till his death. His works were publiſhed by Mr. *Strype* in two volumes folio.

If it ſhould be granted, that the new profeſſors were not at firſt ſo expert in the learning of the ſchools as their predeceſſors, that defect was abundantly ſupplied by their application and diligence in their places, and by their obſerving a very ſtrict and ſevere diſcipline; the tutors were conſtant in reading lectures not only in *term-time*, but out of it; the *proctors* and other officers had a ſtrict eye over the ſtudents to keep them within bounds, and oblige them to be preſent at morning and evening prayer. The Lord's day was obſerved with uncommon rigour; there were ſermons and prayers in all the churches and chapels both morning and afternoon. Vice and profaneneſs were baniſhed, inſomuch that an oath was not to be heard within the walls of the univerſity; and if it may be ſaid without offence, the colleges never appeared more like nurſeries of religion and virtue than at this period. The noble hiſtorian confeſſes, the univerſity of *Oxford* flouriſhed as much in learning and learned men at the reſtoration, as before the civil wars, which is equally true of *Cambridge*. And it ought to be remembered, that moſt of the conſiderable divines and philoſophers who flouriſhed in the reigns of king *Charles* the ſecond and king *William* the third, owed their education to the tutors of thoſe times, for whom they always retained a great veneration.

K. Charles *I.* 1644. *Remarks.*

Vol. V. P. 74.

Though the form of inducting the new *maſters* was not according to the ſtatutes (as has been obſerved) becauſe of the diſtraction of the times, it is evident this was not deſigned to be a precedent for their ſucceſſors, as appears by the manner of their inveſtiture, which was this. Mr. *Lazarus Seaman* having been examined and approved by the aſſembly of divines at *Weſtminſter*, the earl of *Mancheſter* came in perſon into the chapel of *Peter-Houſe*, *April* 11. and did there declare and publiſh Mr. *Lazarus Seaman* to be conſtituted maſter of the ſaid *Peter-Houſe*, in the room of Dr. *Coſins* late maſter, who had been juſtly and lawfully ejected; requiring Mr. *Seaman* to take upon him that office, putting him into the maſter's ſeat, and delivering to him the ſtatutes of the college in token of his inveſtiture, ſtraitly charging the fellows *&c.* to acknowledge and yield obedience to him, *notwithſtanding he was not elected, nor admitted according to the ordinary courſe preſcribed by the ſaid ſtatutes in this time of diſtraction and war, there being a neceſſity of reforming, as well the ſtatutes themſelves, as the members of the ſaid houſe.* The earl then gave him an inſtrument under his hand and ſeal to the ſame effect, and adminiſtered him an oath or proteſtation, which he took in the following words,

Form of induction of the new maſters. Suff. Cler. p. 114.

Ib. p. 115.

I Do

K. Charles I. 1644. *The oath.*

"I Do ſolemnly and ſeriouſly promiſe, in the preſence of almighty "God the ſearcher of all hearts, that during the time of my con- "tinuance in this charge, I ſhall faithfully labour to promote learning "and piety in myſelf, the fellows, ſcholars, and ſtudents, that do or "ſhall belong to the ſaid college, agreeably to the late ſolemn, national "*league and covenant*, by me ſworn and ſubſcribed, with reſpect to all "the good and wholeſome ſtatutes of the ſaid college and of the uni- "verſity, correſpondent to the ſaid covenant; and by all means to pro- "cure the good, welfare, and perfect reformation both of the college "and univerſity ſo far as to me appertaineth."

The other maſters were introduced into their ſeveral chairs after the ſame ſolemn manner, their warrants bearing date the 11th, 12, or 13th of *April*; but the clauſe of the covenant was omitted by thoſe who did not take it, as in the caſe of Dr. *Witchcot*, and others.

And of the fellows. Suff. Cler. p. 114.

The vacant fellowſhips being more numerous were not ſo quickly filled, though the earl took the moſt prudent method in that affair; *April* 10. he directed a paper to the ſeveral colleges, declaring that "his pur- "poſe was forthwith to ſupply the vacant fellowſhips, and deſiring that "if there were any in the reſpective colleges, who in regard of degree "learning and piety, ſhould be found fit for ſuch preferment, they would "upon receipt of that paper, return him their names, in order to their "being *examined by the aſſembly*, and inveſted in them." The perſons thus examined and preſented, were conſtituted *fellows* by warrant under the hand and ſeal of the earl of *Mancheſter*, to the heads of the ſeveral colleges, in the following form.

Ib. p. 115.

"WHEREAS *A. B.* has been ejected out of his fellowſhip in this "college; and whereas *C. D.* has been examined and appro- "ved by the *aſſembly of divines*, theſe are therefore to require you to re- "ceive the ſaid *C. D.* as fellow in the room of *A. B.* and to give him "place according to his ſeniority in the univerſity, in preference to all "thoſe that are, or ſhall hereafter be put in by me."

MS. penes me.

I have before me the names of fifty-five perſons, who *after they had been examined by the aſſembly*, were preſented to the vacant fellowſhips in the compaſs of the year 1644. and within ſix months more all the vacancies were in a manner ſupplied, with men of approved learning and piety.

From

K. Charles I. 1644.

From this time the univerſity of *Cambridge* enjoyed a happy tranquillity, learning flouriſhed, religion and good manners were promoted, at a time when the reſt of the nation was in blood and confuſion. And though this alteration was effected by a mixture of the civil and military power, yet in a little time things reverted to their former channel, and the ſtatutes of the univerſity were as regularly obſerved as ever. Let the reader now judge the candor and impartiality of the famous Dr. *Barwick*, author of the *querela cantabrigienſis*, whoſe words are theſe: "Thus the *knipperdollings* of the age reduced a glorious and renowned "univerſity almoſt to a meer *munſter*, and did more in leſs than three "years, than the apoſtate *Julian* could effect in his reign, (*viz.*) broke "the heart-ſtrings of learning, and all learned men, and thereby luxated "all the joints of chriſtianity in this kingdom. We are not afraid to "appeal to any impartial judge, whether if the *goths and vandals*, or "even the *turks* themſelves, had over-run this nation, they would have "more inhumanly abuſed a flouriſhing univerſity, than theſe pretended "advancers of religion have done? Having thruſt out one of the eyes of "this kingdom, made eloquence dumb, philoſophy ſottiſh; widdowed "the arts, drove the muſes from their ancient habitation, plucked the "reverend and orthodox profeſſors out of the chairs, and ſilenced them "in priſon or their graves; turned religion into rebellion; changed the "apoſtolical chair into a deſk for blaſphemy; tore the garland from "off the head of learning to place it on the dull brows of diſloyal ig-"norance, and unhived thoſe numerous ſwarms of labouring bees, "which uſed to drop honey-dews over all this kingdom, to place in their "room ſwarms of ſenſeleſs drones." Such was the rant of this reverend clergyman; and ſuch the language and the ſpirit of the ejected loyaliſts!

Querela Pref. p. 2, 26, 27. Walker's Attempt, p. 115.

Committee for ſcandalous miniſters

While the earl was ſecuring the univerſity to the parliament, he appointed commiſſioners for removing ſcandalous miniſters in the ſeven aſſociated counties, empowering them to act by the following warrant.

March 15.

E. of Manchester's *warrant empowering them to act.* Suff. Cler. p. 117.

"BY virtue of an ordinance of both houſes of parliament, bearing "date *Jan.* 22. 1643-4. I do authorize and appoint you ——, "or any five of you, to call before you all miniſters or ſchool-maſters "within the counties of ———, *that are ſcandalous in their lives, or* "*ill-affected to the parliament, or fomenters of this unnatural war; or* "*that ſhall wilfully refuſe obedience to the ordinances of parliament; or* "*that have deſerted their ordinary places of reſidence, not being employed*

K. Charles I. 1644.

" *in the ſervice of the king and parliament*, with full power and liberty " to ſend for any witneſſes, and to examine complaints upon *oath*. And " you are to certify the names of ſuch miniſters, with the charge and " proof againſt them to me."

E. of Manchester's *inſtructions upon them.* Suff. Cler. p. 117.

It is to be obſerved, that the *warrant* is pointed only againſt thoſe *who are immoral, or diſaffected to the parliament, or had deſerted their cures*; and was accompanied with *inſtructions*, and a *letter*, exhorting them to the faithful and effectual diſcharge of their truſt. The inſtructions were to this effect.

Firſt, " That they ſhould be ſpeedy and effectual in executing the " ordinances, and ſit in ſuch places within the county that all parties, " by the eaſineſs of acceſs, may be encouraged to addreſs themſelves to " them with their complaints.

Secondly, " That they ſhould iſſue their warrants, to ſummon before " them ſuch miniſters and witneſſes, as the articles preferred againſt them " ſhould require.

Thirdly, " That the party accuſed ſhould not be preſent at the tak- " ing the depoſitions, becauſe of diſcountenancing the witneſſes, and " diſturbing the ſervice*; but when the depoſitions were taken upon " oath the party accuſed ſhould have a copy, and have a day given him " to return his anſwer in writing, and to make his defence within four- " teen days, or thereabouts.

Fourthly, " They were to return both the accuſation and defence " to Mr. *Good* and Mr. *Aſhe* the earl's chaplains, and upon ſuch receipts " they ſhould have further directions.

Huſb. Col. p. 311.

Fifthly, " If the party accuſed would not appear to make his defence, " they were to certify the cauſe of his abſence, becauſe *if they were " non-reſidents, or in arms againſt the parliament*, the earl would proceed " againſt them.

Sixthly, " It being found by experience, that pariſhioners were not " forward to complain of their miniſters, though very ſcandalous; " ſome being enemies to the intended reformation, and others ſparing " their miniſters, becauſe they favoured them in their tithes, and were " therefore eſteemed *quiet men*; therefore they were required to call unto " them, ſome well affected men within every hundred, who having no " private engagements, were to be encouraged by the committees to " enquire

* This was owing to the inſolent and unmannerly behaviour of ſome of the clergy before the commiſſioners; for the ordinance of *Sept.* 6. 1643. appoints, that the witneſſes ſhall be examined in their preſence; and that ſufficient warning ſhall be given of the time and place where the charge againſt them ſhould be proved.

" enquire after the doctrines, lives, and converſation of all miniſters and " ſchool-maſters, and to give information what could be depoſed, and " who could depoſe the ſame. K. Charles I. 1644.

Seventhly, " Each commiſſioner ſhall have five ſhillings for every day " he ſits; and the clerk to receive ſome pay, that he might not have " occaſion to demand fees for every warrant or copy, unleſs the writings " were very large.

Eighthly, " Upon the ejecting of any ſcandalous, or malignant mi- " niſters, they were to require the pariſhioners to make choice of ſome " fit and able perſon to ſucceed, who was to have a teſtimonial from " the well-affected gentry and miniſtry; and to take particular care that " no *anabaptiſt*, or *antinomian*, be recommended.

Ninthly, " They were to certify the true value of each living; as al- " ſo the eſtate, livelihood, and charge of children which the accuſed " perſon had, for his lordſhips direction in the aſſignment of the fifths. " And,

Laſtly, " They were to uſe all other proper ways and methods for " ſpeeding the ſervice."

With theſe *inſtructions* the earl ſent an exhortation by *letter*, in the following words,

Gentlemen,

" I Send you by this bearer a commiſſion, with inſtructions for exe- " cuting the ordinance, *&c.* within your county. I neither doubt " of your abilities nor affections to further this ſervice, yet accord- " ing to the great truſt repoſed in me herein by the parliament, I " muſt be earneſt with you to be diligent therein. You know how " much the people of this kingdom have formerly ſuffered in their per- " ſons, ſouls, and eſtates, under an idle ill-affected ſcandalous and in- " ſolent clergy, upheld by the biſhops; and you can't but foreſee, that " their preſſures and burthens will ſtill continue, though the form of " government be altered, unleſs great care be taken to diſplace ſuch mi- " niſters, and to place orthodox and holy men in every pariſh; for let " the government be what it will for the form thereof, yet it will ne- " ver be good, unleſs the parties employed therein be good themſelves. By " the providence of God it now lies in your power to reform the for- " mer abuſes, and to remove theſe offenders. Your power is great, and " ſo is your truſt. If a general reformation follows not within your " county, aſſuredly the blame will be laid upon you, and you muſt ex- " pect to be called to an account for it, both here and hereafter. For

The earl's letter. Suff. Cler. p. 118.

K. Charles I. 1644. " my part, I am reſolved to employ the utmoſt of my power given to " me by the ordinance, for procuring a general reformation in all the " aſſociated counties, expecting your forwardneſs, and heartily joining " with me herein,"

I reſt, &c.

Their method of proceeding. Suff. Cler. p. 119. When a clergyman was convicted according to the inſtructions above-mentioned, report was made to the earl, who directed a warrant to the church-wardens of the pariſh, to eject him out of his parſonage, and all the profits thereof; and another to receive the tithes, and all the benefits into their own hands, and to keep them in ſafe cuſtody till they ſhould receive further order from himſelf. At the ſame time he directed the pariſhioners to chooſe a proper miniſter for the vacant place, and upon their preſentation his lordſhip ſent him to the *aſſembly of divines at Weſtminſter*, with an account of his character, for their trial and examination. And upon a certificate from the aſſembly, that they approved of him as an orthodox divine, and qualified to officiate in the paſtoral function, his lordſhip iſſued out his laſt warrant, ſetting forth that " ſuch an one having been approved by the aſſembly, *&c.* he did there-" fore authoriſe and appoint him the ſaid ———, to officiate as miniſter, " to preach, teach, and cathechize in ſuch a pariſh *during his* (the earl's) " *pleaſure*, and then empower him to take poſſeſſion of the church, " parſonage houſes, glebe lands, and to receive the tithes and profits, " and enjoy the ſame, until his lordſhip ſhould take further order " concerning the ſame, requiring all officers to aid and aſſiſt him for that " purpoſe."

Remarks. If the committees obſerved theſe articles there could be no reaſonable ground of complaint, except of the *ſixth*, which may be conſtrued as giving to much encouragement to informers; but the methods of conviction were unexceptionable. The perſons to be called before the commiſſioners were ſcandalous, or enemies to the parliament; the depoſitions were upon oath; a copy of them allowed the defendant, with time to give in his anſwer in writing; then a day appointed to make his defence in preſence of the witneſſes, to whom he might take exceptions; and after all, the final judgment not left with the commiſſioners, but with the *earl*. The filling the vacant benefice was no leſs prudent; the pariſhioners were to chooſe their own miniſter, who was to produce teſtimonials of his ſobriety and virtue; the aſſembly were then to examine into his learning and miniſterial qualifications; and after all, the

the new incumbent to hold his living only *during pleaſure*; the parliament being willing to leave open a door, at the concluſion of a peace, for reſtoring ſuch royaliſts as were diſplaced meerly for adhering to the king, without prejudice to the preſent poſſeſſor. One cannot anſwer for particulars under ſuch uncommon diſtractions and violence of parties; but the orders were, in my opinion, not only reaſonable but expedient, for the ſupport of the cauſe in which the parliament was engaged. K. Charles I. 1644.

The committees for the aſſociated counties acted, I apprehend, no longer than the year 1644. The laſt warrant of ejectment mentioned by Dr. *Nalſon*, bearing date *March* 17. 1644-5. in which time affairs were brought to ſuch a ſettlement in thoſe parts, that the royaliſts could give them no diſturbance. The aſſociated counties, ſays Mr. *Fuller*, eſcaped the beſt of all parts in this civil war, the ſmoak thereof only offending them, while the fire was felt in other places. The chief ejectments by the commiſſioners in other parts of *England*, were in the years 1644, 1645. and till the change of government in the year 1649. when the *covenant* itſelf was ſet aſide, and changed into an ENGAGEMENT to the new common-wealth. Suff. Chr. p. 119.

'Tis hard to compute the number of clergymen that might loſe their livings by the ſeveral committees during the war, nor is it of any great importance, for the *law* is the ſame whether more or fewer ſuffer by it; and the not putting it in execution might be owing to want of power or opportunity. Dr. *Nalſon* ſays, that in five of the aſſociated counties one hundred fifty-ſix clergymen were ejected in little more than a year; namely, in *Norfolk* fifty-one, *Suffolk* thirty-ſeven, *Cambridgeſhire* thirty-one, *Eſſex* twenty-one; *Lincolnſhire* ſixteen; and if we allow a proportionable number for the other two, the whole will amount to two hundred and eighteen; and if in ſeven counties there were two hundred and eighteen ſufferers, the fifty two counties of *England*, by a like proportion, will produce upwards of ſixteen hundred. Dr. *Walker* has fallaciouſly encreaſed the number of ſuffering clergymen to eight thouſand, even though the liſt at the end of his book makes out little more than a fifth part. Among his cathedral clergy he reckons up ſeveral *prebends* and *canonries*, in which he ſuppoſes ſufferers without any evidence. Of this ſort Dr. *Calamy* has reckoned above two hundred. If one clergyman was poſſeſſed of three or four dignities there appear to be as many ſufferers. The like is obſervable in the caſe of pluraliſts; for example, *Richard Stuart*, L. L. D. is ſet down as a ſufferer in the deanry of St. *Paul's*, as prebendary of St. *Pancras*, and reſidentiary; in the deanry and prebend of the third ſtall in *Weſtminſter*; in the deanry of the royal chapel; in the provoſtſhip of *Eaton* college, and prebend of *Northalton* in the church of *Salisbury*; all which preferments he enjoyed, or was entitled to together, and his name is. *Numbers ejected.* Ch. and diſſenters compared, p. 52.

K. Charles I. 1644.

is repeated in the ſeveral places. By ſuch a calculation 'tis eaſy to deceive the reader and ſwell the account beyond meaſure. The reverend Mr. *Withers*, a late non-conformiſt miniſter at *Exeter*, has taken pains to make an exact computation in the aſſociated counties of *Suffolk*, *Norfolk*, and *Cambridgeſhire*, in which are one thouſand three hundred and ninety eight pariſhes, and two hundred fifty-three ſequeſtrations; ſo that if theſe may be reckoned as a ſtandard for the whole kingdom, the number will be reduced conſiderably under two thouſand. He has alſo made another computation from the county of *Devon*, in which are three hundred ninety-four pariſhes, and one hundred thirty-nine ſequeſtrations, out of which thirty-nine are deducted for pluralities, *&c.* and then by comparing this county (in which both Dr. *Walker* and Mr. *Withers* lived) with the reſt of the kingdom, the amount of ſufferers according to him, is *one thouſand ſeven hundred twenty ſix*; but admitting they ſhould ariſe to the number of the doctor's names in his index, which are about two thouſand four hundred, yet when ſuch were deducted as were fairly convicted upon oath, of immoralities of life, *&c.* (which were a fourth in the aſſociated counties) and all ſuch as took part with the king in the war, or diſowned the authority of the parliament; preaching up doctrines inconſiſtent with the cauſe for which they had taken arms, and exciting the people to an abſolute ſubmiſſion to the authority of the crown, the remainder that were diſplaced *only for refuſing the covenant*, muſt be very inconſiderable; Mr. *Baxter* ſays, they caſt out the groſſer ſort of inſufficient and ſcandalous clergy, and ſome few civil men that had acted in the wars for the king, and ſet up the late innovations, but left in near one half of thoſe that were but barely tolerable. He adds further, "that "in all the counties in which he was acquainted *ſix to one at leaſt, if not* "*more*, that were ſequeſtered by the committees, were by the oaths of "witneſſes proved inſufficient, or ſcandalous, or both."

Hiſt. of I. and times, p. 74, 75.

But admitting their numbers to be equal to thoſe puritan miniſters ejected at the reſtoration, yet the cauſe of their ejectment, and the circumſtances of the times, being very different, the ſufferings of the former ought not to be compared to the latter; though Dr. *Walker* is pleaſed to ſay in his preface, that *if the ſufferings of the diſſenters bear any tolerable proportion to thoſe of the ejected loyaliſts, in number, degrees, or circumſtances, he will be gladly deemed not only to have loſt all his labour, but to have revived a great and unanſwerable ſcandal on the cauſe he has undertaken to defend.* I ſhall leave the reader to paſs his own judgment upon this declaration, after I have produced the teſtimony of one or two divines of the church of *England* "who can anſwer (ſays one) for the "violence and injuſtice of actions in a civil war? Thoſe ſufferings were "in

Compared with the ejected miniſters in 1662.

Conform. firſt plea, p. 12, 13.

" in a time of general calamity, but *theſe* [in 1662.] were ejected not " only in a time of peace, but a time of joy to all the land, and after an " act of oblivion, to which common rejoicing theſe ſuffering miniſters had " contributed their earneſt pryers, and great endeavours—" I muſt own (ſays " another of the doctor's correſpondents) that though both ſides have been " exceſſively to blame, yet that the ſeverities uſed by the church to the diſ- " ſenters are leſs excuſable than thoſe uſed by the diſſenters to the church; " my reaſon is, that the former were uſed in times of peace, and a ſettled Calamy's ch. and diſſenters compared, p. 23, " government, whereas the latter were inflicted in a time of tumult and " confuſion, ſo that the plundering and ravaging endured by the church 24. " miniſters were owing (many of them at leaſt) to the rudeneſs of the " ſoldiers, and the chances of war; THEY WERE PLUNDERED NOT " BECAUSE THEY WERE CONFORMISTS, BUT CAVALIERS, AND OF " THE KING'S PARTY." The caſe of thoſe who were ſober and virtuous, ſeems to me much the ſame with the *nonjurors* at the late revolution of king *William* III. and I readily agree with Mr. *Fuller*, that " mo- Hiſt. p. 207. " derate men bemoaned theſe ſeverities, for as much corruption was let " out by theſe ejectments (many ſcandalous miniſters being deſervedly " puniſhed,) ſo at the ſame time the veins of the *engliſh* church were " alſo emptied of much good blood."

The fifths.

We have already obſerved, that a *fifth* part of the revenues of theſe ejected clergymen was reſerved for the maintainance of their poor families, " which was a chriſtian act, and which I ſhould have been glad Calamy's ch. and diſſenters, p. 24. " (ſays the divine above-mentioned) to have ſeen imitated at the reſtora- " tion." Upon this the *cavaliers* ſent their wives and children to be maintained by the parliament miniſters, while themſelves were fighting for the king. The houſes therefore ordained, *Sept.* 8. 1645. that the Huſb. Col. p. 726. *fifths* ſhould not be paid to the wives and children of thoſe who came into the parliament quarters without their huſbands or fathers, or who were not bred in the proteſtant religion. Yet when the war was over, all were allowed their *fifths*, though in ſome places they were ill paid, the incumbent being hardly able to allow them, by reaſon of the ſmallneſs of his living, and the devaſtation of the war. When ſome pretended to excuſe themſelves on the forementioned exceptions, the two houſes publiſhed the following explanation, *November* 11. 1647. *(viz.)* " that Suff. Cler. p. 100. " the wives and children of all ſuch perſons whoſe eſtates and livings are, " have been, or ſhall be ſequeſtered by order of either houſe of parliament, " ſhall be comprehended within the ordinance which allows a fifth part " for wives and children, and ſhall have their fifth part allowed them; " and the committee of lords and commons for ſequeſtrations, and the " committees for plundered miniſters, and all other miniſters are required

" to

K. Charles I. 1644.

" to take notice hereof, and yield obedience hereunto." Afterwards when it was queſtioned, whether the *fifths* ſhould pay their proportion of the public taxes, it was ordained, that *the incumbent only* ſhould pay them. Under the government of the protector *Cromwell* it was ordained, that if the ejected miniſter left the quiet poſſeſſion of his houſe and glebe to his ſucceſſor within a certain time, he ſhould recive *his fifths, and all his arrears*, provided he had not a real eſtate of his own of thirty pounds *per annum*, or five hundred pounds in money.

The hardſhip on both ſides.

After all, it was a hard caſe on both ſides; the *incumbents* thought it hard to be obliged to all the duties of their place, and another to go away with a *fifth* of the profit, at a time when the value of church lands was conſiderably leſſened by the neglect of tillage, and exorbitant taxes laid upon all the neceſſaries of life. To which may be added, an opinion that began to prevail among the farmers, of the unlawfulneſs of paying tithes: Mr. *Selden* had led the way to this in his book of tithes, whereupon the parliament by an ordinance of *Nov.* 8. 1644. "ſtrictly enjoyned all perſons fully, truly, and effectually to ſet out, yield, and pay reſpectively all and ſingular tithes, offerings, oblations, obventions, rates for tithes, and all other duties commonly known by the name of tithes." Others who had no ſcruple about the payment of tithes, refuſed to pay them to the new incumbent, becauſe the ejected miniſter had the legal right; inſomuch that the preſbyterian miniſters were obliged in many places to ſue their pariſhioners, which created diſturbances and diviſions, and at length gave riſe to ſeveral petitions from the counties of *Buckingham*, *Oxford*, *Hertford*, &c. praying, that their miniſters might be provided for ſome other way. The parliament referred them to a committee, which produced no redreſs, becauſe they could not fix upon another fund, nor provide for the lay-impropriations.

CHAP. IV.

Of the ſeveral parties in the aſſembly of Divines, PRESBYTERIANS, ERASTIANS, INDEPENDENTS. *Their proceedings about* ordination, *and the* directory for divine worſhip. *The riſe, progreſs, and ſufferings of the* engliſh ANABAPTISTS.

Parties in the aſſembly of divines.

BEFORE we proceed to the debates of the aſſembly of divines, it will be proper to diſtinguiſh the ſeveral parties of which it was conſtituted. The epiſcopal clergy had entirely deſerted it before the bring-

ing

ing in of the *covenant*, ſo that the eſtabliſhment was left without a ſingle advocate. All who remained were for taking down the main pillars of the hierarchy, before they had agreed what ſort of building to erect in its room. K. Charles I. 1644.

Of the preſbyterians.

The majority at firſt intended only the reducing epiſcopacy to the ſtandard of the firſt or ſecond age, but for the ſake of the *ſcots* alliance, were prevailed with to lay aſide the name and function of biſhops, and attempt the eſtabliſhing a preſbyterial form, which at length they advanced into *jus divinum*, or a *divine inſtitution*, derived expreſsly from Chriſt and his apoſtles. This engaged them in ſo many controverſies, as prevented their laying the top ſtone of the building, ſo that it fell to pieces before it was perfected. The chief patrons of preſbytery in the houſe of commons, were *Denzil Hollis*, Eſq; Sir *William Waller*, Sir *Philip Stapleton*, Sir *John Clotworthy*, Sir *Benjamin Rudyard*, Serjeant *Maynard*, Colonel *Maſſey*, Colonel *Harley*, *John Glynn*, Eſq; and a few others.

Of the eraſtians. Baxter's Life, p. 139.

The ERASTIANS formed another branch of the aſſembly, ſo called from *Eraſtus*, a *german* divine of the ſixteenth century. The *paſtoral office* according to him was only perſwaſive, like a profeſſor of the ſciences over his ſtudents, without any power of the keys annexed. The Lord's ſupper and other ordinances of the goſpel, were to be free and open to all. The miniſter might diſſuade the vicious and unqualified from the communion, but might not refuſe it, or inflict any kind of cenſure; the puniſhment of all offences either of a civil or religious nature, being reſerved to the magiſtrate. The pretended advantage of this ſcheme was, that it avoided the erecting *imperium in imperio*, or two different powers in the ſame civil government; it effectually deſtroyed all that ſpiritual juriſdiction and co-ercive power over the conſciences of men, which had been challenged by popes, prelates, preſbyteries, *&c.* and made the government of the church, *a creature of the ſtate*. Moſt of our firſt reformers were ſo far in theſe ſentiments, as to maintain that no one form of church-government is preſcribed in ſcripture as an invariable rule for future ages; as *Cranmer*, *Redmayn*, *Cox*, &c. and archbiſhop *Whitgift*, in his controverſy with *Cartwright*, delivers the ſame opinion; "I deny (ſays he) that the ſcripture has ſet down any one cer-
"tain form of church-government to be perpetual.——Again, it is well
"known, that the manner and form of government expreſſed in the
"ſcriptures neither is now, nor can, nor ought to be obſerved either
"touching perſons or functions.—— The charge of this is left to the
"magiſtrate, ſo that nothing be contrary to the word of God. The go-
"vernment of the church muſt be according to the form of government
"in the common-wealth." The chief patrons of this ſcheme in the aſſembly were Dr. *Lightfoot*, Mr. *Colman*, Mr. *Selden*, Mr. *Whitlock*; and

K. Charles I. 1644. in the houſe of commons, beſides *Selden* and *Whitlock*, *Oliver St. John*, Eſq; Sir *Thomas Widdrington*, *John Crew*, Eſq; Sir *John Hipſley*, and others of the greateſt names.

Of the independents. The INDEPENDENTS or *congregational brethren*, compoſed a third party, and made a bold ſtand againſt the proceedings of the high preſbyterians; their numbers were ſmall at firſt, though they encreaſed prodigiouſly in a few years, and grew to a conſiderable figure under the protectorſhip of *Oliver Cromwell*.

We have already related their original, and carried on their hiſtory till they appeared in public about the latter end of the year 1640. The divines who paſſed under this denomination in the aſſembly, had fled their country in the late times, and formed ſocieties according to their own model in *Holland*, upon the ſtates allowing them the uſe of *their* churches, after their own ſervice was ended, with liberty of ringing a bell to public worſhip. Here (as they declare) they ſet themſelves to conſult the holy ſcriptures as impartially as they could, in order to find out the diſcipline that the apoſtles themſelves practiſed in the very firſt age of the church; the condition they were in, and the melancholy proſpect of their affairs affording no temptation to any particular biaſs. The reſt of their hiſtory, with their diſtinguiſhing opinions, I ſhall draw from their *apologetical narration* publiſhed in 1643. and preſented to the houſe of commons.

Apologet. Narr. *of the* independents, p. 78. "As to the church of *England* (ſay they) we profeſs before God and the "world, that we do apprehend a great deal of defilement in their way of "worſhip, and a great deal of unwarranted power exerciſed by their church "governors, yet we allow multitudes of their parochial churches to be "true churches, and their miniſters true miniſters. In the late times, "when we had no hopes of returning to our own country, we held "communion with them, and offered to receive to the Lord's ſupper "ſome that came to viſit us in our exile, whom we knew to be godly, "upon that relation and memberſhip they held in their pariſh churches "in *England*, they profeſſing themſelves to be members thereof, and be-"longing thereto. The ſame charitable diſpoſition we maintained to-"wards the *dutch* churches among whom we lived. We mutually gave and "received the right hand of fellowſhip, holding a brotherly correſpon-"dence with their divines, and admitting ſome of the members of their "churches to communion in the ſacrament, and other ordinances, by "virtue of their relation to thoſe churches.

Ib. p. 12, 15. The ſcheme they embraced was a middle way between *browniſm* and *presbytery*, (*viz.*) that "*every particular congregation of chriſtians has an* "*entire and compleat power of juriſdiction over its members, to be exerciſed* "*by the elders thereof within itſelf.* This they are ſure muſt have been "the

" the form of government in the primitive church, before the numbers " of chriſtians in any city were multiplied ſo far as to divide into many " congregations, which 'tis dubious, whether it was the fact in the apo- " ſtles times. K. Charles I. 1643.

" Not that they claim an entire independency with regard to other " churches, for they agree that in all caſes of offence, the offending " church is to ſubmit to an open examination, by other neighbouring " churches, and on their perſiſting in their error or miſcarriage, they " then are to renounce all chriſtian communion with them, till they re- Ib. p. 18. " pent, which is all the authority or eccleſiaſtical power that one church " may exerciſe over another, unleſs they call in the civil magiſtrate, for " which they find no authority in ſcripture.

" Their method of public worſhip in *Holland* was the ſame with other " proteſtants; they read the ſcriptures of the old and new teſtament in their " aſſemblies, and expounded them on proper occaſions; they offered up " public and ſolemn prayers, for kings, and all in authority; and though " they did not approve of a preſcribed form, they admitted that pub- " lic prayer in their aſſemblies ought to be framed by the meditation and " ſtudy of their miniſters, as well as their ſermons; the word of God was " conſtantly preached; the two ſacraments of baptiſm to infants, and the " Lord's ſupper were frequently adminiſtered; to which was added, ſing- " ing pſalms, and a collection for the poor every Lord's day.

" They profeſs their agreement in doctrine with the articles of the " church of *England*, and other reformed churches.

" Their officers and public rulers in the church, were paſtors, teach- " ers, ruling elders (not lay but eccleſiaſtical perſons, ſeparated to that ſer- " vice) and deacons.

" They practiſed no church cenſures but admonition and excommuni- " cation upon obſtinate and impenitent offenders; which latter they " apprehended ſhould not be pronounced but for crimes of the laſt im- " portance, and which may be reaſonably ſuppoſed to be committed con- " trary to the light and conviction of the perſon's conſcience.

" In concluſion they call God and man to witneſs, that out of a re- p. 24, 25. " gard to the public peace they had forbore to publiſh their peculiar opi- 27. " nions, either from the pulpit or preſs, or to improve the preſent diſpo- " ſition of the people to the increaſe of their party; nor ſhould they have pub- " liſhed that apology to the world, had not their ſilence been interpreted as " an acknowledgment of thoſe reproaches and calumnies that have been caſt " upon them by their adverſaries; but ſhould have waited for a free and o- " pen debate of their ſentiments in the preſent aſſembly of divines, though " they are ſenſible they ſhall have the diſadvantage with regard to num- " bers, learning, and the ſtream of public intereſt; however they are de-

K. Charles I. 1643-4. "termined in all debates, to yield to the utmoſt latitude of their conſci-
"ences, profeſſing it to be as high a point of religion, to acknowledge
"their miſtakes when they are convinced of them, as to hold faſt the
"truth; and when matters are brought to the neareſt agreement, to pro-
"mote ſuch a temper as may tend to union, as well as truth.

p. 30. "They therefore beſeech the honourable houſes of parliament, not to
"look upon them as diſturbers of the public peace, but to conſider them
"as perſons that differ but little from their brethren; yea far leſs than
"they do from what themſelves practiſed three years ago. They beſeech
"them likewiſe to have ſome regard to their paſt exile, and preſent ſuf-
"ferings, and upon theſe accounts to allow them to continue in their
"native country, with the enjoyment of the ordinances of Chriſt, and
"an indulgence in ſome leſſer differences, as long as they continue pea-
"ceable ſubjects."

Signed by,

Tho. Goodwin,
Sydrach Simpſon,
Philip Nye,
Jer. Burroughs,
Willliam Bridge.

Remarks. The reverend Mr. *Herle*, afterwards prolocutor of the aſſembly, in his *imprimatur* to this apology, calls it a performance full of peaceableneſs, modeſty, and candor; and though he wrote againſt it, yet in his preface to his book, entitled *The Independency upon Scripture of the Independency of Churches*, ſays "the difference between us and our brethren who "are for independency, is nothing ſo great as ſome may conceive; at moſt "it does but ruffle the fringe, not any way rend the garment of Chriſt; "it is ſo far from being a fundamental, that it is ſcarce a material diffe-"rence." The more rigid preſbyterians attacked the *apology* with greater ſeverity; ſwarms of pamphlets were publiſhed againſt it in a few months, ſome reflecting on the perſons of the *apologiſts*, and others on their principles, as tending to break the uniformity of the church, under the pretence of liberty of conſcience. The moſt furious adverſaries were Dr. *Baſtwick*, old Mr. *Vicars*, and Mr. *Edwards* miniſter of *Chriſt Church London*, who printed an *antapologia*, of three hundred pages in quarto, full of ſuch bitter invectives, that the pacific Mr. *Burroughs* ſaid, "he "queſtioned whether any good man ever vented ſo much malice againſt "others, whom he acknowledged to be pious and religious perſons." But we ſhall have occaſion to remember this gentleman hereafter.

Lord

Lord *Clarendon* and Mr. *Eachard* repreſent the *independents* as ignorant and illiterate enthuſiaſts; and though Mr. *Rapin* confeſſes, he knew nothing of their riſe and progreſs, he has painted them out in the moſt diſadvantagious colours, affirming "that their principles were exceeding "proper to put the kingdom into a flame; that they abhorred monarchy, "and approved of none but a republican government, and that as to re- "ligion, their principles were contrary to all the reſt of the world; that "they would not endure ordinary miniſters in the church, but every one "among them prayed, preached, admoniſhed, and interpreted ſcripture, "without any other call, than what himſelf drew from his ſuppoſed "gifts, and the approbation of his hearers." *K.* Charles *I.* 1644. *Their vindication.* Vol. XII. p. 290.

'Tis ſurpriſing ſo accurate an hiſtorian ſhould take ſuch liberties with men whoſe principles he was ſo little acquainted with, as to ſay, *the independents abhorred monarchy, and approved of none but a republican government*; whereas they aſſure the world in their apology, that they prayed publicly for kings, and all in authority. This was no point of controverſy between them and the preſbyterians, for when they had the king in their cuſtody they ſerved him on the knee, and in all probability would have reſtored him to the honours of his crown, if he had complied with their propoſals. When they were reproached with being *enemies to magiſtracy*, a declaration was publiſhed by the *congregational ſocieties* in and about *London*, in the year 1647. wherein they declare, "that as magiſtracy and "government in general is the ordinance of God, they do not diſapprove "of any form of civil government, but *do freely acknowledge that a king-* "*ly government, bounded by juſt and wholeſome laws, is both allowed by* "*God, and a good accommodation unto men.*" And if we may believe Dr. *Welwood*, when the army reſolved to ſet aſide the preſent king, *the governing party* would have advanced the duke of *Glouceſter* to the throne, if they could have done it with ſafety. With regard to religion *Rapin* adds, *their principles were contrary to all the reſt of the world*; and yet they gave their conſent to all the doctrinal articles of the aſſembly's confeſſion of faith, and declared in their apology, their agreement with the doctrinal articles of the church of *England*, and with all the proteſtant reformed churches in their *harmony of confeſſions*, differing only about the juriſdiction of claſſes ſynods and convocations, and the point of liberty of conſcience——Our hiſtorian adds, that *they were not only averſe to epiſcopacy, but would not endure ſo much as ordinary miniſters in the church. They maintained, that every man might pray in public, exhort his brethren and interpret ſcripture, without any other call than what himſelf drew from his zeal and ſuppoſed gifts, and without any other authority than the approbation of his hearers.* Here his annotator Mr. *Tindal* rightly obſerves, that he has miſtaken the *independents* for the *browniſts*; the independents had p. 8.

their

K. Charles I. 1644.

their ſtated officers in the church for publick prayer, preaching, and adminiſtring the ſacraments, as *paſtors*, *teachers*, and *elders* (who were eccleſiaſticks) and *deacons* to take care of the poor; nor did they admit of perſons unordained to any office, to exerciſe their gifts publickly, except as *probationers*, in order to their devoting themſelves to the miniſtry. The words of their confeſſion are; "the work of preaching is not ſo pe-"culiarly confined to paſtors and teachers, but that others alſo gifted, "and fitted by the holy ghoſt for it, and approved (*being by lawful ways* "*and means, by the providence of God called thereunto*) may publickly, or-"dinarily, and conſtantly perform it, *ſo that they give themſelves up* "*thereunto.*" 'Tis neceſſary the reader ſhould make theſe remarks, to rectify a train of miſtakes which run through this part of Mr. *Rapin*'s hiſtory, and to convince him, that the king's death was not owing to the diſtinguiſhing tenets of any ſect or party of chriſtians. There were indeed ſome *republicans* and *levellers* in the army, whoſe numbers encreaſed after they deſpaired of bringing the king into their meaſures, and 'tis well known that at their firſt appearance, *Cromwell* by his perſonal valour ſuppreſſed them with the hazard of his life. Theſe were chiefly *anabaptiſts*, and proved as great enemies to the *protector* as they had been to the king. But there is nothing in the principles of the *presbyterians*, *independents*, or *anabaptiſts* (as far as I can learn) inconſiſtent with monarchy, or that had a natural tendency to put the kingdom into a flame.

Savoy conf. 4*to.* p. 24. Art. 14.

Mr. *Baxter* who was no friend to the independents, and knew them much better than the above mentioned writers, admits "that moſt of "them were zealous, and very many learned, diſcreet and pious, capa-"ble of being very ſerviceable to the church, and ſearchers into ſcripture "and antiquity;" though he blames them on other occaſions, for making too light of ordination; for their too great ſtrictneſs in the qualification of church-members; for their popular form of church-government; and their too much exploding of ſynods and councils; and then adds, "I ſaw commendable care of ſerious holineſs and diſcipline in moſt of "the independent churches; and I found that ſome epiſcopal men, of "whom archbiſhop *Uſher* was one, agreed with them in this, that every "biſhop was independent, and that ſynods and councils were not ſo much "for government as concord." And I may venture to declare, that theſe are the ſentiments of almoſt all the proteſtant non-conformiſts in *England* at this day.

Baxter's life, p. 140, 143.

There was not one profeſſed *anabaptiſt* in the aſſembly, though their ſentiments began to ſpread wonderfully without doors. Their teachers were for the moſt part illiterate, yet Mr. *Baxter* ſays "he found many "of them ſober, godly, and zealous, not differing from their brethren "but as to infant baptiſm." Theſe joining with the *independents* in the point

Of the anabaptiſts.

Life, p. 140.

point of diſcipline and toleration, made *them* the more conſiderable, and encouraged their oppoſition to the *preſbyterians*, who were for eſtabliſhing their own diſcipline, without regard to ſuch as differed from them. K. Charles I. 1644.

Proceedings of the aſſembly.

It is not to be wondered, that ſo many parties with different views, ſhould entangle the proceedings of this venerable body, and protract the intended union with the *ſcots*, though as ſoon as the *covenant* was taken, they entered upon that affair, the parliament having ſent them the following order dated *October* 12. 1643.

Order to conſer about diſcipline.

"UPON ſerious conſideration of the preſent ſtate of affairs, the "lords and commons aſſembled in this preſent parliament do or- "der, that the aſſembly of divines and others, do forthwith confer, and "treat among themſelves, of ſuch a diſcipline and government as may be "moſt agreeable to God's holy word, and moſt apt to procure and pre- "ſerve the peace of the church at home, and a nearer agreement with the "church of *Scotland*, &c. to be ſettled in this church inſtead of the pre- "ſent church government by archbiſhops, biſhops, &c. which it is re- "ſolved to take away; and to deliver their advice touching the ſame, to "both houſes of parliament with all convenient ſpeed."

Hereupon the aſſembly ſet themſelves to enquire into the conſtitution of the primitive church, in the days of the apoſtles, which being founded upon the model of the *jewiſh* ſynagogues, gave the *Lightfoots*, the *Seldens*, the *Colemans*, and other maſters of *jewiſh* antiquities, an opportunity of diſplaying their ſuperior learning, by new and unheard of interpretations of ſcripture, whereby they frequently diſconcerted the warmer preſbyterians, whoſe plan of diſcipline they had no mind ſhould receive the ſtamp of an *apoſtolick ſanction*, in the church of *England*.

Lightfoot's remains, *in pref. p.* 8.

It was undoubtedly a capital miſtake in the proceedings of parliament, to deſtroy one building before they were agreed upon another. The ancient order of worſhip and diſcipline in the church of *England*, was ſet aſide above twelve months before any other form was appointed; during which time, no wonder *ſects* and *diviſions* arrived to ſuch a pitch, that it was not in their power afterwards to deſtroy them. Committees indeed were appointed to prepare materials for the debate of the aſſembly, ſome for *diſcipline*, and others for *worſhip*, which were debated in order, and then laid aſide without being perfected, or ſent up to parliament to be framed into a law. Nothing can be alledged in excuſe of this, but their backwardneſs to unite with the *ſcots*, or the proſpect the parliament might yet have of an agreement with the king.

Of ordination

The firſt point that came upon the carpet, was the ORDINATION OF MINISTERS; which was the more neceſſary, becauſe the biſhops refuſed

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ed to ordain any who were not in the intereſt of the crown: this gave occaſion to enquire into the *antient right of preſbyters to ordain without a biſhop*, which meeting with ſome oppoſition, the committee propoſed a temporary proviſion till the matter could be ſettled, and offered theſe two queries.

Firſt, "Whether in extraordinary caſes, ſomething extraordinary may "not be admitted, till a ſettled order can be fixed, yet keeping as near to "the rule as poſſible?

Secondly, "Whether certain miniſters of this city may not be appointed to ordain miniſters in the city and neighbourhood, for a certain time, "*jure fraternitatis?*"

To the laſt of which, the *independents* entered their diſſent, unleſs the ordination was attended with the previous election of ſome church. New difficulties being continually ſtarted, upon this and ſome other heads, the *ſcots* commiſſioners were out of all patience, and applied to the city miniſters to petition the parliament to call for the *advice of the aſſembly*. The petition was preſented *September* 18. 1644. in which, having reminded the *commons* of their *remonſtrance*, wherein they declare, it was not their intention to let looſe the golden reins of diſcipline; and of their *national* covenant, wherein they had engaged to the moſt high God, to ſettle an uniformity in the church; they add, "give us leave we beſeech you, "in purſuance of our national covenant, to ſigh out our ſorrows at the "foot of this honourable ſenate. Through many erroneous opinions, "ruinating ſchiſms, and damnable hereſies, unhappily fomented in this "city and country, the orthodox miniſtry is neglected, the people are "ſeduced, congregations torn aſunder, families diſtracted, rights and "duties of relations, national, civil, and ſpiritual, ſcandalouſly violated, "the power of godlineſs decayed, parliamentary authority undermined, "fearful confuſions introduced, imminent deſtruction threatened, and in "part inflicted upon us lately in the weſt. May it therefore pleaſe your "wiſdoms, as a ſovereign remedy for the removal of our preſent miſeries, "and preventing their further progreſs, to expedite a directory for public "worſhip, to accelerate the eſtabliſhment of a pure diſcipline and govern-"ment, according to the word of God, and the example of the beſt re-"formed churches, and to take away all obſtructions that may impede "and retard our humble deſires." Upon this the aſſembly were ordered to ſend up their *humble advice* upon this head; which was to the following effect, [*September* 22.] (*viz.*) that in this preſent exigency, while there were no preſbyteries, yet it being neceſſary that miniſters ſhould be ordained for the army and navy, and for the ſervice of many deſtitute congregations, by ſome who having been ordained themſelves, have power to join in the ſetting apart of others: They adviſe,

Ruſhw. Vol. V. p. 780.

Advice of the aſſembly.

(1.) That

K. Charles I. 1644.

Vol. Pam. penes me, Nº 68.

(1.) That an aſſociation of ſome godly miniſters in and about the city of *London*, be appointed by public authority, to ordain miniſters for the city and neighbouring parts, keeping as near to the rule as may be.

(2.) That the like aſſociations be made by the ſame authority, in great towns and neighbouring pariſhes in the ſeveral counties, which are at preſent quiet and undiſturbed.

(3.) That ſuch as are choſen or appointed for the ſervice of the army or navy, being well recommended, be ordained as aforeſaid, by the aſſociated miniſters of *London*, or ſome others in the country; and the like for any other congregations that want a miniſter.

According to this advice the two houſes paſſed an ordinance, *October* 2. for the ordination of miniſters *pro tempore*, which appoints the following ten perſons, being preſbyters and members af the aſſembly, to examine and ordain, by impoſition of hands, all thoſe whom they ſhall judge qualified to be admitted into the ſacred miniſtry, (*viz.*)

Dr. Cornelius Burgeſs, *Aſſeſſor*,
Dr. William Gouge,
Mr. John Ley,
Mr. George Walker,
Mr. Edmund Calamy,
Mr. Starkey Gower,
Mr. John Conant,
Mr. Humphery Chambers,
Mr. Henry Roborough,
Mr. Dan. Cawdrey.

And the following thirteen being preſbyters of the city of *London*, but not members of the aſſembly, *viz.*

The rev. Mr. John Downham,
Mr. Charles Offſpring,
Mr. Richard Lee,
Mr. Tim. Dod,
Mr. James Cranford,
Mr. Tho. Horton,
The rev. Mr. Tho. Clendon,
Mr. Sam. Clarke,
Mr. Arthur Jackſon,
Mr. Em. Bourne,
Mr. Fulk Billers,
Mr. Fr. Roberts,
Mr. Leon. Cooke.

Any ſeven or more to be a *quorum*, and all perſons ſo ordained, to be reputed miniſters of the church of *England*, ſufficiently authorized for any office or employment therein, and capable of all advantages appertaining to the *ſame*. Their rules for examination and trial of candidates, will be ſeen the next year, when this affair was fully ſettled. In the mean time another ordinance paſt the houſes, for the benefit of the county of *Lancaſter*, whereby the reverend Mr. *Charles Herle*, Mr. *Richard Herrick*, Mr. *Hyet*, Mr. *Bradſhaw*, Mr. *Iſaac Ambroſe*, and others, to

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the number of twenty-one, had full power given them to ordain *pro tempore* in the county *Lancaſter*. And to obviate the reproaches of the *Oxford* divines, the following clauſe was added, that "if any perſon do "publickly preach, or otherwiſe exerciſe any miniſterial office, that ſhall "not be ordained, or thereunto allowed by ſeven of the ſaid miniſters, "their names ſhall be returned to both houſes of parliament, to be dealt "with as they in their wiſdom ſhall think fit" It was voted further, that "no miniſter be allowed to preach, unleſs he has a certificate of his "ordination, or at leaſt of his being examined and approved by the aſ-"ſembly." And *Feb.* 16. at a conference between the two houſes it was agreed, that the aſſembly of divines be deſired to admit none into their pulpits, except ſuch whoſe doctrine they would be anſwerable for. Such was the concern of the parliament in theſe diſtracted times, to have a ſober and well regulated clergy.

Parl. Chr. p. 152.

Directory for public worſhip.

Next to the providing for a ſucceſſion of miniſters by *ordination*, the aſſembly conſulted about a form of public devotion. The old liturgy being laid aſide there were no public offices in the church: a committee was therefore appointed, *Octob.* 17. 1643. to agree upon certain general heads, for the direction of the miniſter in the diſcharge of his office, which having paſſed through the aſſembly, were ſent into *Scotland* for the approbation of the general aſſembly, and then eſtabliſhed by an ordinance of parliament bearing date *Jan.* 3. 1644-5. under the title of a *directory for public worſhip*.

Pref. to directory.

The reaſons which induced the parliament to diſcard the old liturgy, and form a new plan for the devotion of the church, I ſhall tranſcribe from their own preface. "It is evident (ſay they) after long and ſad "experience, that the liturgy uſed in the church of *England*, notwith-"ſtanding all the pains and religious intentions of the compilers, has pro-"ved an offence to many of the godly at home, and to the reformed "churches abroad. The enjoining the reading all the prayers, heighten-"ed the grievances; and the many unprofitable and burdenſome cere-"monies has occaſioned much miſchief, by diſquieting the conſciences "of many, who could not yield to them. Sundry good people have by "this means, been kept from the lord's table, and many faithful mini-"ſters debarred from the exerciſe of their miniſtry, to the ruin of them "and their families. The prelates and their faction have raiſed their eſti-"mation of it to ſuch an height, as if God could be worſhipped no other "way but by the *ſervice book*; in conſequence of which the preaching of "the word has been depreciated, and in ſome places entirely neglected.

"In the mean time the papiſts have made their advantage this way, "boaſting that the common prayer book came up to a compliance with "a great part of their *ſervice*; by which means they were not a little

"confirmed

" confirmed in their idolatry and ſuperſtition, eſpecially of late, when " new ceremonies were daily obtruded on the church. K. Charles I. 1644.

" Beſides, the liturgy has given great encouragement to an idle and " unedifying miniſtry, who choſe rather to confine themſelves to *forms* " made to their hands, than to exert themſelves in the exerciſe of the " gift of prayer, with which our Saviour furniſhes all thoſe whom he calls " to that office.

" For theſe and many other weighty conſiderations, relating to the " book in general, beſides divers particulars which are a juſt ground of " offence, it is thought adviſeable to ſet aſide the former liturgy, with the " many rites and ceremonies formerly uſed in the worſhip of God, not " out of any affectation of novelty, nor with an intention to diſparage " our firſt reformers, but that we may anſwer in ſome meaſure the gra- " cious providence of God, which now calls upon us for a further refor- " mation; that we may ſatisfy our own conſciences; anſwer the expec- " tations of other reformed churches; eaſe the conſciences of many godly " perſons among ourſelves; and give a public teſtimony of our endea- " vours after an uniformity in divine worſhip, purſuant to what we had " promiſed in our *ſolemn league and covenant*."

It has been obſerved, that the *directory* is not an abſolute form of devotion, but agreeably to its title, contains only ſome general directions, taken partly from the word of God, and partly from rules of chriſtian prudence; it points out the heads of public prayer, of preaching, and other parts of the paſtoral function, leaving the miniſter a diſcretionary latitude to fill up the vacancies according to his abilities. It is divided into ſeveral chapters, and being a book of a public nature, comprehending all the peculiarities of the preſbyterian reformation, I have given it a place in the appendix. Mr. *Fuller* obſerves, that the *independents* in the aſſembly were hardly perſuaded to conſent to it, for fear of infringing the liberty of prayer, yet being admitted to qualify ſome things in the preface, they complied. The committee who compoſed the preface were Mr. *Nye*, Mr. *Bridges*, Mr. *Burges*, Mr. *Tho. Goodwin*, all independents; Mr. *Vines*, Mr. *Reynolds*, Mr. *Marſhall*, and Dr. *Temple*, with the *ſcots* commiſſioners. Appendix, N° II.

The *directory* paſſed the aſſembly with great unanimity; thoſe who were for ſet forms of prayer reſolving to confine themſelves to the very words of the directory, while others made uſe of them only as heads for their enlargement.

It may not be improper in this place to adviſe the reader of the following variations introduced into the ſervice of the church upon this occaſion. Inſtead of one preſcribed form of prayer, the *directory* only points out certain topicks on which the miniſter might enlarge. The whole *a-* *Variations in the directory from the common prayer.*

K. Charles I. 1644.

pocrypha is rejected; *private and lay baptiſm*, with the uſe of god-fathers and god-mothers, and the ſign of the croſs, are diſcontinued. In the ſacrament of the lord's ſupper no mention is made of private communion, or adminiſtring it to the ſick. The *altar with rails* is changed into a communion table, to be placed in the body of the church, about which the people might ſtand or ſit, *kneeling* not being thought ſo proper a poſture. The preſbyterians were for giving the power of the keys into the hands of the *miniſters and elders*, as the independents were, to the whole *brotherhood*; but *Lightfoot*, *Selden*, *Coleman*, and others, were for an open communion, to whom the parliament were moſt inclinable, for all they would yield was, that *the miniſter immediately before the communion ſhould warn in the name of Chriſt, all ſuch as are ignorant, ſcandalous, prophane, or that live in any ſin or offence againſt their knowledge or conſcience, that they preſume not to come to that holy table, ſhewing them, that he that eateth and drinketh unworthily, eateth and drinketh judgment to himſelf.* The prohibition of marriage in *lent*, and the uſe of the *ring*, is laid aſide. In the viſitation of the ſick, no mention is made of private confeſſion, or authoritative abſolution. No ſervice is appointed for the *burial of the dead*. All particular veſtments for prieſts or miniſters, and all *ſaints* days are diſcarded. It has been reckoned a conſiderable omiſſion, that the directory does not enjoin reading the *apoſtles creed* and the *ten commandments*; lord *Clarendon* reports, that when this was obſerved in private converſation at the treaty of *Uxbridge*, the earl of *Pembroke* ſaid, he was ſorry for the omiſſion, but that upon a debate in the houſe of commons, it was carried in the negative by eight or nine voices. Which made many ſmile (ſays his lordſhip;) but the *jeſt* will be loſt, when the reader is informed, that the queſtion in the houſe was not, whether the *creed* ſhould be received or rejected, but whether it ſhould be printed with the *directory for worſhip*; it being apprehended more proper for a *confeſſion of faith*; and accordingly the creed and ten commandments were added to the *aſſemblies confeſſion*, publiſhed a year or two forwards. The ordinance for eſtabliſhing the *directory* repeals and makes void the acts of *Edward* VI. and queen *Elizabeth*, by which the old liturgy was eſtabliſhed, and forbids the uſe of it within any church, chapel, or place of public worſhip in *England* or *Wales*, appointing the uſe of the *directory* in its room; and thus it continued till the reſtoration of king *Charles* II. when the conſtitution being reſtored, the old liturgy took place again, the ordinance for its repeal having never obtained the royal aſſent.

Clar. Vol. II. p. 588.

The ſucceſs of it.

It was a conſiderable time before this great revolution in the form of public worſhip took place over the whole kingdom. In ſome parts of the country the church-wardens could not procure a *directory*, and in others they deſpiſed it, and continued the old *common-prayer-book*; ſome

would read no form, and others would uſe one of their own. In order therefore to give life to the *directory*, the parliament next ſummer called in all *common prayer-books*, and impoſed a fine upon thoſe miniſters who ſhould read any other form than that contained in the *directory*. The ordinance is dated *Aug.* 23. 1645. and enacts, that "the knights and burgeſſes of the ſeveral counties in *England* and *Wales*, ſhall ſend printed "books of the *directory* fairly bound to the committee of parliament in their ſeveral counties, who ſhall deliver them to the officers "of the ſeveral pariſhes in *England* and *Wales*, by whom they ſhall be "delivered to the ſeveral miniſters of each pariſh. It ordains further, that the "ſeveral miniſters next Lord's day after their receiving the *book of the directory*, ſhall read it openly in their reſpective churches before morning "ſermon. —— It then forbids the uſe of the common-prayer-book in "any church, chapel, or place of public worſhip, or in any private place "or family, under penalty of five pounds for the firſt offence, ten for "the ſecond, and for the third a years impriſonment. Such miniſters "as do not obſerve the *directory* in all exerciſes of public worſhip ſhall "forfeit forty ſhillings; and they who with a deſign to bring the *directory* into contempt, or to raiſe oppoſition to it, ſhall preach, write, or "print any thing in derogation of it, ſhall forfeit a ſum of money not "under five pounds, nor more than fifty, to be given to the poor. "All common prayer-books remaining in pariſh churches or chapels, "are ordered within a month, to be carried to the committee of the "ſeveral counties, to be diſpoſed of as the parliament ſhall direct."

K. Charles I. 1644.

Ordinance for enforcing the uſe of the directory. Ruſhw. p. part IV. Vol. I. p. 205.

These were the firſt fruits of preſbyterian uniformity, and are equally to be condemned with the ſeverities and oppreſſions of the late times; for though it ſhould be admitted, that the parliament or legiſlature had a right to abrogate the uſe of the *common-prayer-book* in churches, was it not highly unreaſonable to forbid the reading it in private families or cloſets? Surely the devotion of a private family could be no diſturbance to the public; nor is it any excuſe to ſay, that very few ſuffered by it, becauſe the law is ſtill the ſame, and equally injurious to the natural rights of mankind.

Remarks.

Though his majeſty's affairs were very deſperate after the battle of *Naſeby*, yet he had the courage to forbid the uſe of the new *directory*, and enjoin the continuance of the *common-prayer*, by a proclamation from *Oxford*, dated *Novemb.* 13. 1645. in which his majeſty takes notice, that "the book of common-prayer being a moſt excellent form of worſhip, "grounded on the holy ſcriptures, is a great help to devotion, and tends "to preſerve an uniformity in the church of *England*; whereas the directory gives liberty to ignorant, factious, and evil men, to broach "their own fancies and conceits, and utter thoſe things in their long "prayers

King forbids the uſe of it. Ruſhw. part IV. Vol. I. p. 207.

K. Charles I. 1644.

" prayers which no conſcientious man can aſſent to; and be the miniſ-
" ter never ſo pious, it breaks in upon the uniformity of public ſervice.
" And whereas this alteration is introduced by an ordinance of parliament,
" inflicting penalties on offenders, which was never pretended to be in
" their power without our conſent: Now, leaſt our ſilence ſhould be
" interpreted as a connivance in a matter ſo highly concerning the
" worſhip of God, and the eſtabliſhed laws of the kingdom, we do
" require and command all miniſters in all cathedrals and pariſh churches,
" and all other places of public worſhip, that the ſaid book of common-
" prayer be kept and uſed in all churches, chapels, *&c.* according to the
" ſtatute *primo Eliz.* and that the directory be in no ſort admitted, re-
" ceived, or uſed; and whenſoever it ſhall pleaſe God to reſtore us to
" peace, and the laws to their due courſe, we ſhall require a ſtrict ac-
" count, and proſecution againſt the breakers of the ſaid law. And in
" the mean time, in ſuch places where we ſhall come and find the book
" of common-prayer ſuppreſſed and laid aſide, and the directory intro-
" duced, we ſhall account all thoſe that are aiders, actors, or con-
" trivers therein, to be perſons diſaffected to the religion and laws eſt-
" abliſhed."

His majeſty likewiſe iſſued out warrants under his own hand, to the heads of the *univerſity*, commanding them to read divine ſervice as uſual, morning and evening; and aſſured his peers at *Oxford*, that he was ſtill determined to live and die for the privileges of his crown, his friends, and church government.

Riſe and progreſs of the engliſh anabaptiſts.

About this time the ANABAPTISTS began to make a conſiderable figure, and ſpread themſelves into ſeveral ſeparate congregations. We have already diſtinguiſhed the *german* anabaptiſts from the *engliſh*, who differed only from their proteſtant brethren about the ſubject and mode of *baptiſm*; theſe were divided into *general* and *particular*, from their different ſentiments upon the *arminian* controverſy; the former appeared in *Holland*, where Mr. *Smith* their leader publiſhed a confeſſion of faith in the year 1611. which Mr. *Robinſon* the miniſter of the independent congregation at *Leyden* anſwered in 1614. but the ſeverity of thoſe times would not admit them to venture into *England*. The *particular baptiſts* were ſtrict *calviniſts*, and were ſo called from their belief of the doctrines of *particular election*, *redemption*, &c. They ſeparated from the independent congregation about the year 1638. and ſet up for themſelves under the paſtoral care of Mr. *Jeſſe*, (as has been related) and having renounced their former baptiſm, they ſent over one of their number, [Mr. *Blunt*] to be immerſed by one of the *dutch* anabaptiſts of *Amſterdam*, that he might be qualified to baptize his friends in *England* after the ſame manner. A ſtrange and unaccountable conduct! for unleſs the *dutch* anabaptiſts

MS. penes me.

tiſts could derive their pedigree in an uninterrupted line from the apoſtles, the firſt reviver of this uſage muſt have been unbaptized, and conſequently, not capable of communicating the ordinance to others. Upon Mr. *Blunt*'s return, he baptized Mr. *Blacklock* a teacher, and Mr. *Blacklock* dipped the reſt of the ſociety, to the number of fifty-three, in this preſent year 1644. "Preſuming upon the patience of the ſtate (ſays Dr. *Featly*) they "have rebaptized one hundred men and women together, in the twilight, "in rivulets, and ſome arms of the *Thames*, and elſewhere, dipping "them over head and ears. They have printed divers pamphlets in de- "fence of their hereſy (ſays the ſame author) and challenged ſome of "our preachers to a diſputation." Nay ſo wonderfully did this opinion prevail, that there were no leſs than forty-ſeven congregations in the country, and ſeven in *London* at this time, who publiſhed a confeſſion of their faith, ſigned in the name of their congregations, by *William Kiffin*, *Thomas Patience*, *George Tipping*, *John Spilſbury*, *Thomas Sheppard*, *Thomas Munden*, *Thomas Gun*, *John Mabbett*, *John Webb*, *Thomas Kilcop*, *Paul Hobſon*, *Thomas Gore*, *John Philips*, and *Edward Heath*. In the year 1646. it was reprinted, with the additional names of *Dennis le Barbier* and *Chriſtopher Durell*, miniſters of the *franch* congregation in *London*, of the ſame judgement.

K. Charles I. 1644.

Their confeſſion conſiſted of fifty-two articles, and is ſtrictly *calviniſtical* in the doctrinal part, and according to the independent diſcipline; it confines the ſubject of baptiſm to grown chriſtians, and the mode to immerſion; it admits of gifted lay-preachers, and acknowledges a due ſubjection to the civil magiſtrate in all things lawful; and concludes thus, "We deſire to live quietly and peaceably, as becomes ſaints, endeavour- "ing in all things to keep a good conſcience, and to do to every man "(of what judgment ſoever) as we would they ſhould do to us; that "as our practice is, ſo it may prove us to be a conſcionable, quiet, and "harmleſs people (no way dangerous or troubleſome to human ſociety) "and to labour to work with our hands, that we may not be chargeable "to any, but to give to him that needeth, both friend and enemy, ac- "counting it more excellent to give than to receive. Alſo we confeſs, "that we know but in part, to ſhew us from the word of God, that "which we ſee not, we ſhall have cauſe to be thankful to God and them. "But if any man ſhall impoſe upon us any thing that we ſee not to be "commanded by our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, we ſhould, in his ſtrength, ra- "ther embrace all reproaches, and tortures of men; to be ſtripped of all "our outward comforts, and if it were poſſible, to die a thouſand "deaths, rather than do any thing againſt the truth of God, or againſt "the light of our own conſciences. And if any ſhall call what we "have ſaid hereſy, then do we with the apoſtle acknowledge, that

Their confeſſion of faith.

"after

K. Charles I. 1644.

" after the way they call hereſy ſo worſhip we the God of our fa-
" thers; diſclaiming all hereſies (rightly ſo called) becauſe they are againſt
" Chriſt; and deſiring to be ſtedfaſt and immoveable, always abounding
" in obedience to Chriſt, as knowing our labour ſhall not be in vain in
" the Lord."

When Dr. *Featly* had read this confeſſion he owned, they were neither heretics nor ſchiſmatics, but tender-hearted chriſtians, upon whom. through falſe ſuggeſtions, the hand of authority had fallen heavy whilſt the hierarchy ſtood.

Their character.

The advocates of this doctrine were, for the moſt part, of the meaneſt of the people; their preachers were generally illiterate, and went about the country making proſelytes of all who would ſubmit to *immerſion*, without a due regard to their acquaintance with the principles of religion, or their moral characters. The writers of theſe times repreſent them as tinctured with a kind of enthuſiaſtick fury againſt all that oppoſed them. Mr. *Baxter* ſays, " there were but few of them that had not been the op-
" poſers and troublers of faithful miniſters——That in this they ſtrength-
" ened the hands of the profane, and that in general, *reproach of miniſ-
" ters, faction, pride, and ſcandalous practices, were fomented in their
" way.*" But ſtill there were among them ſome learned, and a great many ſober and devout chriſtians, who diſallowed of the imprudence of their country friends. The two moſt learned divines that eſpouſed their cauſe were Mr. *Francis Cornwall* M. A. of *Emanuel College*, and Mr. *John Tombes* B. D. educated in the univerſity of *Oxford*, a perſon of incomparable parts, well verſed in the *greek* and *hebrew* languages, and a moſt excellent diſputant. He wrote ſeveral letters to Mr. *Selden* againſt infant baptiſm, and publiſhed a *latin exercitation* upon the ſame ſubject, containing ſeveral arguments, which he repreſented to the committee appointed by the aſſembly to put a ſtop to the progreſs of this opinion. The *exercitation* being tranſlated into *engliſh*, brought upon him a whole army of adverſaries, among whom were the reverend Dr. *Hammond*, Dr. *Holmes*, Mr. *Marſhal*, *Fuller*, *Geree*, *Baxter*, and others. The people of this perſwaſion were more expoſed to the public reſentments, becauſe they would hold communion with none but ſuch as had been *dipped*. All muſt paſs under this cloud before they could be received into their churches; and the ſame narrow ſpirit prevails too generally among them even at this day.

Baxter's Life, p. 102, 144.

Their ſufferings

Beſides the above-mentioned writers, the moſt eminent divines in the city of *London*, as Mr. *Vines*, *Calamy*, and others, preached vigorouſly againſt theſe doctrines, which they had a right to do; though it was moſt unjuſtifiable to fight them at the ſame time with the ſword of the civil magiſtrate, and ſhut them up in priſon, as was the caſe of ſeveral in

in this and the following year, among whom are reckoned the reverend Mr. *Henry Denn*, formerly ordained by the biſhop of St. *David*'s, and poſſeſſed of the living of *Pyeton* in *Hertfordſhire*; Mr. *Coppe* miniſter in *Warwickſhire*, and ſometime preacher to the garriſon in *Compton-Houſe*; Mr. *Hanſerd Knollys*, who was ſeveral times before the committee for preaching *antinominianiſm* and *antipædobaptiſm*; and being forbid to preach in the public churches, he opened a ſeparate meeting in *Great St. Helen*'s, from whence he was quickly diſlodged and his followers diſperſed. Mr. *Andrew Wyke* in the county of *Suffolk*, was impriſoned on the ſame account; and Mr. *Oates* and *Eſſex*, tried for his life at *Chelſmford* aſſizes for the murder of *Anne Martin*, becauſe ſhe died a few days after her immerſion, of a cold that ſeized her at that time. *Lawrence Clarkſon* was impriſoned by the committee of *Suffolk*, and having lain in gaol ſix months, ſigned a recantation and was releaſed. The recantation as entered in the committee's books, was in theſe words; K. Charles I. 1644.

July 15. 1645.

"THIS day *Lawrence Clarkſon*, formerly committed for an *anabaptiſt*, and for dipping, does now, before the committee, diſclaim his errors. And whereas formerly he ſaid he durſt not leave his dipping, if he might gain all the committees eſtates, now he ſays, that he by the holy ſcriptures is convinced, that his ſaid opinions were erroneous, and that he will not, nor dares not practiſe it again, if he might gain all the committees eſtates by doing it. And that he makes this recantation not for fear, or to gain his liberty, but meerly out of a ſenſe of his error, wherein he will endeavour to reform others." *Mr.* Clarkſon's recantation.

It muſt be granted, that the imprudent behaviour of the *baptiſt lay* preachers, who declaimed againſt human literature, and hireling prieſts, crying down magiſtracy, and a regular miniſtry, and talking in the moſt exalted ſtrains of a fifth monarchy, and king *Jeſus*, prejudiced the minds of many ſober people againſt them; but ſtill the impriſoning men merely on account of religious principles, not inconſiſtent with the public peace, nor propagated in a riotous and tumultuous manner, is not to be juſtified on any pretence whatſoever; and it was the more inexcuſable in this caſe, becauſe Mr. *Baxter* admits, that the preſbyterian zeal was in a great meaſure the occaſion of it. *Remarks.* Baxter's Life, p. 103.

Before we leave the aſſembly for this year, it will be proper to take notice, that it was honoured with the preſence of CHARLES LEWIS elector palatine, *comes into the aſſembly.*

K. Charles I. 1644.

tor *palatine* of the *Rhine*, eldeſt ſon of *Frederick*, &c. king of *Bohemia*, who married king *James*'s daughter, and loſt his territories by the fatal battle of *Prague* in 1619. The unhappy *Frederick* died in 1632. and left behind him ſix ſons and five daughters, among whom were prince *Rupert*, prince *Maurice*, and the princeſs *Sophia*. The young elector and his mother often ſolicited the *engliſh* court for aſſiſtance to recover their dominions, and were as often complimented with empty promiſes. All the parliaments of this reign mention with concern the calamitous condition of the queen of *Bohemia* and her children, and offer to venture their lives and fortunes for the recovery of the *palatinate*, but king *Charles* I. did not approve his ſiſters principles, who being a reſolved proteſtant, had been heard to ſay (if we may believe *L'Eſtrange*) *that rather than have her ſon bred up in idolatry at the emperors court, ſhe had rather be his executioner*. And Mr. *Eachard* adds, that the birth of king *Charles* II. in the year 1630. gave no great joy to the *puritans*, becauſe as one of them declared, *God had already provided for them in the family of the queen of* Bohemia, *who were bred up in the proteſtant religion, while it was uncertain what religion king* Charles's *children would follow, being to be brought up by a mother devoted to the church of* Rome. When the war broke out between the king and parliament, the elector's younger brothers *Rupert* and *Maurice*, ſerved the king in his army, but the elector himſelf being in *Holland* took the *covenant*, and by a letter to the parliament teſtified his approbation of the cauſe in which they were engaged. This ſummer he made a tour to *England*, and was welcomed by a committee of the two houſes, who promiſed him their beſt advice and aſſiſtance; to whom the prince made the following reply.

The palatine *family favourites of the* puritans.

Hiſt. p. 449.

Hiſt. Stuarts, p. 268.

"I HOLD myſelf much obliged to the parliament for their favours, "and my coming is to expreſs in perſon what I have often done "by letter, my ſincere affections to them, and to take off ſuch jealou- "ſies, as either the actions of ſome of my relations, or the ill effects of "what my enemies might by my abſence caſt upon me. My wiſhes "are conſtant for the good ſucceſs of the great work you have under- "taken, for a thorough reformation; and my deſires are to be ruled and "governed by your grave counſels."

Hiſt. Stuarts, p. 279.

The parliament ordered an apartment to be fitted up for the prince at *Whitehall*, and voted him eight thouſand pounds a year for his maintenance, and ten thouſand for his royal mother, till he ſhould be reſtored to his electorate. While he ſtayed here, he frequently attended the aſ-

ſembly

ſembly in their debates, and after ſome time had a paſs for himſelf and forty horſe into the *Low Countries*. His ſiſter princeſs SOPHIA, afterwards married the duke of *Brunſwick* and *Hanover*, whoſe ſon, upon the deceaſe of queen *Anne*, ſucceeded to the crown of *Great-Britain*, by the name of GEORGE I.; the numerous poſterity of king *Charles* I. being ſet aſide as papiſts: and thus the deſcendants of the queen of *Bohemia*, electreſs *palatine*, and daughter of king *James* I. came to inherit the imperial crown of theſe kingdoms, as a reward for their firmneſs to the proteſtant religion; and may the ſame illuſtrious family continue to be the GUARDIANS of our LIBERTIES, both ſacred and civil, to the end of time! *K.* Charles I. 1644.

Religion was the faſhion of the age; the aſſembly was often turned into a houſe of prayer, and hardly a week paſſed without ſolemn faſting and humiliation, in ſeveral of the churches of *London* and *Weſtminſter*; the laws againſt profaneneſs were carefully executed; and becauſe the former ordinances for the obſervation of the Lord's day had proved ineffectual, it was ordained *April* 6. that all perſons ſhould apply themſelves to the exerciſe of piety and religion on the Lord's day, "that no wares, fruit, herbs, or goods of any ſort, be expoſed to ſale, or cryed about ſtreets, upon penalty of forfeiting the goods. That no perſon without cauſe, ſhall travel, or carry a burden, or do any worldly labour, upon penalty of ten ſhillings for the traveller, and five ſhillings for every burden. That no perſon ſhall, on the Lord's day, uſe, or be preſent at any wreſtling, ſhooting, fowling, ringing of bells for pleaſure, markets, wakes, church-ales, dancing, games or ſports whatſoever, upon penalty of five ſhillings, to every one above fourteen years of age. And if children are found offending in the premiſes, their parents or guardians to forfeit twelve pence for every offence. That all may-poles be pulled down, and none others erected. That if the ſeveral fines above-mentioned can't be levied, the offending party ſhall be ſet in the ſtocks for the ſpace of three hours. That the king's declaration concerning lawful ſports on the Lord's day be called in, ſuppreſſed, and burnt.

State of religion.

Ordinance for better obſervation of the Lord's day. Scobel's Collect. p. 68.

"This ordinance ſhall not extend to prohibit dreſſing meet in private families, or ſelling victuals in a moderate way in inns or victualling houſes, for the uſe of ſuch who can't otherwiſe be provided for; nor to the crying of milk before nine in the morning, or after four in the afternoon."

The *ſolemn league and covenant* was in ſuch high repute at this time, that by an order of the houſe of commons, *Jan.* 29. 1644. it was appointed, "that on every faſt-day, and day of public humiliation, the *covenant* ſhould be publicly read in every church and congregation

Lond. *Min. teſtimony to truth of J. Chriſt*, p. 26.

K. Charles I. 1644.

" within the kingdom; and that every congregation be enjoined to have " one of the ſaid *covenants* fairly printed, in a fair letter, in a table " fitted to hang up in ſome public place of the church to be read." Which was done accordingly, and they continued there till the reſtoration.

But that which occaſioned the greateſt diſturbance over the whole nation, was an order of both houſes relating to *Chriſtmas* day. Dr. *Lightfoot* ſays, the *London* miniſters met together laſt year, to conſult whether they ſhould preach on that day; and one of conſiderable name and authority oppoſed it, and was near prevailing with the reſt, when the doctor convinced them ſo far of the lawfulneſs and expediency of it, that the queſtion being put it was carried in the affirmative with only four or five diſſenting voices. But this year it happening to fall on the *monthly faſt*, ſo that either the *faſt*, or the feſtival, muſt be omitted, the parliament after ſome debate, thought it moſt agreeable to the preſent circumſtances of the nation, to go on with faſting and prayer; and therefore publiſhed the following order.

Die Jovis 19 *Dec.* 1644.

Order for laying aſide the obſervation of Chriſtmas. Ruſhw. p. 817.

" WHEREAS ſome doubts have been raiſed, whether the *next* " *faſt* ſhall be celebrated, becauſe it falls on the day which " heretofore was uſually called the feaſt of the nativity of our Saviour; " the lords and commons in parliament aſſembled do order and ordain, " that public notice be given, that the faſt appointed to be kept the " laſt *Wedneſday* in every month ought to be obſerved, till it be other- " wiſe ordered by both houſes; and that this day in particular is to be " kept with the more ſolemn humiliation, becauſe it may call to remem- " brance our ſins, and the ſins of our forefathers, who have turned this " feaſt, pretending the memory of Chriſt, into an extreme forgetfulneſs " of him, by giving liberty to carnal and ſenſual delights, being con- " trary to the life which Chriſt led here on earth, and to the ſpiri- " tual life of Chriſt in our ſouls, for the ſanctifying and ſaving where- " of, Chriſt was pleaſed both to take a human life, and to lay it down " again."

Remarks.

The royaliſts raiſed loud clamours on account of the ſuppoſed impiety and profaneneſs of this tranſaction, as what had never before been heard of in the chriſtian world, though they could not but know, that this, as well as other feſtivals, is of eccleſiaſtical appointment; that there is no mention of the obſervation of *Chriſtmas* in the firſt or ſecond age of chriſtianity; that the kirk of *Scotland* never obſerved it ſince the reformation, except during the ſhort reign of the biſhops, and do not regard

gard it at this day. Some of the moſt learned divines among the preſbyterians, as well as independents, were in this ſentiment. Mr. *Edmund Calamy*, in his ſermon before the houſe of lords on this day, has theſe expreſſions. "This day is commonly called *Chriſtmas day*, a day that "has heretofore been much abuſed to ſuperſtition and profaneneſs. It is "not eaſy to ſay, whether the ſuperſtition has been greater, or the profane-"neſs. I have known ſome that have preferred *Chriſtmas day* before the "*Lord's day*. Some that would be ſure to receive the ſacrament on *Chriſt-*"*mas day* though they did not receive all the year after. Some thought, "though they did not play at cards all the year long, yet they muſt play "at *Chriſtmas*, thereby it ſeems, to keep in memory the birth of Chriſt. "This, and much more, hath been the profanation of this feaſt; and "truly, I think the ſuperſtition and profaneneſs of this day is ſo rooted "into it, that there is no way to reform it, but by dealing with it as *Heze-*"*kiah* did with the brazen ſerpent. This year God by his providence, has "buried this feaſt in a faſt, and I hope it will never riſe again. You have "ſet out, right honourable, a ſtrict order for keeping of it, and you are "here this day to obſerve your own order, and I hope you will do it "ſtrictly. The neceſſities of the times are great, never more need of "prayer and faſting. The Lord give us grace to be humbled in "this day of humiliation, for all our own and *England's* ſins, "and eſpecially for the old ſuperſtition and profaneneſs of this "feaſt."

K. Charles I. 1644.

About midſummer this year died doctor *Thomas Weſtfield* biſhop of *Briſtol*, born in the iſle of *Ely* 1573. educated in *Jeſus-College Cambridge*, and afterwards rector of *Hornſey*, and of St. *Bartholomew* the *Great*, *London*, and arch-deacon of St. *Alban's*. In the year 1641. he was advanced to the ſee of *Briſtol*, which he accepted, though he had refuſed it (as is ſaid) twenty-five years before. He was a gentleman of great modeſty, a good preacher, an excellent orator. The parliament had ſuch an eſteem for him, that they named him one of the aſſembly of divines, and he had the goodneſs to appear among them for ſome time. Upon the biſhop's complaint, that the profits of his biſhoprick were detained, the committee ordered them to be reſtored, and gave him a paſs to go to *Briſtol* to receive them, wherein they ſtile him a perſon of great learning and merit. He died in poſſeſſion of his biſhoprick, *June* 25. 1644. aged ſeventy-one, and compoſed his own epitaph, one line of which was,

Death of biſhop Weſtfield. Walker's Suff. Cler. p. 3.

Senio & mærore confectus,
Worn out with age and grief.

And

K. Charles I. 1644.

And another;

Epiſcoporum infimus, peccatorum primus,

The leaſt of biſhops, the greateſt of ſinners.

Of doctor Downing.

Dr. *Calibute Downing* was born of an ancient family in *Glouceſterſhire*, about 1616. he was educated in *Oriel-College Oxford*, and at length became vicar of *Hackney* near *London*, by the procurement of archbiſhop *Laud*; which is very ſtrange, if (as Mr. *Wood* ſays) he always looked awry on the church. In his ſermon before the *Artillery* company, *Sep.* 1. 1640. he maintained, that *for the defence of religion and reformation of the church, it was lawful to take up arms againſt the king, if it could be obtained no other way.* For this he was forced to abſcond till the beginning of the preſent parliament. He was afterwards chaplain in the earl of *Eſſex's* army, and a member of the aſſembly of divines, but died before he was forty years of age, having the character of a pious man, a warm preacher, and very zealous in the intereſt of his country.

CHAP. V.

Abſtract of the trial of archbiſhop LAUD; *and, of the treaty of* Uxbridge.

Trial of abp. Laud.

NEXT day after the eſtabliſhment of the *directory*, Dr. WILLIAM LAUD archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, received ſentence of death. He had been a priſoner in the *Tower* almoſt three years, upon an impeachment of high treaſon by the houſe of commons, without once petitioning for a trial, or ſo much as putting in his anſwer to the articles; however as ſoon as the parliament had united with the *ſcots*, it was reſolved to gratify that nation by bringing him to the bar; accordingly ſerjeant *Wild* was ſent up to the houſe of lords, *Octob.* 23. with ten additional articles of high treaſon, and other crimes and miſdemeanors; and to pray, that his *grace* might be brought to a ſpeedy trial. We have

have already recited the fourteen original articles under the year 1640. The additional ones were to the following purpoſe. K. Charles I. 1644.

1. "That the archbiſhop had endeavoured to deſtroy the uſe of par- "liaments, and to introduce an arbitrary government. *Articles of impeachment.* Prynne's Compl. Hiſt. *of the trial of abp.* Laud, p. 38.

2. "That for ten years before the preſent parliament, he had endeavour- "ed to advance the council-table, the canons of the church, and the king's "prerogative above law.

3. "That he had ſtopt writs of prohibition to ſtay proceedings "in the eccleſiaſtical courts, when the ſame ought to have been "granted.

4. "That he had cauſed Sir *John Corbet* to be committed to the "*Fleet* for ſix months, only for cauſing the *petition of right* to be read "at the ſeſſions.

5. "That judgment having been given in the court of *King's-Bench* "againſt Mr. *Burley*, a clergyman of a bad character, for non-reſi- "dence, he had cauſed the judgment to be ſtayed, ſaying *he would* "*never ſuffer judgment to paſs upon any clergyman* by *nihil dicit.*

6. "That large ſums of money having been contributed for buying in "impropriations, the archbiſhop had cauſed the *feoffments* to be over- "thrown in his majeſty's *Exchequer*, and by that means ſuppreſſed the "deſign.

"7. "That he had harboured and relieved divers popiſh prieſts, con- "trary to law.

8. "That he had ſaid at *Weſtminſter*, there muſt be a blow gi- "ven to the church, ſuch as had not been given before it could be "brought to conformity, declaring thereby his intention to alter the true "proteſtant religion eſtabliſhed in it.

9. "That after the diſſolution of the laſt parliament, he had cauſed a "convocation to be held, in which ſundry canons were made contra- "ry to the rights and privileges of parliament, and an illegal oath im- "poſed upon the clergy, with certain penalties, commonly known by "the *et cætera* oath.

10. "That upon the abrupt diſſolving of the ſhort parliament "1640. he had told the king, *he was now abſolved from all rules of* "*government, and at liberty to make uſe of extraordinary methods for* "*ſupply.*"

I omit the charge of the *ſcots* commiſſioners, becauſe the archbiſhop pleaded the act of oblivion.

The lords ordered the archbiſhop to deliver in his anſwer in writing to the abovementioned articles in three weeks, which he did, taking no notice Prynne, p. 45.

K. Charles I. 1644. of the original ones. The trial was put off from time to time, at the requeſt of the priſoner till *Sep.* 16. when the archbiſhop appearing at the bar, and having kneeled ſome time, was ordered to ſtand, and one of the managers for the commons moved the lords, that their articles of impeachment, with the archbiſhop's anſwer might be read; but when the clerk of the houſe had read the articles, there was no anſwer to the *original ones*. Upon which ſerjeant *Maynard* roſe up and obſerved, "how "unjuſt the archbiſhop's complaints of his long impriſonment, and of "the delay of his hearing muſt be, when in all this time he had not "put in his anſwer to their original articles, though he had long ſince "*counſel* aſſigned him for that purpoſe. That it would be abſurd in "them to proceed on the additional articles, when there was no iſſue "joyned on the original ones; he therefore prayed, that the archbiſhop "might forthwith put in his anſwer to all their articles, and then they "ſhould be ready to confirm their charge whenever their lordſhips ſhould "appoint."

Wharton's Hiſt. *of abp.* Laud's *troubles.* p. 214, 215.

The archbiſhop ſays, the *lords* looked hard one upon another, as if they would aſk where the miſtake was, he himſelf ſaying nothing, but that his anſwer had not been called for. His *grace* would have embarraſſed them further, by deſiring them to hear his counſel, whether the articles were certain and particular enough to receive an anſwer. He moved likewiſe, that if he muſt put in a *new* anſwer, his *former* might be taken off the file; and that they would pleaſe to diſtinguiſh which articles were *treaſon*, and which *miſdemeanor*. But the lords rejected all his motions, and ordered him to put in his peremptory anſwer to the original articles of the commons by the 22d inſtant, which he did accordingly, to this effect.

Abps. anſwer.

"As to the 13th article, concerning the troubles in *Scotland*, and "all actions, attempts, aſſiſtance, counſel, or device relating thereto, "this defendant pleadeth the late act of oblivion, he being none of "the perſons excepted by the ſaid act, nor are any of the offences charged upon this defendant excepted by the ſaid act.

"And as to all the other articles, both original and additional, this "defendant ſaving to himſelf all advantages of exception to the ſaid "articles, humbly ſaith, that he is *not guilty* of all or any the matters, "by the ſaid articles charged, in ſuch manner and form as the ſame are "by the ſaid articles charged againſt him."

Order and method of the trial.

The trial was deferred all the month of *February*, as the archbiſhop inſinuates, becauſe Mr. *Prynne* was not ready with his witneſſes. When it

it came on, lord *Grey* of *Werk* ſpeaker of the houſe of lords, was appointed preſident; but the archbiſhop complains, that there were ſeldom more than ſixteen or eighteen peers at a time. The managers for the commons were Mr. Serjeant *Wild* and Mr. *Maynard*, Mr. *Brown*, Mr. *Nicolas* and Mr. *Hill*, whom the archbiſhop calls *conſul bibulus*, becauſe he ſaid nothing; their ſollicitor was Mr. *Prynne*, the archbiſhop's grand enemy. His grace's counſel were, Mr. *Hearne*, Mr. *Hales*, Mr. *Chute*, Mr. *Gerard*; and his ſollicitor was his own ſecretary, Mr *Dell*. The trial was depending almoſt five months, in which time the archbiſhop was heard twenty days, with as much liberty and freedom of ſpeech as could be reaſonably deſired. When he complained of the ſeizure of his papers, the lord's ordered him a copy of all ſuch as he ſhould ſay were neceſſary for his defence; and when he acquainted them, that by reaſon of the ſequeſtration of his eſtate, he was incapable of feeing his counſel, they moved the committee of ſequeſtrations in his favour, who ordered him two hundred pounds. His counſel had free acceſs to him at all times, and ſtood by to adviſe him during the whole of his trial. K. Charles I. 1644.

The method of proceeding was this; the archbiſhop had three or four days notice of the day of his appearance, and of the articles they deſigned to proceed on; he was brought to the bar about *ten* in the morning, and the managers were till *one* making good their charge; the houſe then adjourned till *four*, when the archbiſhop made his defence, after which one of the managers replied, and the archbiſhop returned to the *Tower* between *ſeven* and *eight* of the clock in the evening.

'Tis unhappy that this remarkable trial, which contains the chief heads of controverſy between the puritans and the hierarchy, was not publiſhed by order of the houſe of peers, that the world might have ſeen the arguments on both ſides in their full ſtrength. Mr. *Prynne* by order of the houſe of commons, has given us *their* evidence to that branch of the charge which relates to religion, and the archbiſhop has left behind him his own defence on every day's hearing, mixed with keen and ſatyrical reflexions on his adverſaries; but theſe being detached performances, I have endeavoured to reduce the moſt material paſſages into a proper method, without confining myſelf to the exact order of time in which the articles were debated.

All the articles may be reduced to theſe three general heads. *Summary of the charge.*

Firſt, "That the archbiſhop had traiterouſly attempted, and endea- "voured to *ſubvert the rights of parliament, and to exalt the king's power* "*above law.*

Secondly, "That he had traiterouſly endeavoured to ſubvert the funda- "mental temporal laws and government of the realm of *England*, and

K. Charles I. 1644. "to introduce an arbitrary government againſt law and the liberties of the "ſubject.

Thirdly, "That he had traiterouſly endeavoured, and practiſed, to "alter and ſubvert God's true religion by law eſtabliſhed in this realm, "and inſtead thereof to ſet up popiſh ſuperſtition and idolatry, and to "reconcile us to the church of *Rome*."

Serjeant Wild opens the impeachment.

The trial began *March* 12. 1643-4. when Mr. Serjeant *Wild*, one of the managers of the houſe of commons, opened the impeachment with a ſmart ſpeech, in which he ſtated and aggravated the ſeveral crimes charged upon the archbiſhop, and concluded with comparing him to *Naaman* the *Syrian*, who was a great man but a leper.

The archbiſhop's ſpeech. Wharton's Hiſt. *of* Laud's *troubles*, p. 223.

The archbiſhop in his reply, endeavours to wipe off the aſperſions that were caſt upon him, in a laboured ſpeech which he held in his hand. He ſays, "It was no leſs than a *torment* to him to appear in that place, "and plead for himſelf on that occaſion, becauſe he was not only a "chriſtian but a clergyman, and by God's grace advanced to the greateſt "place this church affords. He bleſſed God that he was neither a-"ſhamed to live, nor afraid to die; that he had been as ſtrict an obſerver "of the laws of his country, both in public and private, as any man "whatſoever; and as for religion, that he had been a ſteady member of "the church of *England* as eſtabliſhed by law, which he had endea-"voured to reduce to decency, uniformity, and beauty, in the outward "face of it; but he had been as far from attempting any alterations in "favour of popery, as when his mother firſt bore him into the world; "and let nothing be ſpoken but truth (ſays he) and I do here challenge "whatſoever is between heaven and hell, that can be ſaid againſt me in "point of my religion, in which I have ever hated diſſimulation;" he then concludes with a liſt of twenty-one perſons whom he had converted from popery to the proteſtant religion.

It was obſerved by ſome, that if the paſſionate expreſſions in this ſpeech had been a little qualified, they would have obtained more credit with his *grace*'s judges; but as they were pronounced, were thought hardly fit for the mouth of one who lay under the weight of ſo many accuſations from the repreſentative body of the nation.

March 13. 1643-4. The next day the managers for the commons, began to make good the firſt branch of their charge, *(viz.)*

Firſt branch of the charge for ſubverting the rights of parliament.

"That the archbiſhop had traiterouſly attempted to ſubvert the rights "of parliament, and to exalt the king's power above the laws."

In ſupport of which they produced, (1) a paſſage out of his own diary, *Dec.* 5. 1639. "*A reſolution was voted at the board to aſſiſt the king in "extra-*

" *extraordinary ways, if* (ſays he) *the parliament ſhould prove* peeviſh " *and refuſe.*" K. Charles I. 1644.

The archbiſhop replied, that this was the vote of the whole *council-table*, of which he was only a ſingle member, and therefore could not be called *his counſel.* Beſides, the words had relation to the troubles of *Scotland*, and are therefore included in the act of oblivion. Laud's Hiſt. p. 229, 230, 231.

2. " They produced another expreſſion in one of the archbiſhop's " papers under his own hand, in the beginning of which he ſays, that " *magna charta had an obſcure birth, and was foſtered by an ill nurſe.*"

The archbiſhop replied, that it was no diſgrace to *magna charta* to ſay, it had an *obſcure birth*; our hiſtories confirm the truth of it, and ſome of our law-books of good account uſe almoſt the ſame expreſſions; and ſhall the ſame words be hiſtory and law in them, and treaſon in me? Laud's Hiſt. p. 409.

3. They averred, " that he had ſaid in council, that the *king's pro-* " *clamation was of as great force as an act of parliament*; and that he " had compared the king to the ſtone ſpoken of in the goſpel, *that who-* " *ſoever falls upon it ſhall be broken, but upon whomſoever it falls it will* " *grind him to powder.*" *Managers charge.*

The archbiſhop replied, that this was in the caſe of the *ſoap-buſineſs*, twelve years ago; and thinks it impoſſible thoſe words ſhould be ſpoken by him; nor does he apprehend the gentlemen who preſs this evidence can believe it themſelves, conſidering they are accuſing him as a *cunning delinquent.* So God forgive theſe men the falſhood and malice of their oaths (ſays he!) but as to the alluſion to the *ſtone* in the ſcripture, if I did apply it to the *king*, it was far enough from treaſon, and let them and their like take care, leſt it prove true upon themſelves, for *Solomon* ſays, *the anger of a king is death.* *Abp's replv.* Laud's hiſt. p. 234.

4. In further maintenance of this part of their charge, the managers produced " two ſpeeches which his *grace* framed for the king to be ſpo- " ken to the parliament; and his majeſty's anſwer to the remonſtrance of " the houſe of commons in the year 1628. which was all written with " the archbiſhops own hand, and theſe words endorſed by himſelf, *my* " *anſwer* to the parliament's remonſtrance. In which papers were ſundry " paſſages tending to ſet up an abſolute power in the king, and to make " the calling of parliaments in a manner uſeleſs. The king is made to " ſay, that *his power is only from God, and to him only he is accountable* " *for his actions*; that never king was more jealous of his honour, or " more ſenſible of the neglect and contempt of his royal rights. His " majeſty bids the commons remember, that parliaments are altogether " in his power, for their calling, ſitting, and diſſolution; and that ac- " cording as they behaved themſelves they ſhould continue, or not be. *Arbitrary ſpeeches made for the king by the abp. M. Charge.* *King's ſpeech*, March 29. 1626.

K. Charles I. 1644.

"When ſome of the members of parliament had ſpoken freely againſt "the duke of *Buckingham*, they were by the king's command, ſent to "the *Tower*; and his majeſty coming to the houſe of peers, tells them, "that he had thought fit to puniſh ſome inſolent ſpeeches lately ſpoken "againſt the duke, for I am ſo ſenſible of all your honours (ſays he) "that he that touches any of you, touches me in a very great meaſure. "Further, when the parliament was diſſolved in the year 1628. a pro- "clamation was publiſhed, together with the above-mentioned remon- "ſtrance, in which his majeſty declares, that ſince his parliament was "not ſo dutiful as they ought to be, he was reſolved to live without "them, till thoſe who had interrupted his proceedings ſhould receive "condign puniſhment, and his people come to a better temper; and that "in the mean time, he would exact the duties that were received by his "father, which his now majeſty neither could nor would diſpenſe "with."

King's ſpeech, May 11. 1626.

March 27. 1629.

Abp's reply. Laud's hiſt. p. 230, 403, 404, 406.

The archbiſhop replied, that he did indeed make the above mentioned ſpeeches, being commanded to the ſervice, and followed his inſtructions as cloſe as he could. As for the ſmart paſſages complained of, he hopes they will not be thought ſuch, when 'tis conſidered whoſe mouth was to utter them, and upon what occaſion. However if they be, he is heartily ſorry for them, and humbly deſires they may be paſſed by. The anſwer to the remonſtrance was drawn by his majeſty's command, as appears by the endorſement; and the ſevere paſſages objected to, were in his inſtructions. When a parliament errs may not their king tell them of it? Or muſt every paſſage in his anſwer be ſour that pleaſes not?

The managers proceeded to produce ſome other paſſages tending more immediately to ſubvert the rights of parliament, and among others, they inſiſted on theſe three.

Arbitrary ſpeeches of the abp. himſelf. M. charge.

1. "That the archbiſhop had ſaid at the *council-table*, after the ending "of the late parliament, that *now the king might make uſe of his own* "*power*. This was atteſted by Sir *Harry Vane* the elder, who was a "privy-counſellor, and then preſent."

Abp's reply, Laud's hiſt. p. 231.

The archbiſhop replied, that he did not remember the words; that if he did ſpeak them they were not treaſonable; or if they were, he ought to have been tried within ſix months, according to the ſtatutes 1 *Eliz. cap.* 6. That Sir *Henry Vane* was only a ſingle witneſs, whereas the law requires two witneſſes for treaſon; beſides, he conceived that this advice relating to the *ſcotiſh* troubles was within the act of oblivion, which he had pleaded. But *laſt of all*, let it be remembered, ſays the archbiſhop, for Sir *Harry*'s honour, that he being a man in years, has ſo good a memory, that he alone can remember words ſpoken at a full council-

council-table, which no perſon of honour remembers ſave himſelf; but I would not have him brag of it, for I have read in St. *Auſtin*, that *ſome even the worſt of men, have great memories, and ſo much the worſe for having them.* God bleſs Sir *Henry!* K. Charles I. 1644.

2. The archbiſhop had affirmed, "that the parliament might not "meddle with religion, without the aſſent of the clergy in convocation. "Now if this were ſo (ſay the managers) we ſhould have had no refor- "mation, for the biſhops and clergy diſſented." *Parliaments power in matters of religion. M. Charge.*

The archbiſhop in his reply cited the ſtatute 1 *Eliz. cap.* 1. which ſays, that *what is hereſy ſhall be determined by the parliament, with the aſſent of the clergy in convocation*, from whence he concluded, the parliament could not by law determine the truth of doctrine without the aſſent of the clergy; and to this the managers agreed, as to the point of *hereſy*, but no further. The archbiſhop added, that in his opinion, it was the prerogative of the church alone to determine *truth and falſhood*, tho' the power of making laws for the puniſhment of erroneous perſons, was in the parliament with the aſſent of the clergy. Indeed the king and parliament may, by their abſolute power, change *chriſtianity* into *turciſm* if they pleaſe, and the ſubjects that cannot obey muſt fly, or endure the penalty of the law; but of *right* they cannot do this without the *church*. Thus the parliament in the beginning of queen *Elizabeth*'s reign, by abſolute power aboliſhed popiſh ſuperſtition; but when the clergy were ſettled, and a form of doctrine was to be agreed on, a ſynod was called 1562. and the articles of religion were confirmed by parliament, with the aſſent of the clergy, which gave all parties their juſt right, and is ſo evident, that the heathens could ſee the juſtice of it, for *Lucullus* ſays in *Tully*, that *the prieſts were judges of religion, and the ſenate of the law.* *Abp. reply.* Laud's hiſt. p. 401.

3. "At a reference between Dr. *Gill* ſchool-maſter of St. *Paul*'s, and "the *mercer*'s company, the archbiſhop had ſaid, that the company could "not turn him out of the ſchool, without conſent of his ordinary; and "that upon mention of an act of parliament he replied, I ſee nothing "will down with you but acts of parliament, no regard at all to the ca- "nons of the church; but I will reſcind all acts that are againſt the ca- "nons, and I hope ſhortly to ſee the canons and the king's prerogative "of equal force with an act of parliament." *Of the king's prerogative and the canons of the church. M. charge.*

The archbiſhop was ſo provoked with the oath of the witneſs who gave this in evidence, [Mr. *Samuel Blood*] that he was going *to bind his ſin on his ſoul*, not to be forgiven him, *till he ſhould aſk him forgiveneſs*; but he conquered his paſſion, and replied, that ſince by a canon no perſon is allowed to teach ſchool without the biſhop's licence, and that in caſe of offence, he is liable to admonition and ſuſpenſion, it ſtands good, that *Abp's reply.* Laud's hiſt. p. 236, 237. Can. 77, 79.

K. Charles I. 1644.

that he may not be turned out without the ſaid biſhop's knowledge and approbation. As for the words, that *he ſaw nothing would down with them but an act of parliament, and that no regard was had to the canons*, he conceived them to be no offence; for though the ſuperiority belongs to acts of parliament in this kingdom, yet certainly ſome regard is due to the canons; and therefore he ſays again, that *if nothing will down with men but acts of parliament, the government in many particulars cannot ſubſiſt*. As to the laſt words, of his reſcinding thoſe acts that were againſt the canons, he is morally certain he could not utter them; nor does he believe any man that knows him will believe him ſuch a fool, as to ſay, he hoped to ſee the canons and the king's prerogative of equal force with an act of parliament, ſince he has lived to ſee ſundry canons rejected, and the king's prerogative diſcuſſed by law, neither of which can be done by any judges to an act of parliament. However if ſuch words ſhould have eſcaped him, he obſerves there is only one witneſs to the charge; and if they be within the danger of the ſtatute, then to that ſtatute which requires his trial within ſix months, he refers himſelf.

2d charge, Attempt to ſet aſide the laws.

The managers went on to the *ſecond charge* againſt the archbiſhop, which was his deſign TO SUBVERT THE FUNDAMENTAL TEMPORAL LAWS OF THE KINGDOM, AND TO INTRODUCE AN ARBITRARY GOVERNMENT AGAINST LAW AND THE LIBERTY OF THE SUBJECT.

Of ſhip-money, tonnage, and poundage. M. charge.

In maintenance whereof they alledged, "his illegal preſſures of *tonnage* "*and poundage* without act of parliament, *ſhip-money*, *coat* and *conduct-*"*money*, *ſoap-money*, &c. and his commitment of divers perſons to priſon "for non-payment; for a proof of which there appeared, among others, "three aldermen (*viz.*) aldermen *Atkins*, *Chambers* and *Adams*."

Abp's reply. Laud's hiſt. p. 232, 233, 234.

The archbiſhop confeſſed, that as to the buſineſs of *ſhip-money*, he was zealous in that affair, yet not with an intent to violate the law, for tho' this was before judgment given for the king, it was after the judges had declared the legality of it under their hands, and he thought he might ſafely follow ſuch guides. He was likewiſe of opinion, that *tonnage* and *poundage*, *coat* and *conduct-money*, were lawful on the king's part; that he was led into this opinion by the expreſs judgment of ſome lords preſent, and by the ſilence of others; none of the great lawyers at the table contradicting it; however, that it was the common act of the *council table*, and therefore all were as culpable as himſelf; and he was ſure this could not amount to treaſon, except it were againſt the three aldermen, *Atkins Chambers* and *Adams*.

Depopulations and pulling down houſes. M. charge.

They objected further, "ſundry depopulations, and pulling down "houſes; that for the repair of St. *Paul*'s above ſixty dwelling houſes "had been pulled down, *by order of council*, without any ſatisfaction to "the

" the tenants, becauſe they did not accept of the committee's compoſi- K. Charles I.
" tion.——That he had obliged a brewer near the court not to burn ſea- 1644.
" coal, under penalty of having his brewhouſe pulled down; and that by
" a like order of council many ſhop-keepers were forcibly turned out of
" their houſes in *Cheapſide*, to make way for *goldſmiths*, who were for-
" bid to open ſhop in any other places of the city. When a commiſſion
" was iſſued under the broad ſeal to himſelf, to compound with delinquents
" of this kind, Mr. *Talboys* was fined fifty pounds for non-compliance;
" and when he pleaded the ſtatute of the 39th of *Elizabeth*, the archbi-
" ſhop replied, *do you plead law here? either abide the order, or take your*
" *trial at the ſtar chamber*. When Mr. *Wakern* had one hundred pounds
" allowed him for the pulling down his houſe, he was ſoon after fined
" one hundred pounds in the *high commiſſion court, for profanation*; of
" which he paid thirty."

This the archbiſhop admitted, and replied to the reſt, that he humbly and heartily thanked God, that he was counted worthy to ſuffer for the repair of St. *Paul*'s, which had coſt him out of his own purſe above twelve hundred pounds. As to the grievances complained of, there was a *compoſition* allotted for the *ſufferers*, by a committee named by the lords, not by him, which amounted to eight or nine thouſand pounds, before they could come at the church to repair it; ſo that if any thing was amiſs it muſt be imputed to the lords of the council, who are one body, and whatſoever is done by the major part is the act of the whole; that however, here was ſome recompence made them, whereas in king *James*'s time, when a commiſſion was iſſued for demoliſhing theſe very houſes, no care was taken for ſatisfaction of any private man's intereſt; and I cannot forbear to add (ſays the archbiſhop,) that the biſhop and dean and chapter, did ill in giving way to theſe buildings, to encreaſe their rents by ſacrilegious revenue; there being no law to build on conſecrated ground. When it was replied to this, " that the king's commiſſion was " no legal warrant for pulling down houſes, without authority of parlia- " ment," he anſwered, that houſes more remote from the church of St. *Paul*'s had been pulled down by the king's commiſſion only in king *Edward* the third's time. As to the *brew-houſe*, the arch-biſhop owned that he had ſaid to the proprietor, that he muſt ſeal a bond of two thouſand pounds to brew no more with ſea-coal; but it was at the council table when he was delivering the ſenſe of the board, which office was uſually put upon him if preſent; ſo that this or any other hardſhip he might ſuffer ought not to be imputed to him, but to the whole council; and he was very ſure it could not amount to treaſon, except it were treaſon againſt a *brew-houſe*. The like anſwer he made to the charge about the *goldſmiths ſhops*, namely, that it was the order of council, and was thought

Abp's reply. Laud's hiſt. p. 235, 244, 246, 256.

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thought to be for the beauty and grandeur of the city, and he did apprehend the council had a right to command in things of *decency, and for the ſafety of the ſubject, and where there was no law to the contrary.* As to the words which he ſpoke to Mr. *Talboys*, they were not deſigned to derogate from the law, but to ſhew, that we ſat not there as judges of the law, but to offer his majeſty's *grace*, by way of compoſition to them who would accept it, and therefore he had his option, whether he would agree to the fine we impoſed upon him, or take his trial elſewhere. The commons replied with great reaſon, that no commiſſion from the king could juſtify the pulling down men's houſes, or oblige them to part with their eſtates without act of parliament.

Illegal commitments and prohibitions in the Spiritual courts *M. Charge.*

The managers objected further to the archbiſhop, "ſeveral illegal commitments, and exorbitant fines and cenſures in the ſtar chamber, and "high commiſſion court, as in the caſes of *Prynne*, *Burton*, *Baſtwick*, "*Huntly*, and others; and that when the perſons aggrieved brought *pro*"*hibitions*, he threatened to lay them by the heels, ſaying, *does the king* "*grant us power, and are we then prohibited?* Let us go and complain, *I* "*will break the back of prohibitions, or they ſhall break mine.* Accordingly ſeveral perſons were actually impriſoned for delivering *prohibitions*, as "was teſtified by many witneſſes; nay Mr. *Wheeler* ſwore, that he "heard the archbiſhop in a ſermon ſay, that *they which granted prohibitions* "*to the diſturbance of the church's right, God will prohibit their entrance* "*into the kingdom of heaven.*"

Abp's reply. Laud's Hiſt. p. 270, 271, 273, 274.

The archbiſhop replied, that the fines, impriſonments, and other cenſures complained of, were the acts of the ſeveral courts that directed them, and not his. That the reaſon why ſeveral perſons were impriſoned for *prohibitions*, was becauſe they delivered them into court in an unmannerly way, throwing them on the table, or handing them over the heads of others on a ſtick, to the affront of the court; notwithſtanding which, as many *prohibitions* had been admitted in his time as in his predeceſſors; and after all, he apprehended theſe *prohibitions* were a very great grievance to the church; nor was there the ſame reaſon for them now, as before the reformation, while the biſhops courts were kept under a foreign power, whereas now all power exerciſed in *ſpiritual courts*, as well as in *temporal*, is from the king. As to the words of his ſermon, though he did not remember them, yet he ſaw no great harm in them. And here the archbiſhop put the lords in mind, that nothing had been done of late in the ſtar chamber, or council-table, more than had been done in king *James* and queen *Elizabeth*'s times. Nor is there any one witneſs that ſays, what he did was with a deſign to overthrow the laws, or introduce arbitrary government; no, that is only the conſtruction of the

the managers, *for which, and ſomething elſe in their proceedings, I am confident, ſays he, they ſhall anſwer at another bar.* K. Charles I. 1644.

The managers objected further, " the archbiſhop's taking undue gifts, " and among others, his receiving two *buts of ſack*, in a cauſe of ſome " *Cheſter* men, whom it was in his power to relieve, by mitigating the " fine ſet on them in the high commiſſion, and taking ſeveral large ſums " of money by way of compoſition for fines in the high commiſſion court, " making uſe of the method of *commutation*, by virtue of a patent ob- " tained from the king, which took away all opportunity from his majeſ- " ty of doing juſtice, and ſhewing mercy to his poor ſubjects, and inveſted " the archbiſhop with the final determination." *Bribery objected to the abp. M. Charge.*

His *grace* heard this part of his charge with great reſentment and impatience. If I would have had any thing to do in the baſe dirty buſineſs of bribery (ſays he,) I needed not be in ſuch want as I now am. As to the *ſack*, he proteſted as he ſhould anſwer it to God, that he knew nothing of it, and offered to confirm it by his oath, if it might be admitted. He declared, that when his ſteward told him of Mr. *Stone*'s deſign, he abſolutely forbid his receiving it, or any thing from any man who had buſineſs before him; but Mr. *Stone* watching a time when his ſteward was out of town, and the archbiſhop at court, brought the *ſack*, telling the yeoman of the wine-cellar, that he had leave to lay it in. Afterwards when his ſteward acquainted him that the *ſack* was brought in, he commanded it ſhould be carried back, but Mr. *Stone* entreated he might not be ſo diſgraced, and proteſted he did not do it on the account of the *Cheſter buſineſs*, though after this he went home and put it on their account; for which they complained to the houſe of commons, and produced Mr. *Stone* for their witneſs. The archbiſhop obſerves, that Mr. *Browne* in ſumming up his charge did him juſtice in this particular, for neither to the lords nor commons did he ſo much as mention it. *Abp's reply.* Laud's hiſt. p. 274, 276, 300.

As to the other ſums of money which he received by way of *compoſition* or otherwiſe, for fines in the high commiſſion, he ſaid, that he had the *broad ſeal* from the king, for applying them to the repairing the weſt end of St. *Paul*'s, for the ſpace of ten years, which *broad ſeal* was then in the hands of Mr. *Holford*, and was on record to be ſeen. And all fines in the high commiſſion belonging to the crown, his majeſty had a right to give them to what uſe he pleaſed; that as for himſelf, he thought it his duty to get as much money for ſo good a work as he could, even by way of *commutation* for certain crimes; which method of pecuniary commutations was according to law, and the ancient cuſtom and practice of this kingdom, eſpecially where men of quality were offenders, and he had applied no part of them to his own benefit or advantage. *Commutation of penance.*

K. Charles I. 1644.

Alterations in the coronation oath. M. Charge.

It was next objected, " that he had made divers alterations in the *king*'s " coronation oath, and introduced ſeveral unwarrantable innovations with " relation to that auguſt ceremony; as particularly, that he had inſerted " thoſe words into the oath, *agreeable to the king's prerogative*, with a- " bout twenty other alterations of leſs moment, which they apprehended " to be a matter of moſt dangerous conſequence. That he had revived " certain old popiſh ceremonies, diſuſed ſince the reformation, as the " placing a crucifix on the altar, the conſecrating the holy oil, the anoint- " ing the king in form of a croſs, the offering up the *regalia* on the altar, " without any rubrick or direction for theſe things, and inſerting the fol- " lowing charge taken *verbatim* out of the *roman* pontifical, " *ſtand and* " *hold faſt, from henceforth, the place to which you have been heir by the ſuc-* " *ceſſion of your forefathers, being now delivered to you by the authority of* " *almighty God, and by the hands of us and all the biſhops and ſervants of* " *God; and as you ſee the clergy come nearer the altar than others, ſo remem-* " *ber, that in place convenient you give them greater honour, that the me-* " *diator of God and man may eſtabliſh you in the kingly throne, to be the* " *mediator between the clergy and the laity, and that you may reign for ever* " *with Jeſus Chriſt, the king of kings, and lord of lords, who with the fa-* " *ther, and the holy ghoſt, liveth and reigneth for ever.* Amen."

Abp. reply, Laud's hiſt. p. 318. Prynne, p. 475.

The archbiſhop replied, that he did not inſert the words above-mentioned into the *coronation oath*, they being firſt added in king *Edward* VI. or queen *Elizabeth*'s time, and had no relation to the laws of the kingdom, mentioned before in the beginning of the oath, but to the profeſſion of the goſpel, whereby the king ſwears to maintain his prerogative againſt all foreign juriſdictions: and if this be not the meaning, yet he avers, that the clauſe was in the coronation oath of king *James*. As to the other alterations they are admitted not to be material; but his *grace* confeſſes, that when they met in the committee, they were forced to mend many ſlips of the pen in ſome places, and to make ſenſe and good *engliſh* in others, and the book being intruſted with him he did it with his own hand, openly in the committee and with their approbation. As to the ceremonies of the coronation, they are nothing to him, ſince his predeceſſor crowned andanointed the king, indeed he ſupplied the place of the dean of *Weſtminſter*, and was obliged to look after the *regalia*, and conceives the offering them at the altar could be no offence. He does not remember the crucifix was brought out [though *Heylin* ſays it was] and as to the prayer, it was not taken from the *pontifical* by him, for it was uſed at king *James*'s coronation, and being a good one 'tis no matter whence it was taken. To all which the managers replied, that it appeared by his own diary, that he had the chief direction of all theſe innovations.

The

The managers went on, and charged the archbiſhop, "with endeavour- K. Charles I. 1644.
"ing to ſet up an independent power in the church, by attempting *to ex-*
"*empt the clergy from the juriſdiction of the civil magiſtrate*; of which *Attempt to ſet*
"they produced ſeveral examples; one was, the archbiſhop's forbidding *up an*
"the lord mayor of the city of *London*, to carry the ſword upright in the *independent*
"church, and then obtaining an order of council for ſubmitting it in time *power in the*
"and place of divine ſervice. Another was taken out of the archbiſhop's *clergy.*
"diary; upon making the biſhop of *London*, *lord treaſurer*, he ſays, *no* *M. Charge.*
"*churchman had it ſince* Henry VII. *and now if the church will not hold*
"*up themſelves, under God, I can do no more.* A third was, his ſaying in
"the high commiſſion, that *no conſtable ſhould meddle with men in holy or-* Laud's hiſt.
"*ders.* A fourth was, his calling ſome juſtices of peace into the high p. 293.
"commiſſion, for holding the ſeſſions at *Tewksbury* in the church-yard,
"being *conſecrated ground*, though they had licence from the biſhop, and
"though the eighty-eighth *canon* of the church of *England* gives leave,
"that temporal courts or leets may be kept in the church or church-yard.
"And a fifth was, that he had cauſed certain church-wardens to be pro-
"ſecuted, for executing the warrant of a juſtice of peace upon an ale-
"houſe-keeper."

The archbiſhop replied in general, that he never attempted to bring *Abp's reply.*
the temporal power under the clergy, nor to free the clergy from being Laud's hiſt.
under it; but this he confeſſed, that he had laboured to preſerve the cler- p. 287, 292
gy from ſome lay-men's oppreſſions, for *vis laica* has been an old, and a juſt complaint; and this I took to be my duty (ſays he,) aſſuring myſelf that God did not raiſe me to that place of eminence to ſit ſtill, and ſee his miniſters diſcountenanced and trampled upon. To the firſt particular he replied, that it was an order of council, and therefore not his; but it was a reaſonable one, for the *ſword* was not ſubmitted to any foreign or home power, but to God only, and that in the place and at the performance of his holy worſhip, at which time and place kings ſubmit themſelves, and therefore can't inſiſt upon the emblems of their power. To the ſecond and third examples he replied, that he ſaw no treaſon or crime in them. To the fourth he replied, that no temporal courts ought to be kept upon *conſecrated ground*; and that though ſome ſuch might upon urgent occaſions be kept in the church with leave, yet that is no warrant for a ſeſſions, where there might be a trial for blood; and certainly it can be no crime to keep off profanation from churches; but be it never ſo criminal it was the act of the high commiſſion, and not his; nor is there any thing in it that looks towards *treaſon*. To the proſecuting the church wardens he anſwered, that thoſe ſtatutes concerned *ale houſe-keepers* only, and the reaſon why they were proſecuted was, becauſe being church-officers they did not complain of it to the chancellor of the

K. Charles I. 1644.

dioceſe; for certainly ſtanding in ſuch a relation to the church, they ought to have been as ready to inform the biſhop as to obey the juſtice of the peace.

Sitting of the convocation after the parliament.

Laſtly, The managers objected to the archbiſhop, "the convocation's "ſitting after the parliament was diſſolved, contrary to law; their im- "poſing an oath on the ſubject, and their making ſundry canons, which "had ſince been voted by both houſes of parliament contrary to the king's "prerogative, to the fundamental laws of the realm, to the rights of "parliament, to the property and liberty of the ſubject, and containing "matters tending to ſedition, and of dangerous conſequence."

M. Charge. Article 5.

Abp's reply, Laud's hiſt. p. 282.

The archbiſhop replied, that the ſitting of the convocation after the diſſolution of the parliament was, in the opinion both of judges and other lawyers, according to law; that as they were called to ſit in convocation by a different writ from that which called them, as biſhops to ſit in parliament, ſo they could not riſe till they had a writ to diſcharge them. As for the *oath* ſo much complained of, it was according to law, or elſe they were miſled by ſuch precedents as were never excepted againſt, for in the canons made in king *James*'s time, there was an oath againſt *ſimony*, and an oath for licences for marriages, and an oath for judges in eccleſiaſtical courts, and all theſe eſtabliſhed by no other authority than the late one. As to the vote of both houſes, which condemned the *canons*, ſince their lordſhips would not ſuffer him to debate the juſtice and equity of it, he could only reply, that all theſe canons were made in open and full convocations, and are acts of that body, and cannot be aſcribed to him, though preſident of that ſynod, ſo by me (ſays the archbiſhop) they were not made.

Theſe were the principal evidences produced by the commons, in maintenance of the firſt branch of their charge, (*viz.*) his *grace*'s endeavours to ſubvert the rights of parliament, and the *fundamental temporal* laws of the kingdom. From whence it is eaſy to obſerve, that beſides the ſharpneſs of the archbiſhop's temper, there are three capital miſtakes which run through this part of his defence.

Remarks.

1. A groundleſs ſuppoſition, that *where the law is ſilent the prerogative takes place*; and that in all ſuch caſes, a proclamation, an order of council, or a decree of the ſtar-chamber, *&c.* is binding upon the ſubject; and that diſobedience to ſuch proclamations or orders might be puniſhed at diſcretion. This gave riſe to moſt of the unwarrantable *orders* by which the ſubject was inſufferably oppreſſed in the former part of this reign, and to the exorbitant fines that were levied for diſobedience, in which the archbiſhop himſelf was notoriouſly active.

2. *The*

K. Charles I. 1644.

2. *The falſe concluſions drawn from his being but a ſingle member of the council or high commiſſion (viz.)* that therefore he was not anſwerable for their votes or orders, even though he had ſet his hand to them; becauſe *what is carried by a majority is ſuppoſed to be the act of the whole body, and not of any particular member.* According to which way of reaſoning, the conſtitution might be deſtroyed, without a poſſibility of puniſhing the authors. Laud's hiſt. p. 437.

3. *His wilful miſconſtruction of the managers reaſonings*; as when he replies with an air of ſatisfaction and triumph, he hopes this or the other particular will not be conſtrued treaſon, unleſs it be againſt a *brew-houſe* or an *alderman*, or the like; though he was told over and over, by the managers for the commons, that they did not object theſe things to him as ſo many treaſonable acts, but as proofs and evidences of one general charge, which was, a *traiterous attempt and endeavour to ſubvert the fundamental temporal laws, government, and liberties of the realm*; and how far they have made good this part of their charge muſt be left with the reader.

3d general charge. Subverting religion.

The commons proceeded next to the third general charge, relating to religion, in which our hiſtory requires us to be more particular; and here they aver, "That the archbiſhop had traiterouſly endeavoured and practiſed *to alter and ſubvert God's true religion by law eſtabliſhed in this realm, and inſtead thereof to ſet up popiſh ſuperſtition and idolatry, and to reconcile us to the church of Rome.*"

This was divided into two branches,

Firſt, "His introducing and practiſing certain popiſh innovations, and "ſuperſtitious ceremonies, not warranted by law, nor agreeable to the "practice of the church of *England* ſince the reformation.

Secondly, "His countenancing and encouraging ſundry doctrinal errors in favour of *arminianiſm* and *popery*."

The managers began with *popiſh innovations* and *ceremonies*, in maintenance of which they inſiſted on the following proofs.

Paintings, and images, and crucifixes. M. Charge. Prynne's cant. Doom, p. 60, &c. 462.

(1.) "*His countenancing the ſetting up of images in churches, church windows, and other places of religious worſhip.* That in his own chapel at *Lambeth* he had repaired the popiſh paintings on the windows, "that had been deſtroyed at the reformation, and made up the hiſtory of "Chriſt crucified between two thieves; of his riſing out of the grave; "of his aſcenſion into heaven; of the holy ghoſt deſcending in form of "a dove; of Chriſt raiſing *Lazarus* out of the grave; and of God himſelf raining down manna from heaven; of God's giving the law to *Moſes* "on mount *Sinai*; of fire deſcending from heaven at the prayer of *Eliſha*; "of the holy ghoſt over-ſhadowing the virgin, &c. all taken from the "*Roman*

K. Charles I. 1644.

" *Roman* miſſal, with ſeveral ſuperſtitious motto's and inſcriptions. That " he had cauſed divers crucifixes to be ſet up in churches over the com- " munion table, in his chapel at *Lambeth*, at *Whitehall*, and at the uni- " verſity of *Oxford*, of which he was chancellor. That in the pariſh of " St. *Mary*'s there was ſince his time erected a ſtatue of the *Virgin Mary* " cut in ſtone, with a child in her arms, to which divers people bowed " and did reverence as they went along the ſtreets, which could not be " done without his allowance; nay ſo zealous was this prelate (ſay the " managers) in defence of images, that he procured Mr. *Sherfield* to be " ſentenced in the ſtar chamber, for defacing a church window in or near " *Salisbury*, becauſe there was an image in it of God the father; all " which is contrary to the ſtatute of the 3d and 4th of *Edward* VI. and " the injunctions of queen *Elizabeth*, which enjoin *all pictures, paint-* " *ings, images, and other monuments of idolatry and ſuperſtition to be de-* " *ſtroyed, ſo as that there remain no memory of them in walls, glaſs windows,* " *or elſewhere within any church or houſe.*"

Abp's anſw. Laud's hiſt. p. 311. Prynne, p. 462, 463, 479.

The archbiſhop anſwered in general, that crucifixes and images in churches were not ſimply unlawful; that they were in uſe in *Conſtantine*'s time and long before, and therefore there could be no popery in them. *Tertullian* ſays they had the picture of Chriſt engraven on their *chalice* in form of a ſhepherd carrying home a loſt ſheep; and even Mr. *Calvin* allows an hiſtorical uſe of images, *inſtit.* l. 1. cap. 11. ſect. 12. *Neque tamen ea ſuperſtitione teneor ut nullas prorſus imagines ferendas cenſeam, ſed quia ſculptura & pictura, dei dona ſunt, purum & legitimum utriuſque uſum requiro.* The archbiſhop appeal'd likewiſe to the homilies, *p.* 64, 65. for an hiſtorical uſe of images; but if it ſhould be granted (ſays he) that they are condemned by the homilies, yet certainly one may ſubſcribe to the homilies as containing a godly and wholſome doctrine, neceſſary for thoſe times, without approving every paſſage or ſentence, or ſuppoſing it neceſſary for all times. I do not approve of images of God the father, though ſome will juſtify them from *Dan.* vii. 22. but as for the images of things viſible, they are of uſe, not only for the beautifying and adorning the places of divine worſhip, but for admonition and inſtruction; and can be an offence to none but ſuch as would have God ſerved ſlovenly and meanly, under a pretence of avoiding ſuperſtition.

Prynne. p. 462.

As to the particulars, the archbiſhop allowed his repairing the windows of his chapel at *Lambeth*, and making out the hiſtory as well as he could, but not from the *Roman* miſſal, ſince he did not know the particulars were in it, but from the fragments of what remained in the windows ſince the reformation; but if they had been originally painted by his order, as in the caſe of the new chapel at *Weſtminſter*, he knows no crime in it. The image of the virgin *Mary* in *Oxford*, was ſet up by biſhop *Owen*, and there is no evidence that I countenanced the ſetting it up, nor

Laud's hiſt. p. 329.

that any complaint was made to me of any abuſe of it. As to Mr. *Sherfield*'s caſe one of the witneſſes ſays, it was the picture of an old man with a budget by his ſide pulling out *Adam* and *Eve*, 'tis not therefore certain that it was the image of God the father; but if it was, yet Mr. *Sherfield* ought not to have defaced it but by command of authority, though it had been an idol of *Jupiter*; the orders of the veſtry which Mr. *Sherfield* pleads being nothing at all without the biſhop of the dioceſe. The ſtatute of *Edward* VI. has nothing to do with images in glaſs-windows, the words of the ſtatute are, *any images of ſtone, timber, alabaſter, or earth, graven, carved or painted, taken out of any church*, &c. *ſhall be deſtroyed.* So here is not a word of glaſs windows nor images in them. K. Charles I. 1644. Ib. p. 434.

The managers for the commons replied, that it was notoriouſly falſe, that the primitive chriſtians approved of images, for *Juſtin Martyr*, *Clemens Alexandrinus*, *Irenæus*, and all the ancient fathers agree that they had none in their churches. *Lactantius* ſays, there can be no religion in a place where any image is. *Epiphanius* rent in pieces an image painted on cloth which he found in a church, out of holy indignation. All the ancient councils are againſt images in churches; and many godly emperors caſt them out, after they began to be in uſe in later times, as our own homilies expreſsly declare, *peril of idolatry*, part II. *p.* 38. As for *Tertullian*, all that can be proved from him is, that thoſe heretics againſt whom he writ had ſuch a *chalice*, not that the orthodox chriſtians allowed of it. *Calvin* only ſays, that he is not ſo ſuperſtitious as to think it altogether unlawful to make images of men or beaſts for a civil uſe, becauſe painting is the gift of God. But he affirms in the very next ſection, that there were no images in *churches* for five hundred years after Chriſt; and ſays expreſsly that they were not in uſe till the chriſtian religion was corrupted and depraved. He then adds, that he accounts it unlawful and wicked to paint the image of God, becauſe he has forbid it. But the homilies are ſo expreſs that they wonder the archbiſhop can mention them without bluſhing; as well as his not knowing that the paintings were according to the maſs-book, when his own maſs-book is marked in thoſe places with his own hand. The images in thoſe windows were broken and demoliſhed at the reformation, by virtue of our ſtatutes homilies and injunctions, and remained as monuments of our indignation againſt *romiſh* idolatry, till the archbiſhop repaired them. The managers obſerved further, that the archbiſhop had confeſſed the particulars of this part of their charge, and had only excuſed himſelf as to the univerſity of *Oxford*, though they conceive it impoſſible he could be ignorant of thoſe innovations, being chancellor and viſitor, and having entertained the king queen and elector *Palatine* there, for ſeveral days. As for Mr. *Sher-*

M. reply to antiq. of images in churches. Prynne, p. 463, 464.

Peril of idol. p. 41, 42, 43.

K. Charles I. 1644.

Sherfield's caſe, they apprehend the authority of the veſtry was ſufficient in a place exempt from the juriſdiction of the biſhop, as St. *Edmund*'s *church* was. And the managers are ſtill of opinion, that the ſtatute of *Edward* VI. extends to images in glaſs-windows; and that which confirms them in it is, that the injunctions of queen *Elizabeth* made in purſuance of this law, extend in direct terms to images in glaſs-windows; and the practice of thoſe times in defacing them, infallibly proves it.

Conſecration of churches and altars, and feaſts of dedication.

M. charge. Prynne, p. 114, 497.

(2.) Another popiſh innovation charged on the archbiſhop was, "*his* "*ſuperſtitious manner of conſecrating chapels, churches, and church-yards*; "they inſtanced in *Creed-church*, of which the reader has had an account "before; and in St. *Giles*'s in the *fields*, which being fallen to decay, "was in part re-edified and finiſhed in biſhop *Mountaine*'s time, divine "ſervice, and adminiſtration of ſacraments having been performed in it "three or four years before his death; but no ſooner was the archbi-"ſhop tranſlated to the ſee of *London*, than he interdicted the church, "and ſhut up the doors for ſeveral weeks, till he had re-conſecrated it, "after the manner of *Creed-church*, to the very great coſt and charge of "the pariſh, and contrary to the judgment of biſhop *Parker*, and our "firſt reformers."

"They objected further, his *conſecrating altars* with all their furni-"ture, as *pattens*, *chalices*, *altar-cloths*, &c. even to the knife that was "to cut the ſacramental bread; and his *dedicating the churches* to certain "ſaints, together with his promoting annual revels, or feaſts of dedica-"tion on the *Lord's-day* in ſeveral parts of the country, whereby that "*holy day* was profaned, and the people encouraged in ſuperſtition and "ignorance."

Abp's anſwer to the conſecrating churches.

Laud's hiſt. p. 339, 340.

The archbiſhop anſwered to the *conſecration of churches*, that the practice was as ancient as *Moſes*, who conſecrated the tabernacle, with all its veſſels and ornaments; that the temple was afterwards conſecrated by king *Solomon*; that as ſoon as chriſtian churches began to be built, in the reign of *Conſtantine* the great, they were conſecrated as *Euſebius* teſtifies concerning the church of *Tyre*, in his eccleſiaſtical hiſtory, *l.* 10. *cap.* 3. and ſo it has continued down to the preſent time. Beſides if churches were not conſecrated they would not be *holy*; nor does archbiſhop *Parker* ſpeak againſt conſecrations in general, but againſt popiſh conſecrations, which mine were not (ſays the archbiſhop) for I had them from biſhop *Andrews*.

Prynne, p. 115,

To feaſts of dedication.

As to the manner of *conſecrating Creed church*, St. *Giles*'s, &c. his *grace* confeſſed that when he came to the church-door, that paſſage in the pſalms was read, *lift up your heads, O ye gates, even lift them up, ye everlaſting doors, that the king of glory may come in*; that he kneeled and bowed at his entrance into the church as *Moſes* and *Aaron* did at the door

of

of the tabernacle; that he declared the place *holy*, and made uſe of a prayer like one in the *roman* pontifical; that afterwards he pronounced divers curſes on ſuch as ſhould profane it, but denied his throwing duſt into the air, in which he ſaid, the witneſſes had forſworn themſelves, for the *roman* pontifical does not preſcribe throwing *duſt* into the air, but *aſhes*; and he conceives there is no harm, much leſs treaſon in it. The practice of giving the names of *angels* and *ſaints* to churches at their dedication for diſtinction ſake, and for the honour of their memories (ſays his *grace*) has been very ancient, as appears in St. *Auſtin*, and divers others of the fathers, but the *dedication* ſtrictly ſpeaking is only to God; nor is the obſerving the annual feaſts of dedication leſs ancient; the feaſt of the dedication of the temple was obſerved in our Saviour's time, and though no doubt, it was abuſed by ſome among the *Jews*, yet our Saviour honoured it with his preſence Judge *Richardſon* indeed, had made an order in his circuit, for putting down theſe *wakes*, but he was obliged to revoke it by authority, and under favour (ſays the archbiſhop), I am of opinion that the *feaſts* ought not to be put down for ſome abuſes, any more than all vines ought to be rooted up becauſe ſome will be drunk with the juice of them. The *feaſts* are convenient for keeping up hoſpitality and good neighbourhood; nor can there be a more proper time for obſerving them than on *ſundays*, after divine ſervice is ended.

K. Charles I. 1644.

Laud's hiſt. p. 269.

And as the conſecrating of churches and dedicating them to God, has been of ancient uſage, ſo has the conſecration of altars and their furniture, and ſuch conſecrations are neceſſary, for elſe the Lord's table could not be called *holy*, nor the veſſels belonging to it *holy* as they uſually are; yea there is an holineſs in the altar which ſanctifies the gift, which it could not do, except itſelf was holy; if there be no dedication of theſe things to God, no ſeparation of them from common uſe, then there can be no ſuch thing as ſacrilege, or difference between an *holy table* and a common one. And as to the form of conſecrating theſe things, I had them not from the *roman* pontifical, but from biſhop *Andrews*.

To conſecrating altars and their furniture. Ib. p. 313.

The managers for the commons replied, that if the temple was conſecrated it was by the *king himſelf*, and not by the *high-prieſt*; and if the *tabernacle* was conſecrated, it was by *Moſes* the civil *magiſtrate*, and not by *Aaron* the *high-prieſt*; but we read of no other conſecrating the tabernacle and its utenſils, but anointing them with oil, for which *Moſes* had an expreſs command; nor of any other conſecrating the temple, but of *Solomon*'s making an excellent prayer in the *outward court*, not in the *temple itſelf*, and of his hallowing the middle court by offerings and peace-offerings; and 'tis obſervable that the *cloud* and *glory* of the Lord filled the temple, ſo as the prieſts could not ſtand to miniſter before *Solomon* made his prayer, which ſome call his *conſecration*. But if it ſhould

Managers reply to the antiquity of conſecrating churches. Prynne, p. 115, 499, &c.

K. Charles I. 1644.

be allowed that the temple was conſecrated in an extraordinary manner, we have no mention either in ſcripture or *jewiſh* writers of the conſecration of their *ſynagogues*, to which our churches properly ſucceed. And after all it is no concluſive way of arguing, to derive a chriſtian inſtitution from the practice of the *jewiſh* church, becauſe many of their ordinances were temporary, ceremonial, and aboliſhed by the coming of Chriſt.

Prynné, p. 501.

From the beginning of chriſtianity, we have no credible authority for conſecrating churches for three hundred years. *Euſebius* in his life of *Conſtantine the great*, indeed mentions his conſecrating a temple that he built over our Saviour's ſepulchre at *Jeruſalem*; but how? with prayers, diſputations, preaching, and expoſition of ſcripture, as he expreſsly defines it, *cap.* 45. Here were no proceſſions, no knocking at the doors by the biſhop, crying, *open ye everlaſting doors*; no caſting duſt or aſhes into the air, and pronouncing the ground *holy*; no reverencing towards the altar, nor a great many other inventions of later ages; no, theſe were not known in the chriſtian church till the very darkeſt times of popery; nay in thoſe very dark times we are told by *Otho* the pope's legate in his eccleſiaſtical conſtitutions, that in the reign of king *Henry* III. there were not only divers pariſh churches but ſome cathedrals in *England*, which had been uſed for many years and yet never conſecrated by a biſhop. But its plain to a demonſtration, that the archbiſhop's method of conſecrating

Prynne, p. 116, 117.

churches is a modern popiſh invention, for 'tis agreed by *Gratian*, *Platina*, the *Centuriators* and others, that pope *Hyginus*, *Gelaſius*, *Silveſter*, *Felix* and *Gregory*, were the firſt inventers and promoters of it; and it is no where to be found but in the *roman* pontifical, publiſhed by command of

Ib. p. 115.

pope *Clement* VIII. *De eccleſiæ dedicatione*, p. 209, 280. for which reaſons it was exploded and condemned by our firſt reformers, and particularly by biſhop *Pilkington* in his comment upon *Haggai*, ch. i. ver. 7, 8. and archbiſhop *Parker*, who in his *Antiq. Britan.* expreſsly condemns the archbiſhop's method of conſecration as popiſh and ſuperſtitious, *p.* 85, 86, 87.

Ib. p. 502.

But the archbiſhop ſays, if churches are not conſecrated they cannot be *holy*, whereas many places that were never conſecrated are ſtiled *holy*, as the *moſt holy place*, and the *holy city* Jeruſalem; and our homilies ſay, that the church is called *holy*, not of itſelf, but becauſe God's people reſorting thither are *holy*, and exerciſe themſelves in holy things; and 'tis evident that *ſanctification* when applied to places, is nothing elſe but a ſeparating them from common uſe to a religious and ſacred one, which may be done without the ſuperſtitious method above-mentioned; and though the archbiſhop avers he had not his form of conſecration from the

the *roman* pontifical, he acknowledges he had it from biſhop *Andrews*, who could have it no where elſe. K. Charles I. 1644.

As for conſecrating *Altars*, *Pattens*, *Chalices*, *Altar-cloths* and other altar-furniture; their original is no higher than the *roman* miſſal and pontifical, in both which there are particular chapters and ſet forms of prayer for this purpoſe; but to imagine that theſe veſſels may not be reputed *holy*, though ſeparated to an *holy uſe*, unleſs thus conſecrated is without any foundation in reaſon or ſcripture, and contrary to the practice of the church of *England*, and the opinion of our firſt reformers. *To conſecrating altars and their furnitnre.* Prynne, p. 65, &c. 467, 470.

To the archbiſhop's account of *feaſts* of *dedication* we anſwer as before, that an example out of the *jewiſh law* is no rule for the chriſtian church. *Ezra* kept a feaſt at the dedication of the temple, when it was rebuilt, and offered a great many burnt-offerings, *Ezra* vi. 16, 17. but it was not made an annual ſolemnity; for the *feaſt of dedication* mentioned *John* x. 22. was not of the dedication of the temple, but of the *altars*, inſtituted by *Judas Maccabæus*, to be kept annually by the ſpace of eight days, 1 *Mac.* iv. 56, 59. which being of no divine inſtitution, but kept only by the ſuperſtitious *jews*, not by Chriſt or his apoſtles (who are only ſaid to be at *Jeruſalem* at that time), can be no precedent for our modern conſecrations. *To antiq. of feaſts of dedication.* Prynne, p. 128.

Pope *Felix* and *Gregory* are the firſt that decreed the annual obſervation of the *dedication of churches* ſince our Saviour's time, which were obſerved in *England* under the names of *wakes* or *revels*, but were the occaſion of ſo much idleneſs and debauchery, that king *Henry* VIII. *ann.* 1536. reſtrained them all to the firſt *Sunday in October*, not to be kept on any other day; and afterwards, by the ſtatute 5 & 6 *Edward* VI. *cap.* 3. of holy days, they were totally aboliſhed. But theſe *feaſts* being revived again by degrees, in ſundry places of this realm, and particularly in *Somerſetſhire*, judge *Richardſon* when he was on the circuit, at the requeſt of the juſtices of the peace for the county, publiſhed an order for ſuppreſſing them; but was obliged the next year as publicly to revoke it, and to declare ſuch recreations to be lawful; and as a further puniſhment on the judge, the archbiſhop obtained his removal from that circuit. 'Tis very certain, that at theſe *revels* there were a great many diſorders; as drunkenneſs, quarrelling, fornication and murder, 'tis therefore very unlikely they ſhould anſwer any good purpoſe, and how fit they were to ſucceed the public devotions of the Lord's day, we ſhall leave to your lordſhips conſideration. *Antiq. of altars, their ſituation and railing them in.*

(3.) The managers charged the archbiſhop further, "with giving or- "ders to Sir *Nath. Brent* his vicar-general, to enjoin the church-wardens "of all pariſh churches within his dioceſe, that *they ſhould remove the* *M. charge.* Prynne, p. 62, 91, &c.

K. Charles I. 1644. "*communion-table from the middle of the chapel to the upper end, and place* "*it in form of an altar, close to the wall, with the ends north and south,* "*and encompass it with rails,* according to the model of cathedrals. They "objected likewise to *his furnishing the altar in his own chapel, and the* "*king's at* Whitehall, *with basins, candlesticks, tapers, and other silver* "*vessels,* not used in his predecessors time; and to the *credentia* or side-"table, in conformity to the *roman ceremonial,* on which the elements "were to be placed on a clean linnen cloth before they were brought to "the altar to be consecrated; and to the hanging over the altar a piece "of *arras* with a large crucifix."

Abp's answer. Laud's Hist. p. 310. The archbishop answered, that the placing the communion-table at the east end of the chancel, was commanded by queen *Elizabeth*'s injunctions, which say, that the holy table shall be set in the place where the altar stood, which all who are acquainted with antiquity know, was at the east end of the chancel, with the ends north and south, close to the wall, and thus they were usually placed both in this and other churches of Christendom; the innovation therefore was theirs who departed from the injunctions, and not mine who have kept to them. Besides, *altars* both name and thing, were in use in the primitive churches long before popery began; yea they are to be found both in the old and new testament; and that there can be no popery in railing them in, I have proved in my speech in the star chamber. However I aver, that I gave no orders nor directions to Sir *Nath. Brent* my vicar-general, neither by letter nor otherwise, to remove or rail in communion-tables in all parish churches; and I desire Sir *Nath.* may be called to testify the truth upon his oath.

Prynne, p. 89. Sir *Nath.* being sworn, the archbishop asked him upon his oath, whether he had ever given him such orders? To which he replied, *my lords, upon the oath I have taken, I received an express direction and command from the archbishop himself to do what I did of this kind, otherwise I durst never have done it.* The archbishop insisting that he never gave him such orders, and wondering that he should be so unworthy as to affirm it upon oath, Sir *Nath.* produced the following letter under the arhcbishop's own hand, directed to himself at *Maidstone.*

SIR,

"I Require you to command the communion-table at *Maidstone* to be "placed at the east, or upper end of the chancel, and there railed in, "and that the communicants there come up to the rail to receive the bles-"sed sacrament; *and the like you are required to do in all churches, and in* "*all other places where you visit metropolitically.*

W. CANT.

2

To

To which the archbiſhop, being out of countenance, made no other reply, but that he had forgot it. K. Charles I. 1644.

As to the furniture upon the altar, he added, that it was no other than was uſed in the king's chapel at *Whitehall* before his time, and and was both neceſſary and decent; as is likewiſe the *credentia* or ſide-table, the form of which he took from biſhop *Andrews*'s model; and the piece of *arras* that was hung up over the altar in paſſion week, he apprehended was very proper for the place and occaſion, ſuch repreſentations being approved by the *lutherans*, and even by *Calvin* himſelf, as had been already ſhown.

The managers replied to the antiquity of *altars*, that though the name is often mentioned in ſcripture, yet 'tis never applied to the *Lord's table*; but *altars* and *prieſts* are put in oppoſition to the Lord's table, and miniſters of the new teſtament, 1 *Cor.* ix. 13, 14. Chriſt himſelf celebrated the ſacrament at a table, not at an altar, and he calls it a ſupper not a ſacrifice; nor can it be pretended by any law or canon of the church of *England*, that it is called an altar more than once, *ſtat.* 1 *Edward* VI. cap. 1. which ſtatute was repealed within three years, and another made, in which the word *altar* is changed into *table*. 'Tis evident from the unanimous ſuffrage of moſt of the fathers that lived within three hundred years after Chriſt, and by our moſt learned reformers, that for above two hundred and fifty years after Chriſt, there were no altars in churches but only tables; pope *Sixtus* II. being the firſt that introduced them; and the canons of the popiſh council of *Aix*, 1583. being the only ones that can be produced for railing them in; one of which preſcribes thus *unumquodque altare ſepiatur omnino ſepto ferreo, vel lapideo vel ligneo.* Let every altar be encompaſſed with a rail of iron ſtone or wood. The text, *Heb.* xiii. 10. *We have an altar, whereof they have no right to eat which ſerve the tabernacle*, is certainly meant of *Chriſt himſelf*, and not of the *altar of wood or ſtone*, as our proteſtant writers have proved at large; agreeably to which all altars in churches were commanded to be taken away and removed, as ſuperſtitious and popiſh, by public laws and injunctions at the reformation, and *tables* were ſet up in their ſtead, which continued till the archbiſhop was pleaſed to turn them again into *altars*.

M. reply to antiq. of altars, and railing them in. Prynne, p. 480, 481. Life of bp. Williams. Prynne, p. 62.

But the archbiſhop is pleaſed to maintain, *that the queen's injunctions preſcribe the communion-tables to be ſet in the place where the altar ſtood, and that this was anciently at the eaſt end of the choir*; whereas we affirm, that he is not able to produce one precedent or authority in all antiquity for this aſſertion; on the contrary, we are able to demonſtrate to your lordſhips, that *altars* and *Lord's tables* amongſt *jews* and *chriſtians*, ſtood

To their ſituation. Altars anciently not fixed to the eaſt wall of the chancel. Prynne, p. 482, 484.

K. Charles I. 1644.

ſtood anciently in the midſt of their churches or *choir* * ; where the people might ſit, ſtand, and go conveniently round them. So it was certainly in the *jewiſh* church, as every one allows; and it was ſo in the chriſtian church, till the very darkeſt times of popery, when private maſſes were introduced. *Euſebius*, *Dionyſius Areopagita*, *Chryſoſtom*, *Athanaſius*, *Auguſtine*, &c. affirm, that the table of the Lord ſtood *in the middle of the chancel*, ſo that they might compaſs it about; nay *Durandus* a popiſh writer informs us, that when a biſhop conſecrates a *new altar*, he muſt go round about it ſeven times; by which 'tis evident, it could not ſtand againſt a wall; but our moſt eminent writers againſt popery, as *Bucer*, biſhop *Jewel*, biſhop *Babington*, biſhop *Morton*, and archbiſhop *Williams*, have proved this ſo evidently, that there is no room to call it in queſtion; and we are able to produce ſeveral authorities from venerable *Bede*, St. *Auſtin* the firſt archbiſhop of *Canterbury* and others, that they ſtood thus in *England* in their times.

Vide *bp.* Williams's Life, p. 109.

Nor do queen *Elizabeth*'s injunctions in the leaſt favour the archbiſhop's practice, of fixing the communion-table to the eaſt wall with rails about it, for they order *the table to be removed when the ſacrament is to be diſtributed, and placed in ſuch ſort within the chancel, as whereby the miniſter may be more conveniently heard of the communicants, and the communicants may more conveniently, and in greater numbers, communicate with him.* Now if it be to be removed at the time of communion, 'tis abſurd to ſuppoſe it to be fixed to the wall, and encompaſſed with rails. Beſides, the rubrick of the common-prayer-book, and the eighty-ſecond canon of 1603. appoint the communion-table to be placed in the body of the church, where the chancel is too ſmall, or near the middle of the chancel, where 'tis large enough; and thus they generally ſtood in all churches, chapels, and in *Lambeth* chapel itſelf till the archbiſhop's time, which puts the matter out of queſtion. And if it be remembered, that the ſaying of private maſſes brought in this ſituation of altars into the church of *Rome*, contrary to all antiquity, the archbiſhop's imitating them in this particular muſt certainly be a popiſh innovation.

Prynne, p. 467, 481.

To their furniture.

The furniture upon the altar which the archbiſhop pleads for, is exactly copied from the *roman* pontifical and the popiſh council of *Aix*, and is condemned by our homilies and queen *Elizabeth*'s injunctions, which cenſure, condemn, and aboliſh as ſuperſtitious, ethnical, and popiſh, all candleſticks, trendals, rolls of wax, and ſetting up of tapers, as tending

* *Choir* or *chorus* has its denomination from the multitude ſtanding round about the altar [*in modum coronæ*] in the form of a ring or circle. In the ancient liturgies they prayed for all thoſe that ſtood round about the altar. ——— The prieſts and deacons ſtood round about the altar when they officiated, and ſo did the biſhops when they conſecrated it.

ing to idolatry and ſuperſtition, *injunct.* 2. 23, 25. Therefore inſtead of conforming to the chapel at *Whitehall*, he ought as dean of that chapel, to have reformed it to our laws, homilies, and injunctions. *K.* Charles I. 1644

The like may be ſaid of the *credentia* [or ſide-table] which is taken expreſsly out of the *roman ceremonial and pontifical*, and is uſed amongſt the papiſts only in their moſt ſolemn maſſes. It was never heard of in any proteſtant church, nor in the church of *England*, till the archbiſhop's time; and as for the ſtale pretext, of his having it from biſhop *Andrews*; if it be true, we are certain *that biſhop* could have it no where elſe but from the *roman miſſal*. Prynne, p. 63, 468.

The *arras* hangings, with the picture of Chriſt at his laſt ſupper, with a crucifix, are no leſs popiſh than the former, being enjoined by the *roman ceremoniale, Ed. Par.* 1633. *lib.* 1. *c.* 12. p. 69, 70. in theſe words, *quod ſi altare parieti adhæreat, applicari poterit ipſi parieti ſupra altare pannus aliquis cæteris nobilior & ſpecioſior, ubi intextæ ſint D. N. Jeſu Chriſti aut glorioſæ virginis, vel ſanctorum imagines. If the altar be fixed to the wall let there be ſome hangings more noble and beautiful than the reſt, faſtened upon the wall over the altar, in which are wrought the images of Chriſt, the bleſſed virgin, or the ſaints.* Beſides, theſe things being condemned by our ſtatutes homilies and injunctions, as we have already proved, ought not certainly to have been introduced by a prelate, *who challenges all that is between heaven and hell, juſtly to tax him in any one particular ſavouring of popiſh ſuperſtition or idolatry.* Ib. p. 62.

" Another innovation charged on the archbiſhop, was his introducing " divers ſuperſtitions into divine worſhip, *as bowing towards the altar,* " *bowing at the name of* JESUS, *enjoining the people to do reverence at their* " *entrance into church, reading the ſecond ſervice at the communion-table,* " *ſtanding up at the* GLORIA PATRI, *and introducing the uſe of copes and* " *church muſic.* They objected further, his repairing old crucifixes, his " new ſtatutes of the univerſity of *Oxford*, among which, ſome were ar- " bitrary, and others very ſuperſtitious; of the former ſort, are the im- " poſing new oaths; the ſtatute of *bannition*; referring ſome miſde- " meanors to arbitrary penalties, and obliging ſtudents to go to priſon on " the vice-chancellor's or proctor's command. Of the latter ſort, are *bow-* " *ing to the altar, ſinging the litany, and reading* latin *prayers in lent*; to- " gether with the abovementioned ſuperſtitions in the manner of divine " worſhip." *Antiquity of bowing towards the altar.* *M. charge.* Prynne, p. 72, &c.

The archbiſhop anſwered, that bowing in divine worſhip was practiſed among the *jews*, 2 Chron. xxix. 29. and the pſalmiſt ſays, *O come, let us worſhip, and bow down, let us kneel before the Lord our Maker,* Pſal. *Abp's anſwer.* Laud's Hiſt. p. 313, 361.

K. Charles I. 1644.

Pſal. xcv. 6. that it was uſual in queen *Elizabeth*'s time; and that the *knights of the garter* were obliged to this practice by the orders of their chapter. Beſides the altar is the chief place of God's reſidence on earth, for there it is, *this is my body*; whereas in the pulpit 'tis only, *this is my word.* And ſhall I bow to men in each houſe of parliament, and not bow to God in his houſe whither I come to worſhip him? Surely I muſt worſhip God, and bow to him, though neither altar nor communion-table be in the church.

Bowing at the name of Jeſus.

Bowing at the name of JESUS is preſcribed in direct terms by queen *Elizabeth*'s injunctions, N° 12. and by the 18th canon of our church; and though ſtanding up at the *Gloria Patri* is not preſcribed by any canon of the church, 'tis nevertheleſs of great antiquity; nor is the reading the ſecond ſervice at the communion-table an innovation, it being the conſtant practice in cathedrals, and warranted by the rubrick.

Of copes.

The uſe of copes is preſcribed by the 24th canon of 1603. which ſays, *that in all cathedrals and collegiate churches, the communion ſhall be adminiſtered on principal feaſt days, ſometimes by the biſhop if preſent, ſometimes by the dean, and ſometimes by the canon or prebendary, the principal miniſter uſing a decent cope*; ſo that here is no innovation, any more than in the uſe of *organs*, which our church has generally approved, and made uſe of.

Laud's Hiſt. p. 304.

As to the ſtatutes of the univerſity of *Oxford*, 'tis honour more than enough for me, that I have finiſhed and ſettled them; nor did I any thing in them but by the conſent of the convocation; and as to the particulars, there is nothing but what is agreeable to their charters, and the ancient cuſtom and uſage of the univerſity.

M. reply to bowing to the altar. Prynne, p. 63, 64, 474, 477, 487.

The managers replied, that *bowing to the altar* is popiſh ſuperſtitious and idolatrous, being preſcribed only by popiſh canons, and introduced on purpoſe to ſupport the doctrine of tranſubſtantiation, which the archbiſhop's practice ſeems very much to countenance, when at his coming up to the altar to conſecrate the bread, he makes three low bows, and at his going away three more, giving this reaſon for it, *quia hoc eſt corpus meum*, becauſe, *this is my body*; whereas he does not bow to the pulpit, becauſe a greater reverence is due to the *body* than to the *word of the Lord.* Beſides, it has no foundation in antiquity, nor has it been approved by any proteſtant writers, except the archbiſhop's creatures, ſuch as Dr. *Heylin*, *Pocklington*, &c. and has been condemned by the beſt writers as popiſh and ſuperſtitious. The black book of the knights of the garter at *Windſor*, is a ſorry precedent for a proteſtant archbiſhop to follow, being made in the darkeſt times of popery (*viz.*) in the reign of king *Henry* V. and if they bow *Deo & altari*, to God and to his altar, as the archbiſhop in the ſtar-chamber is of opinion chriſtians ought to do, we can't but think it

it both popiſh and idolatrous. His paſſages of ſcripture are nothing to the purpoſe, for *kneeling before the Lord our maker*, has no relation to bowing to the altar; nor is there any canon or injunction of the church to ſupport the practice. *K.* Charles I. 1644.

The archbiſhop confeſſes, that there is neither canon nor injunction for ſtanding up at the *gloria patri*, which muſt therefore be an innovation, and is of no greater antiquity than the office of the maſs, for 'tis derived from the *ordo romanus*, as appears from the works of *Caſſander* p. 98. And though bowing at the name of JESUS be mentioned in the canons, yet theſe canons are not binding, not being confirmed by parliament, eſpecially ſince the homilies, the common-prayer-book, the articles of religion, and the book of ordination, which are the only authentick rules of the church, make no mention of it; nor was it ever introduced before the time of Pope *Gregory* X. who firſt preſcribed it; and from the councils of *Baſil*, *Sennes*, and *Auguſta*, it was afterwards inſerted into the *roman ceremoniale*; beſides, our beſt proteſtant writers have condemned the practice. *To the* gloria patri *and bowing at the name of Jeſus.* Prynne, p. 64. *A.D.* 1431.

Reading the ſecond ſervice at the altar when there is no communion, is contrary to the canons of 1571, and 1603. contrary to the queen's injunctions, the homilies, the rubric in the common-prayer-book, and was never practiſed in pariſh churches till of late, though uſed in ſome cathedrals, where the rubric enjoins the communion to be adminiſtered every ſunday in the year, which being omitted, the *ſecond ſervice* at the table was left to ſupply it. The Lord's table was ordained only to adminiſter the ſacrament, but the epiſtle and goſpel, which are the chief parts of the ſecond ſervice, are appointed to be read with the two leſſons in the *reading pew*. *To reading the ſecond ſervice.* Prynne, p. 492.

As for COPES, neither the common-prayer-book, nor book of ordination, nor homilies confirmed by parliament, nor queen *Elizabeth*'s injunctions in her firſt year, make any mention of them, though they are evidently derived from the popiſh wardrobe, and the laſt common-prayer-book of king *Edward* VI. expreſsly prohibits them. The 24th canon of 1603. enjoins only the *chief miniſter* to wear a cope at the adminiſtration of the ſacrament, whereas the archbiſhop preſcribed them to be worn by others beſides the chief miniſter, and as well when the ſacrament was not adminiſtered as when it was. But as we obſerved before, thoſe canons not being confirmed by parliament, expired with king *James*, and therefore can be no warrant for their preſent uſe. Nor is the uſe of *muſick in churches*, or chaunting of prayers, of any great antiquity, being firſt introduced by pope *Vitalian*, and encouraged only by popiſh prelates. *To copes.* Ib. p. 64, 479, 480. Ib. p. 65. *A.D.* 666.

K. Charles I. 1644.

To the univerſity ſtatutes. Prynne, p. 478.

And though the archbiſhop pleads, that the ſtatutes of *Oxford* are agreeable to ancient cuſtom and uſage, we affirm they contain ſundry innovations, not only with regard to the liberty of the ſubject, but with regard to religion, for *latin prayers* were formerly ſaid only on *aſh wedneſdays* before the *bachelors of arts*, whereas now none others are to be ſaid throughout all lent; the ſtatute for ſinging in ſolemn proceſſions was made in time of popery, and renewed in theſe ſtatutes to keep up the practice of ſuch ſuperſtitious perambulations; and though the archbiſhop with his wonted aſſurance wonders what theſe things have to do with treaſon, we apprehend, that if they appear ſo many proofs of a deſign *to ſubvert the eſtabliſhed religion of the church of* England, *they will be judged ſo in the higheſt degree.*

Book of ſports. M. charge, Prynne, p. 128. 156, 382.

Further they charged the archbiſhop with adviſing the king "*to* "*publiſh his declaration for the uſe of ſports on the Lord's day*, in "order to ſuppreſs afternoon ſermons; with obliging the clergy of "his dioceſe to read it in their pulpits, and puniſhing thoſe that re-"fuſed."

Abp's anſwer. Laud's Hiſt. P. 343. 344.

The archbiſhop anſwered, that he had the king's warrant for printing the *book of ſports*: that there is no proof that it was by his procurement, nor that it was done on purpoſe to take away *afternoon ſermons*, ſince theſe recreations are not allowed till they are over; beſides the declaration allows only *lawful* recreations, which is no more than is practiſed at *Geneva*, though for his own part *he always obſerved ſtrictly the Lord's day*. What he enjoined about the reading the declaration was by his majeſty's command, and he did not puniſh above three or four for not reading it.

Managers reply, Prynne, p. 505.

The commons replied, that it was evident by the archbiſhop's letter to the biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells*, that the *declaration* was printed by his procurement, the warrant for printing it being written all with his own hand, and without date, and therefore might probably be obtained afterwards; moreover, ſome of the recreations mentioned in it are *unlawful* on the Lord's day, according to the opinion of *fathers*, *councils*, and *imperial laws*; and though *Calvin* differs from our proteſtant writers about the morality of the ſabbath, yet he expreſsly condemns dancing and paſtimes on that day. As for his *grace's* own ſtrict obſervation of the Lord's day, 'tis an averment without truth, for he ſat conſtantly at the council-table on that day; and it was his ordinary practice to go to bowls in the ſummer time, and uſe other recreations upon it; nor is it probable, that the archbiſhop would have puniſhed conſcientious miniſters for not reading the book of ſports, if the thing had been diſagreeable to his practice, eſpecially when there is no warrant at all in the declaration that miniſters ſhould publiſh it, or be puniſhed for refuſing it; and that he puniſhed no more,

more, was not owing to his clemency, who gave command to ſuſpend all that refuſed, but to the clergy's compliance; for ſo zealous was this archbiſhop and ſome of his brethren in this affair, that it was inſerted as an article of enquiry in their viſitations, *whether the king's declaration for ſports has been read and publiſhed by the miniſter?* And defaulters were to be preſented upon oath. Now we appeal to the whole chriſtian world, whether ever it has been known, that any who have been called *fathers of the church*, have taken ſo much pains to have the Lord's day prophaned, as firſt to adviſe the king to publiſh a declaration to warrant it, then to enjoin the clergy to read it in their pulpits, and to ſuſpend ſequeſter and deprive, all whoſe conſciences would not allow them to comply, and this not only contrary to the laws of God, but to the laws of the land. K. Charles I. 1644.

The reader will, no doubt, remark upon this part of the archbiſhop's trial, that thoſe rites and ceremonies which have bred ſuch ill blood, and been contended for with ſo much fierceneſs, as to diſturb the peace of the church, and divide its communion, have no foundation in ſcripture, or primitive antiquity. taking their riſe for the moſt part in the darkeſt and moſt corrupt times of the papacy. I ſpeak not here of ſuch rites as are eſtabliſhed by law, as the *croſs in baptiſm*, and *kneeling* at the *communion*, &c. becauſe the commons could not charge theſe on the archbiſhop as criminal. And it will be obſerved further, that when men claim a right to introduce ceremonies for decency of worſhip, and impoſe them upon the people, there can be no bounds to a fruitful invention. Archbiſhop *Laud* would, no doubt, by degrees, have introduced all the follies of the *roman* church; and admitting his authority to impoſe rites and ceremonies not mentioned in ſcripture, 'tis not eaſy to give a reaſon why fifty ſhould not be enjoined as well as five. *Remarks.*

The managers went on next to the *ſecond branch of their charge*, to prove the archbiſhop's deſign to ſubvert the proteſtant religion, BY COUNTENANCING AND ENCOURAGING SUNDRY DOCTRINAL ERRORS IN FAVOUR OF ARMINIANISM AND POPERY. *Doctrinal errors.*

And here they charged him, *firſt*, " with being the great patron of " that part of the clergy who had declared themſelves in favour of theſe " errors, and with procuring their advancement to the higheſt ſtations in " the church, even though they were under cenſure of parliament, as " Dr. *Manwaring*, *Montague*, &c. They averred, that the beſt preferments in his majeſty's gift, ever ſince the archbiſhop's adminiſtration " in 1627. had by his advice, been beſtowed on perſons of the ſame *Arminianiſm. M. charge.*

K. Charles I. 1644.

" principles; and that he had adviſed the king to publiſh a declaration, " prohibiting the clergy to preach on the *five controverted points*, by vir- " tue of which the mouths of the orthodox preachers were ſtopt, and " ſome that ventured to tranſgreſs the king's declaration were puniſhed in " the high commiſſion, when their adverſaries were left at large to ſpread " their opinions at their pleaſure."

Alp's anſwer. Laud's Hiſt. p. 352. Prynne, p. 529.

The archbiſhop anſwered, that he had not defended any points of *arminianiſm*, though he heartily wiſhed, for the peace of chriſtendom, that theſe differences were not purſued with ſuch heat and animoſity. He confeſſed that he had been taxed in a declaration of the houſe of of commons as a favourer of *arminians*, but without proof, and he took it a very great ſlander. Nor had he to the beſt of his remembrance, advanced any ſuch to eccleſiaſtical livings; if they proved ſo afterwards it was more than he could foreſee; but he had preferred divers orthodox miniſters, againſt whom there was no exception. He denied that he had any hand in the preferment of Dr. *Manwaring* or *Montague*, who were under cenſure of parliament, nor is the *pocket-book* a ſufficient proof of it; he was of opinion, that *Neale*, *Lindſey*, *Wren*, *Bancroft*, *Curle*, and others mentioned in the charge, were worthy men, and every way qualified for their preferments, though it does not appear he had any hand in beſtowing them. As for the king's declaration prohibiting the clergy to preach the *five points*, it was his majeſty's own, and not his; and ſince the publiſhing of it, he had endeavoured to carry it with an equal hand, and to puniſh the tranſgreſſors of it on one ſide as well as the other.

Prynne, p. 508.

Managers reply. Prynne, p. 529.

The commons replied, that they wondered at the archbiſhop's aſſurance in denying his endeavours to promote *arminianiſm* in the church; that the remonſtrance of the commons was a ſufficient evidence of his guilt, being confirmed by many proofs, though his anſwer to it proved ſo full of bitterneſs and ſaucineſs, as throwing ſcandal on the whole repreſentative body of the nation.

As to the particulars, they ſay that his preferring Mr. *Downham* and *Taylor* orthodox men, to ſome benefices, was only a blind to cover his advancing ſo many popiſhly affected clergymen. 'Tis known to all the world that *Montague* and *Manwaring* were his creatures; the pocket-book ſays, that his majeſty's royal aſſent to the preferment was ſigned by order of this prelate (when only the biſhop of *London*), and himſelf was the perſon that conſecrated them. It would be too long to go into particulars, but every body knows, that the diſpoſal of all, or moſt of the biſhopricks, deanries, and conſiderable benefices ſince the year 1627. have been under the direction of this archbiſhop; and what ſort of perſons have been preferred

ferred is apparent to all men, by the preſent diſtracted condition of the church and univerſities. K. Charles I. 1644.

Preaching on the five points. Prynne, p. 172, 511.

The king's declaration for prohibiting preaching on the five controverted points, was an artifice of the archbiſhop's to introduce the *arminian* errors, by preventing orthodox miniſters from awakening the minds of people againſt them. And whereas he avers, that he has carried it with an even hand, and could bring witneſſes from *Oxford* to prove it, we challenge him to name one ſcholar or miniſter that was ever impriſoned, deprived, ſilenced, proſecuted in the high commiſſion, or caſt out of favour on this account; there was indeed one *Rainsford* an *arminian*, who in the year 1632. was obliged publicly to confeſs his error in diſobeying his majeſty's declaration, and that was all his puniſhment; whereas great numbers of the other ſide have been perſecuted, ſo as to be forced to abandon their native country, at a time when the moſt notorious and declared *arminians* were advanced to the beſt preferments in the church, as *Montague* made a biſhop, *Harſnet* an archbiſhop, *Lindſey* promoted to two biſhopricks; *Potter* to a deanry, and *Duppa* to a deanry and biſhoprick, and made tutor to the prince, *&c.*

Abuſe of the preſs by prohibiting books. M. charge. Prynne, p. 180, 182, &c.

The managers objected further to the archbiſhop, "that having obtained the ſole licenſing of the preſs, by a declaration of the ſtar-chamber in the year 1637. he had prohibited the reprinting ſundry orthodox books formerly printed, and ſold by authority, as the *Geneva bible* with notes, *Gellibrand's proteſtant almanack*, in which the popiſh ſaints were left out of the kalendar, and proteſtant martyrs put in their places; that his chaplains had refuſed to licence the *confeſſion of faith* of the *palatine* churches, *Fox*'s book of martyrs, biſhop *Jewel*'s works, ſome part of Dr. *Willet*'s, and the *Hiſtory of the Gun-Powder-Treaſon*, as was atteſted by the clerks of *Stationers Hall*, and this reaſon given for the refuſal, that we were not now ſo angry with the papiſts as formerly, and therefore it was not proper to exaſperate them, there being a deſign on foot to win them by mildneſs. That the archbiſhop had ſuppreſſed ſundry new books written againſt *arminianiſm* and *popery*, and had caſtrated others, expunging ſuch paſſages as reflected upon the ſuperſtition and idolatry of that church;" a large catalogue of which the commons produced; many authors appeared in maintenance of this part of the charge, and among others Dr. *Featly*, Dr. *Clarke*, Dr. *Jones*, Mr. *Ward*, &c. It was ſaid in particular, "that he had expunged divers paſſages which bore hard upon the papiſts out of the collection of public prayers for a general faſt againſt the plague; and that in the prayer-book appointed by authority for the 5th of *Nov.* inſtead of *root out that babyniſh and antichriſtian ſect, whoſe religion is rebellion, whoſe faith is faction, and whoſe practice is murdering of ſoul and body*; he had alter-

By caſtrating them. Prynne, p. 257, 258. &c.

"ed

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" ed that paſſage, and artfully turned it againſt the puritans, thus, *root* " *out the antichriſtian ſect of them, who turn religion into rebellion, and* " *faith into faction.*

By licenſing popiſh books. Prynne, p. 188, 202.

" And as the archbiſhop had caſtrated ſome books, becauſe they re- " futed the doctrines he would countenance; ſo he gave full licence to " others, wherein the groſſeſt points of *arminianiſm* and *popery* were open- " ly aſſerted; as *Coſins*'s hours of prayer, *Sales*'s introduction to a devout " life, *Chriſt*'s epiſtle to a devout ſoul, and others, in which the follow- " ing doctrines were maintained, (1.) The neceſſity of auricular confeſ- " ſion, and the power of prieſts to forgive ſins. (2.) The lawfulneſs " and benefit of popiſh penance, as wearing hair-cloth, and other cor- " poral puniſhments. (3.) Abſolute ſubmiſſion to the commands of " prieſts as directors of conſcience. (4.) That in the ſacrament, the bo- " dy and blood of Chriſt is a true and proper ſacrifice; that the natural " body and blood of Chriſt is really and ſubſtantially preſent in the eu- " chariſt; and that there can be no true ſacrament or conſecration of it " where there is no altar. (5.) That crucifixes images and pictures, may " be lawfully ſet up in churches, and ought not to be removed. (6.) That " the pope is an antichriſt. (7.) That there are venial ſins. (8) That " there is a purgatory or limbus patrum. (9.) That the reliques of ſaints " are to be preſerved and reverenced. (10.) That the virgin *Mary* and " ſaints are to be invoked and prayed to. (11.) That the church of *Rome* " is the mother church, and never erred in fundamentals. (12.) That " there are written traditions of equal authority with the word of God." To which were added ſundry articles of *arminian* doctrine, as of free-will, total and final apoſtaſy from grace; examples of which the managers produced from the ſeveral authors.

And conniving at their importation. Prynne, p. 349.

And as a further encouragement to popery, they objected his *grace*'s " conniving at the importation of popiſh books, and reſtoring them to " the owners when ſeized by the ſearchers, contrary to the ſtatute of " 3 *Jacob.* I. by which means many thouſands of them were diſperſed " over the whole kingdom; whereas he gave the ſtricteſt commands to " his officers to ſeize all imported bibles with notes, and all books againſt " arminian and popiſh innovations. All which put together, amount to " no leſs than a demonſtration of the archbiſhop's deſign to ſubvert our " eſtabliſhed religion, by introducing doctrinal arminianiſm and po- " pery."

Abp's anſwer. Laud's hiſt. p. 350.

The archbiſhop anſwered, that the decree of the ſtar-chamber for regulating the preſs was the act of the whole court and not his; that the *ſtationers* themſelves gave him thanks for it; and he is ſtill of opinion, that it was both a neceſſary and uſeful act, being deſigned to ſuppreſs ſeditious ſchiſmatical and mutinous books. As to the particulars he replied

plied, that the *Geneva-bible* was only tolerated, not allowed by autho- K. Charles I. 1644.
rity, and deſerved to be ſuppreſſed for the marginal note on *Exod.* i. 17. which allows diſobedience to the king's command. *Gellibrand*'s almanack had left out all the ſaints and apoſtles, and put in thoſe named by Mr. *Fox*, and therefore to be cenſured. As to the book of martyrs, it was an abridgment of that book I oppoſed (ſays his grace), leaſt the book itſelf ſhould be brought into diſuſe, and leaſt any thing material ſhould be left out. But the licenſing of books was left in general to my chaplains, for an archbiſhop had better grind, than take that work into his own hands; and whereas it has been inferred, that what is done by my chaplain muſt be taken as my act, I conceive no man can by law be puniſhed criminally for his ſervants fact, unleſs it be proved that he had a hand in it.

The like anſwer the archbiſhop gave to the caſtrating and licenſing books, his chaplains did it; and ſince it was not proved they did it by his expreſs command, they muſt anſwer for it. He admits that he altered the prayers for the 5th of *Nov.* and for the *general faſt* by his majeſty's command; and he is of opinion the expreſſions were too harſh, and therefore ought to be changed.

He denied that he ever connived at the importation of popiſh books; and if any ſuch were reſtored to the owners, it was by order of the high commiſſion, and therefore he is not anſwerable for it.

The commons replied, that the decree for regulating the preſs was *Managers reply.* procured by him with a deſign to enlarge his juriſdiction; and though Prynne, p. ſome things in it might deſerve the thanks of the *ſtationers*, they com- 515. plained loudly that books formerly printed *by authority*, might not be reprinted without a new licence from himſelf——As to particulars they affirm, that the *Geneva-bible* was printed by authority of queen *Elizabeth* and king *James cum privilegio*; and in the 15th *Jacob.* there was an impreſſion by the king's own printer, notwithſtanding the note upon *Exodus*, which is warranted both by fathers and canoniſts. *Gellibrand*'s almanack was certainly no offence, and therefore did not deſerve that the author ſhould be tried before the high commiſſion; and if the queen and the papiſts were offended at it, it was to be liked never the worſe by all good proteſtants. The archbiſhop is pleaſed indeed, to caſt the whole blame of the preſs on his *chaplains*; but we are of opinion (ſay the managers) that the archbiſhop is anſwerable for what his chaplains do in this caſe; the truſt of licenſing books being originally inveſted in him, his chaplains being his deputies he muſt anſwer for them at his peril. When the archbiſhop of *York* in the reign of *Edward* I. was queſtioned in parliament, for excommunicating two ſervants of the biſhop of *Durham*, employed in the king's ſervice, the archbiſhop threw the blame on his com-

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commiſſary, who was the perſon that excommunicated them; but it was then reſolved in parliament, that the commiſſary's act was his own, and he was fined four thouſand marks to the king. Now the *commiſſary* was an officer eſtabliſhed by law; but the archbiſhop's chaplains are not officers by law, and therefore dare not licence any thing without his privity and command.

Beſides 'tis apparent, theſe books were caſtrated by the archbiſhop's approbation, for otherwiſe he would have puniſhed the licencers printers and publiſhers, as he always did when information was given of any new books publiſhed againſt the late innovations. His *grace* has forgot his refuſing to licence the *Palatine Confeſſion of Faith*, which is his peculiar happineſs when he can make no anſwer; and it looks a little undutiful in him to caſt the alteration of the prayers for *Nov.* 5. on the king, when every body knows by whom the king's conſcience was directed.

And whereas the archbiſhop denies his conniving at the importation of popiſh books, he does not ſo much as allege that he ordered ſuch books to be ſeized as he ought to have done; he confeſſes that ſuch books as were ſeized, had been reſtored by order of the high commiſſion, whereas it had been ſworn to be done by his own order; but if it had not, yet he being preſident of that court ought to have croſſed thoſe orders, *that court* not daring to have made any ſuch reſtitutions without his conſent; ſo that we cannot but be of opinion that the whole of this charge, which ſhows a manifeſt partiality on the ſide of *arminianiſm* and *popery*, and the ſtrongeſt and moſt artificial attempts to propagate theſe errors in the nation, ſtill remains in its full ſtrength.

Proſecuting puritans. M. charge. Prynne, p. 361, 362, &c.

The managers went on to charge the archbiſhop with his "ſevere proſecution of thoſe clergymen, who had dared to preach againſt the dangerous increaſe of *arminianiſm* and *popery*, or the late innovations; they inſtanced in Mr. *Chauncy*, Mr. *Workman*, Mr. *Davenport* and others; ſome of whom were puniſhed in the high commiſſion for not railing in the communion-table, and for preaching againſt images; and when Mr. *Davenport* fled to *New-England* to avoid the ſtorm, the archbiſhop ſaid, *his arm ſhould reach him there.* They objected further, *his ſuppreſſing afternoon ſermons on the Lord's day*, and the laudable deſign of buying in impropriations, which was deſigned for the encouraging ſuch lecturers."

Abp's anſwer. Laud's Hiſt. p. 332, 348.

The archbiſhop anſwered, that the cenſures paſt on the miniſters above-mentioned, was the act of the high commiſſion and not his; and he confeſſes their ſentences appeared juſt and reaſonable, in as much as the paſſages that occaſioned them, were againſt the laudable ceremonies of the church, againſt the king's declaration, tending to infuſe into the minds of peo-

people groundleſs fears and jealouſies of popery, and to caſt aſperſions on the governors of the church; that therefore if he did ſay, *his arm ſhould reach* Mr. Davenport *in* New-England, he ſees no harm in it, for there is no reaſon that the plantations ſhould ſecure offenders againſt the church of *England*, from the edge of the law; and he meddled with none except ſuch as were *puritanical*, *factious*, *ſchiſmatical*, and enemies to the good orders of the church. K. Charles I. 1644.

As to the *ſuppreſſing afternoon ſermons*, the inſtructions for turning them into catechizing was before his time, and he could not but approve of the deſign, as a proper expedient for preſerving peace between miniſters and people, the lecturers being for the moſt part factious, and the occaſion of great contentions in the pariſhes where they preached. Prynne, p. 388.

He confeſſed that he overthrew the deſign of buying up impropriations, and thanked God he had deſtroyed it, becauſe he conceived it a plot againſt the church, for if it had ſucceeded, more clergymen would have depended on theſe *feoffees* than the king, and on all the peers and biſhops beſide; but he proceeded againſt them according to law, and if the ſentence was not juſt, it muſt be the *Judges* fault and not his.

The commons replied, that it was notorious to all men how cruel he had been towards all men who had dared to make a ſtand againſt his proceedings. They put him in mind of *Prynne Burton* and *Baſtwick*, and of great numbers whom he had forced into *Holland*, and into the plantations of *America*, to avoid the ruin of themſelves and families; yea ſo implacable was this prelate, that he would neither ſuffer them to live in the land nor out of it, an embargo being laid on all miniſters going to *New-England*; and if any ſuch got over clandeſtinely, he threatened *his arm ſhould reach them there*. In vain does he ſhelter his ſevere proceedings under the authority of the court, for if this plea be admitted, no corrupt judges or counſellors can be brought to juſtice for the moſt arbitrary proceedings; but in reality, *the act of the court is the act of every particular perſon that gives his vote for it, and every individual member is accountable*. Many inſtances of this might be produced; but there has been one very lately, in the caſe of *ſhip-money*, which is freſh in the memory of all men; and we do aver, that the ſermons or books, for which the abovementioned perſons ſuffered ſo ſeverely, were neither factious nor ſeditious, but neceſſary for theſe times, wherein the proteſtant religion runs ſo very low, and ſuperſtition and popery are coming in like a flood. *M. reply* Prynne, p. 535, &c.

As to the inſtructions for *ſuppreſſing afternoon ſermons*, whenſoever they were drawn up, 'tis evident he was the man that put them in execution, and levelled them againſt thoſe conſcientious perſons who ſcrupled reading the prayers in their *ſurplice* and *hood*, or taking a living with cure of ſouls, all ſuch perſons, how orthodox ſoever in doctrine, or how diligent Prynne, p. 370, 537, 538.

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gent ſoever in their callings, and pious in their lives, being reputed factious, ſchiſmatical, and unworthy of the leaſt employment in the church.

Prynne, p. 537.

As to the *impropriations*, there was no deſign in the feoffees to render the clergy independent on the biſhops, for none were preſented but conformable men, nor did any preach but ſuch as were licenſed by the biſhop; indeed the deſign being to encourage the preaching of the word of God, the *feoffees* were careful to employ ſuch perſons as would not be idle; and when they perceived the archbiſhop was bent on their ruin, Mr. *White* went to his *grace*, and promiſed to rectify any thing that was amiſs, if the thing it ſelf might ſtand. But he was determined to deſtroy it, and by his mighty influence obtained a decree, that the money ſhould be paid into the king's *exchequer*, by which an end was put to one of the moſt charitable deſigns for the good of the church, that has been formed theſe many years.

Reconciling the church of England *with* Rome, *and aſſuming papal titles, and diſcouraging foreign proteſtants.*

M. Charge. Ib. p. 441.

The laſt charge of the managers, was "his grace's open attempts to reconcile the church of *England* with the church of *Rome*, as appears, *firſt*, "by the papal titles he ſuffered the univerſities to give him in their letters, "as *ſanctitas veſtra*, your holineſs; *ſanctiſſime pater*, moſt holy father; "*ſpiritus ſancti effuſiſſime plenus*, full of the holy ghoſt; *ſummus pontifex*, "*optimus maximuſque in terris*, &c. agreeably to this he aſſumed to himſelf the title of PATRIARCH, or pope of *Great Britain*, *alterius orbis* "*papa*; which gave the *Romaniſts* ſuch an opinion of him, that they offered him twice a cardinal's hat; though as things then ſtood, he did "not think it prudent to receive it. But Sir *H. Mildmay*, and Sir *N.* "*Brent* ſwore, that both at *Rome* and elſewhere, he was reputed a papiſt in his heart; which opinion was not a little confirmed, (1.) By his "forbidding the clergy to pray for the converſion of the queen to the "proteſtant faith. (2.) By his owning the church of *Rome* to be a true "church; by denying the pope to be antichriſt, and wiſhing a reconciliation with her; and affirming that ſhe never erred in fundamentals, "no, not in the worſt of times. (3.) By his ſowing diſcord between the "church of *England* and foreign proteſtants, not only by taking away the "privileges and immunities of the *french* and *dutch churches* in theſe king-

Prynne, p. 539.

"doms, but by denying their miniſters to be true miniſters, and their "churches true churches. (4.) By maintaining an intimate correſpondence with the pope's nuncio and with divers prieſts and jeſuits, conniving at the liberties they took in the *clink*, and elſewhere, and threatning thoſe purſuivants who where diligent in apprehending them; to "all which they added, the influence the archbiſhop had in marrying the

" king to a papiſt, and his concealment of a late plot to reduce theſe king- *K. Charles I. 1644.*
" doms to popery and ſlavery."

To this long charge the archbiſhop gave ſome general anſwers, in ſatyri- *Abp's anſwer.* Laud's hiſt. p. 285, 286, 325, &c. Prynne, p. 543. Laud's hiſt. p. 418, 419.
cal and provoking language: My lords (ſays he) I am charged with an endeavour to reconcile the church of *England* to the church of *Rome*; I ſhall recite the ſum of the evidence, and of the arguments to prove it. (1.) I have reduced ſeveral perſons from popery, whom I have named in my ſpeech; *ergo*, I have endeavoured to bring in popery. (2.) I have made a canon againſt popery, and an oath to abjure it; *ergo*, I have endeavoured to introduce it. (3.) I have been twice offered a cardinalſhip and refuſed it, becauſe I would not be ſubject to the pope; *ergo*, I have endeavoured to ſubject the church of *England* to him. (4.) I writ a book againſt popery; *ergo*, I am inclinable to it. (5.) I have been in danger of my life from a popiſh plot; *ergo*, I cheriſhed it, and endeavoured to accompliſh it. (6.) I endeavoured to reconcile the *lutherans* and *calviniſts*; *ergo*, I laboured to bring in popery.

To his aſſuming papal titles.
To the particulars he replied, that whatever papal power he had aſſumed, he aſſumed it not in his own right, as the popes did, but from the king. That the ſtile of *holineſs* was given to St. *Auguſtine*, and others, and therefore not peculiar to the pope; why then ſhould ſo grave a man as Mr. *Brown* (ſays he) diſparage his own nation, as if it was impoſſible for an *engliſh* biſhop to deſerve as good a title as another? As for the other titles, they muſt be taken as compliments for my having deſerved well of the univerſity; but after all, 'tis one thing to aſſume *papal titles*, and another to aſſume papal power. As to the title of *patriarch, or pope of the other world*; 'tis the title that *Anſelm* ſays belongs to the archbiſhops of *Canterbury*, and not ſo great an one as St. *Jerom* gave to St. *Auguſtine*, when he writ to him with this title, *beatiſſimo papæ Auguſtino*. I confeſs I have been offered a cardinal's hat, but refuſed it, ſaying, *I could not accept it till* Rome *was otherwiſe than it now is*. If after this, others will repute me a papiſt I can't help it, I hope I ſhall not be anſwerable for their uncharitableneſs. Sir *Henry Mildmay* will witneſs how much I am hated and ſpoken againſt at *Rome*. It does not appear that I forbad miniſters praying for the queen's converſion; but when I was told the queen was prayed for in a factious and ſeditious manner, I referred the matter to my viſitors, and do acknowledge that Mr. *Jones* was puniſhed in the high commiſſion on this account. Laud's hiſt. p. 383.

To the church of Rome's *being a true church.*
To the objection, of the church of *Rome*'s being a *true church*, I confeſs myſelf of that opinion, and do ſtill believe, that ſhe never erred in fundamentals, for the foundations of the chriſtian religion are in the articles of the creed, and ſhe denies none of them; and it would be ſad if ſhe ſhould, for *'tis through her that the biſhops of the church of* England, Ib. p. 392.

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who have the honour to be capable of deriving their calling from St. Peter, *muſt deduce their ſucceſſion.* She is therefore a true church, though not an *orthodox one*; our religion and theirs is one in eſſentials, and people may be ſaved in either. It has not been proved, that I deny the pope to be antichriſt, though many learned men have denied it; nor do I conceive that our homilies affirm it; and if they did, I don't conceive my ſelf bound to believe every phraſe that is in them. I confeſs, I have often wiſhed a reconciliation between the churches of *England* and *Rome* in a juſt and chriſtian way; and was in hopes in due time to effect it; but a reconciliation without truth and piety I never deſired.

Prynne, p. 556.

To the unchurching foreign proteſtants.

To the objection of the foreign proteſtant churches, I deny that I have endeavoured to ſow diſcord between them, but I have endeavoured to unite the *calviniſts* and *lutherans*; nor have I abſolutely unchurched them. I ſay indeed, in my book againſt *Fiſher*, according to St. *Jerom, no biſhop no church*; and that none but a biſhop can ordain, except in caſes of inevitable neceſſity; and whether that be the caſe with the foreign churches, the world muſt judge. The judgment of the church of *England* is, that church government by biſhops is unalterable, for the preface to the book of ordination ſays, that from the apoſtles time there have been three orders of miniſters in the church, biſhops, prieſts, and deacons; now if biſhops are the apoſtles ſucceſſors, and have continued in the church above ſixteen hundred years, what authority have any chriſtian ſtates to deprive them of that right which Chriſt has given them? as to the *french* and *dutch churches* in this kingdom, I did not queſtion them for their ancient privileges, but for their new encroachments, for it was not the deſign of queen [*Elizabeth*] to harbour them, unleſs they conformed to the *engliſh* liturgy; now I inſiſted on this only with reſpect to thoſe who were of the ſecond deſcent, and born in *England*; and if all ſuch had been obliged to go to their pariſh churches as they ought, they would not have done the church of *England* ſo much harm as they have ſince done.

Laud's hiſt. p. 374. Prynne, p. 540.

Ib. p. 378.

To his correſponding with popiſh prieſts.

To the fourth objection I anſwer, that I had no intimate correſpondence with prieſts or jeſuits, nor entertained them at my table, knowing them to be ſuch. I never put my hand to the releaſing any prieſt out of priſon, nor have I connived at the liberties they aſſumed; the witneſſes who pretended to prove this are either mean perſons, or ſtrongly prejudiced; and to moſt of the facts there is but one witneſs. As to the *nuncios* from *Rome*, it was not in my power to hinder their coming, the king having condeſcended to it, at the earneſt requeſt of the queen; nor had I any particular intimacy with them whilſt they were here; nor do I remember my checking the *purſuivants* in doing their duty. But if it could be ſuppoſed that I ſaid, *I will have nothing to do with any prieſt-catching knaves*,

Laud's hiſt. p. 394.

knaves, I hope the words are not treaſon; nor is it any offence not to be a perſecutor, or not to give ill language to jeſuits; and I do affirm, that I never *perſecuted* any orthodox miniſters or *puritans*, though I may have *perſecuted* ſome for their ſchiſms and miſdemeanors. K. Charles I. 1644.

As to the king's marrying, 'tis not proved that I had any hand in it, though I acknowledge the duke of *Buckingham* did me the honour to make me his confeſſor. Nor did I conceal the late plot to bring in popery, but diſcovered it to the king as ſoon as I had intelligence of it; for the truth of which I appeal not only to my letters, but to the earl of *Northumberland* here preſent; who ſtood up, and ſaid, he remembered no ſuch thing.

The commons replied to the archbiſhop's general defence, that he had been fighting with his own ſhadow, for they never objected thoſe things to him for the purpoſes which he mentions; they never objected his reducing any from popery, but that many were hardened in it by his means. Nor did they object the canons or oath to prove him guilty of introducing popery, but to quite different purpoſes. So that the archbiſhop in theſe, and the other particulars abovementioned, has given us a ſpecimen of his ſophiſtry and jeſuitiſm, transforming his own defence into our charge and evidence, and making our objections ſtand as proofs of a fact, which they were not in the leaſt intended to ſupport. *M. reply.* Prynne, p. 543.

To the particulars they replied, that the titles he had aſſumed were peculiar to the papacy; that they were never aſſumed by any proteſtant archbiſhop before himſelf; nay that in the times of popery there are hardly any examples of their being giving to *engliſh* biſhops, and that it is blaſphemy to give the title of *holineſs* in the abſtract, to any but God himſelf; the archbiſhop therefore ought, in his anſwers to the letters of the univerſity, to have checked them, whereas he does not ſo much as mention theſe exorbitancies, nor find the leaſt fault with them. And though there be a difference between papal title and papal power, yet certainly his claiming the title of *alterius orbis papa*, pope of the other world, is a demonſtration that he was graſping at the ſame power in *Great Britain*, as the pope had in *Italy*; and though for prudent reaſons he refuſed the cardinal's hat when it was offered, yet when he had made his terms, and accompliſhed that reconciliation between the two churches that he was contriving, no doubt he would have had his reward. Sir *Henry Mildmay* being ſummoned, at the archbiſhop's requeſt, to give in evidence, how much he was hated and ſpoke againſt at *Rome*, ſwore, that when he was at *Rome* ſome of the jeſuitical faction ſpoke againſt the archbiſhop, becauſe they apprehended he aimed at too great an eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction for himſelf; but the ſeculars commended and applauded him, becauſe of the near approaches he made to their church, and ſhewed *To his aſſuming papal titles and honours.* Prynne, p. 413

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ed himſelf favourable to their party. The like evidence was given by Mr. *Challoner*, and others.

To his forbidding to pray for the queen's converſion. Prynne, p. p. 418.

And whereas the archbiſhop had ſaid, that it was not proved, that he forbid miniſters to pray for the queen's converſion, the managers produced Mr. *Hugh Ratcliffe* of St. *Martin's Ludgate*, who ſwore, that Sir *Nath. Brent* his vicar general, at a viſitation at *Bow* church, gave in charge to the clergy in his hearing, theſe words, *whereas divers of you, in your prayers before ſermon, uſed to pray for the queen's converſion, you are to do ſo no more, for the queen does not doubt of her converſion.* And both before and after, the archbiſhop himſelf cauſed Mr. *Bernard*, Mr. *Peters*, and Mr. *Jones*, to be proſecuted in the high commiſſion on this account. The archbiſhop having ſaid, that he never put his hand to the releaſing any prieſt out of priſon, the managers produced a warrant under his own hand, dated *Jan.* 31. 1633. for the releaſe of *William Walgrave*, depoſed to be a dangerous ſeducing prieſt, in theſe words.

Ib. p. 444.

"THESE are to will and command you, to ſet at full liberty "the perſon of *William Walgrave*, formerly committed to your "cuſtody, and for your ſo doing this ſhall be your ſufficient warrant.

W. Cant.
R. Ebor.

But the archbiſhop's memory frequently failed him on ſuch occaſions.

Church of Rome *no true church.* Prynne, p. 552, *&c.*

His *grace* confeſſes the church of *Rome* to be a *true church*, whereas we aver her to be a falſe and antichriſtian one, for ſhe has no ſure foundation, no true head, no ordinances ſacraments or worſhip, no true miniſtry, nor government of Chriſt's inſtitution; ſhe yields no true ſubjection to Chriſt's laws, word, or ſpirit, but is overſpread with damnable errors in doctrine, and corruptions in manners and worſhip, and is therefore defined by our homilies to be a *falſe church*. Muſt ſhe not err in fundamentals, when ſhe affirms the church to be built on *Peter*, not upon Chriſt, and reſolves our faith into the church, and not into the ſcriptures? when ſhe deifies the *virgin Mary*, and other ſaints, by giving them divine worſhip, and obliges us to adore the conſecrated bread in the ſacrament as the very body and blood of Chriſt; when ſhe denies the cup to the laity, obliges people to pray in an unknown tongue, and ſets up a new head of the church inſtead of Chriſt, with the keys of the kingdom of heaven at his girdle? what are theſe but fundamental errors, which nullify the church that maintains them? the religion of the church of *Rome* and ours is not one and the ſame, for theirs is no chriſtian religion, but

but a heap of ſuperſtition and idolatry; and his affirming ſalvation may be had in that church, is contrary to the opinion of our beſt proteſtant writers, who make her damnable errors, the foundation of our ſeparation from her. And though the archbiſhop makes light of his not believing the pope to be *antichriſt*, we do aver, that our ſtatutes and homilies do either in direct or equivalent expreſſions define him to be *antichriſt*, and particularly in the ſubſidy act, 3 *Jac.* penned by the convocation. K. Charles I. 1644.

To his reconciling the church of England *to* Rome.

But can any thing more fully demonſtrate the archbiſhop's deſign to reconcile the church of *England* with *Rome*, than his own confeſſion? he ſays, he has laboured this matter with a faithful and ſingle heart, *reply to Fiſher*, p. 388. though not to the prejudice of truth and piety. But it muſt be obſerved, that the archbiſhop's deſign was not to bring over the church of *Rome* to us, but to carry us over to them; and what large advances he has made that way, appears by his ſetting up altars, crucifixes, images, and other innovations. What advance has the church of *Rome* made towards us? why none at all; nor is it poſſible ſhe ſhould, till ſhe lays aſide her infallibility. The pretence therefore, of the church of *Rome*'s meeting us half way, was a meer *blind* to deceive the people of *England*, till he had carried them wholly over into her territories.

To his unchurching foreign proteſtants.

The archbiſhop has denied his endeavours to ſow diſcord among foreign proteſtants, and aſſerted his endeavours to reconcile the *lutherans* and *calviniſts*, though he has produced no evidence of it; but his late behaviour towards the *ſcots*, on the account of their having no biſhops, and to the foreign ſettlements among ourſelves, is a ſufficient proof of the contrary. The maxim that he cites from St. *Jerom*, *no biſhop no church*, is a plain perverting of his ſenſe, for his words are, *ubi non eſt ſacerdos, non eſt eccleſia*; but 'tis well known, that according to St. *Jerom*, biſhops and preſbyters are one and the ſame in juriſdiction and office, and preſbyters have the power of ordination as well as biſhops; and therefore this is a concluſion of the archbiſhop's framing, which if it be true, muſt neceſſarily unchurch all the foreign reformed churches, and render all the ordinations of their miniſters invalid, which is a ſufficient evidence of his enmity to them. Prynne, p. 541.

As to the *French* and *Dutch* churches, who were ſettled by charter in the reign of king *Edward* VI. Mr. *Bulteel*'s book, of the manifold troubles of thoſe churches by this archbiſhop's proſecutions, evidently proves, that he invaded and diminiſhed their ancient immunities and privileges in all parts; and that he was ſo far from being their friend, that they accounted him their greateſt enemy.

To his countenancing popiſh prieſts.

To the fourth objection, relating to the archbiſhop's correſpondence with popiſh prieſts, we reply, that the archbiſhop's intimacy with Sir *Toby Mathew*, the moſt active jeſuit in the kingdom, has been fully proved; Prynne, p. 448, 456, 559, 561.

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ved; that he was ſometimes with him in his barge, ſometimes in his coach, ſometimes in private with him in his garden, and frequently at his table. The like has been proved of *Sancta Clara*, St. *Giles Leander*, *Smith*, and *Price*, and we can't but wonder at his denying that he knew them to be prieſts, when the evidence of his knowledge of ſome of them has been produced under his own hand; and the witneſſes for the others were no meaner perſons than the lords of the council, and the high commiſſioners, (amongſt which was himſelf) employed to apprehend prieſts and delinquents; from whence we conclude, that all the archbiſhop's predeceſſors ſince the reformation, had not half the intimacy with popiſh prieſts and jeſuits as himſelf, and his harbouring ſome of them that were native *engliſh* men, is within the ſtatutes of 23 *Eliz.* cap. 1. and 27 *Eliz.* cap. 2. 'Tis very certain, that the liberty the jeſuits have enjoyed in priſon, and elſewhere, was owing to his connivance; and though the archbiſhop is ſo happy as not to remember his checking the officers, for their diligence in apprehending popiſh prieſts, yet his diſtinction between not *perſecuting* papiſts, and *proſecuting* puritans, beſides the quibble, is an unanſwerable argument of his affection to the one beyond the other.

Prynne, p. 458, 448.

And diſcountenancing their proſecutors.

Prynne, p. 446.

The managers produced ſix or eight witneſſes, to prove the archbiſhop's diſcountenancing and threatening ſuch as were active in apprehending prieſts and jeſuits. And though he would waſh his hands of the affair of the pope's nuncio, reſiding here in character, and holding an intimate correſpondence with the court, becauſe himſelf did not appear in it, yet 'tis evident, that ſecretary *Windebank*, who was the archbiſhop's creature and confident, held an avowed correſpondence with them. If he had no concern in this affair, ſhould he not, out of regard to the proteſtant religion, and church of *England*, even to the hazard of his archbiſhoprick, have made ſome open protetſtation, when *Gregorio Panzani* reſided here in character two years; *Gregorio Con* a *ſcot* for three years and two months; and laſt of all, count *Roſetti*, till driven away by the preſent parliament.

It has been ſufficiently proved, that the archbiſhop was concerned in the *ſpaniſh* and *french* matches, and in the inſtructions given to the prince at his going to *Spain*, to ſatisfy the pope's nuncio about king *James*'s having declared the pope to be *antichriſt*; for the duke of *Buckingham* was the prince's director, and himſelf acknowledged that he was the duke's confeſſor.

To his concealing Habernfield's *plot.*

Prynne, p. 564, &c.

And as to the late plots of *Habernfield*, we have owned in our evidences, that at firſt he diſcovered it to the king, becauſe he imagined it to be a plot of the *puritans*, but when he found the parties engaged in it to be papiſts, and among others, ſecretary *Windebank* and Sir *Toby Mathew* his own creatures, he then concealed his papers, called it a ſham plot, and brow-

brow-beat the informers, whereas he ought at leaſt to have laid it before the parliament, that they might have ſifted it to the bran. But that it was a real plot, his own diary together with our later diſcoveries, fully prove; and his concealment of it, we conceive to be an high and treaſonable offence, tending to ſubvert the proteſtant religion, and ſubject us to the church of *Rome*. *K. Charles I. 1644.*

Thus we humbly conceive, we have made a ſatisfactory reply to all the archbiſhop's anſwers, and have fully made good the whole of our charge, namely, that *the archbiſhop has traiterouſly endeavoured to deſtroy our civil liberties, and to introduce tyranny and arbitrary power*; and *ſecondly*, that *he has endeavoured to ſubvert the proteſtant religion eſtabliſhed by law in theſe kingdoms, and to ſubject us to the church of* Rome; wherefore we do, in the name of all the commons of *England*, pray judgment againſt him as a traytor. *The M. concluſion.*

Before the archbiſhop withdrew from the bar, he moved the lords, that conſidering the length of his trial, and the diſtance of time between the ſeveral days of hearing, they would allow him a day that he might ſet before their lordſhips in one view, the whole of the commons charge, and his defence; to which they condeſcended, and appointed *Sept.* 2. which was five weeks from the laſt day of his trial. When the archbiſhop appeared at the bar he began with a moving addreſs, beſeeching their lordſhips to conſider his calling, his age, his long impriſonment, his ſufferings, his patience, and the ſequeſtration of his eſtate. He then complained, (1.) of the uncertainty and generality of the commons charge. (2.) of the ſhort time that was allowed him for his anſwer. (3.) that he had been ſifted to the bran, and had his papers taken from him. (4.) that the things he had taken moſt pains in, were for the publick good, and done at his own great expence, as the repair of St. *Paul*'s, and the ſtatutes of *Oxford*. (5.) that many of the witneſſes were ſectaries and ſchiſmaticks, whereas by the canon law, *no ſchiſmatick ſhould be heard againſt his biſhop*. He complained alſo of the number of witneſſes produced againſt him, which were above one hundred and fifty; whereas the civil law ſays, that the judges ſhould moderate things ſo as no man ſhould be oppreſſed with the multitude of witneſſes. (6.) that he had been charged with paſſionate and haſty words, which he hopes their lordſhips will pardon as human frailties. (7.) that other mens actions had been laid to his charge, as thoſe of his chaplains, and the actions of the high commiſſion and ſtar chamber, which he inſiſts cannot by any law be put upon him, it being a known rule, *refertur ad univerſos quod publice fit per majorem partem*. He then went over the particular charges abovementioned, and concluded with a requeſt, that when the commons had replied to the facts, his council might be heard as to matters of law. The com- *Abp's ſpeech at the cloſe of the trial.* Laud's hiſt. 412, 419.

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mons replied to the archbiſhop's ſpeech *Sept.* 11. and the ſame day his council delivered in theſe two queries, (1.) *whether in all or any of the articles charged againſt the archbiſhop, there be contained any treaſon by the eſtabliſhed laws of this kingdom.* (2.) *whether the impeachment and articles did contain ſuch certainties and particularities as are required by law in caſes of treaſon.* The lords ſent down the *queries* to the commons, who after they had referred them to a committee of lawyers, agreed that the archbiſhop's council might be heard to the *firſt query*, but not to the ſecond. Accordingly *October* 11. the archbiſhop being preſent at the bar, Mr. *Hearn* propoſed to argue theſe two general queſtions.

Laud's hiſt. p. 422.

Points of law debated.

Laud's hiſt. p. 423.

Mr. Hearn's *argument.*

(1.) "Whether there be at this day any other treaſon than what is enacted by the ſtatute of 25th *Edward* III. *cap.* 2. or enacted by ſome other ſubſequent ſtatute?"

(2.) "Whether any of the matters, in any of the articles charged againſt the archbiſhop, contain any of the treaſons declared by that law, or enacted by any ſubſequent law?"

Ib. p. 424. 425.

And for the clearing of both theſe he humbly inſiſted, that an "*endeavour to ſubvert the laws, the proteſtant religion, and the rights of parliament, which are the three general charges to which all the particulars alledged againſt the archbiſhop may be reduced, is not treaſon within the ſtatute of* 25 Edward III. *nor any other particular ſtatute.*"

In maintenance of this propoſition he contended, *firſt*, "that the particulars alledged againſt the archbiſhop, were not within the *letter* of the ſtatute of the 25th *Edward* III. and then argued, that the ſtatutes of this land ought not to be conſtrued by *equity* or *inference*, becauſe they are declarative laws, and were deſigned for the ſecurity of the ſubject in his life liberty and eſtate; and becauſe ſince the time of *Henry* IV. no judgment has been given in parliament for any treaſon not expreſsly contained or declared, in that or ſome other ſtatute, but by *bill*; from whence it will follow, that the particulars charged againſt the archbiſhop, being only an *endeavour to ſubvert fundamental laws*, are of ſo great latitude and uncertainty, that every action not warranted by law may be extended to treaſon, though there is no particular ſtatute to make it ſo. If it be replied, that the ſtatute of 25 *Edward* III. takes notice of *compaſſing or imagining*, we anſwer, it confines it to the death of the king; but an *endeavour to ſubvert the laws of the realm*, is no determinate crime by the laws of *England*, but has been eſteemed an aggravation of a crime, and has been uſually joined as the reſult of ſome other offence below treaſon."

Laud's hiſt. p. 427.

Ib. p. 429.

"The like may be obſerved to the ſecond charge, of *endeavouring to ſubvert religion*; 'tis not treaſon by the letter of any law eſtabliſhed in this

" this kingdom, for the ſtatute of 1 *Edward* VI. *cap.* 12. makes it but " felony to attempt an alteration of religion by force, which is the worſt " kind of attempt. K. Charles I. 1644.

" As to the third charge, of *endeavouring to ſubvert the rights of par-* " *liament*. We inſiſt on the ſame reply that was made under the firſt " head. We allow that by the ſtatute of 5 *Jac. cap.* 4. 'tis provided " that if any man ſhall put in practice to reconcile any of his majeſty's " ſubjects to the pope or ſee of *Rome*, it ſhall be deemed *treaſon*; but we " conceive this does not reach the archbiſhop, becauſe (1.) He is charged Ib. p. 430. " only with an *endeavour*, whereas in the ſtatute it is *putting in practice*. " (2.) Becauſe the archbiſhop is charged with reconciling the church of " *England* with the church of *Rome*, whereas in the ſtatute it is reconciling " any of his majeſty's ſubjects to the ſee of *Rome*; now reconciling *with*, " may as well be conſtrued a reducing *Rome* to *England*, as *England* to " *Rome*.

" Thus, ſays Mr. *Hearn*, we have endeavoured to make it appear, that " none of the matters in any of the articles charged, are treaſon within " the letter of the law; indeed the crimes, as they are laid in the " charge, are many and great, but their number cannot make them ex- " ceed their nature; and if they be but crimes and miſdemeanors apart, " below treaſon, they cannot be made treaſon by putting them to- " gether."

Theſe arguments of the archbiſhop's council ſtaggered the houſe of *lords*, nor could the managers for the commons ſatisfy them in their reply; they had no doubts about the truth of the facts, but *whether any of them were treaſon by the laws of the land* — this the *judges* very much queſtioned, and therefore the lords deferred giving judgment, till the commons thought fit to take another method to obtain it.

Various are the accounts of the archbiſhop's behaviour on his trial; his friends and admirers flattered him beyond meaſure, and ſaid that he perfectly triumphed over his accuſers; and his *grace* ſeems to be of the ſame mind, when he tells us, that *all men magnified his anſwer to the houſe of commons, but he forbore to ſet down in what language, becauſe it was high.* Mr. *Prynne* allows, that " he made as full as gallant and pithy a defence, " and ſpake as much for himſelf as was poſſible for the wit of man to in- " vent; and that with ſo much art, ſophiſtry, vivacity, oratory, audacity " and confidence, without the leaſt bluſh, or acknowledgment of guilt in " any thing, as argued him rather obſtinate than innocent, impudent than " penitent, and a far better orator and ſophiſter than proteſtant or chriſ- " tian." But then he imputes his boldneſs to the king's pardon, which he had in his pocket. *Cenſures of the archbiſhop's behaviour.* Laud's Hiſt. p. 441. Prynne, p. 462.

K. Charles I. 1644.

Biſhop *Burnet* is of opinion, that "in moſt of the particulars the archbiſhop made but frivolous excuſes; as, that he was but *one of many*, who "either in council, ſtar-chamber, or high commiſſion, voted illegal things. "Now though this was true, yet a *chief miniſter*, and one in high favour, "determines the reſt ſo much, that they are little better than machines "acted by him. On other occaſions he ſays, the thing was proved but "by one witneſs. Now how ſtrong ſoever this defence may be in law, "it is of no force in an appeal to the world; for if a thing be true, 'tis "no matter how full or defective the proof is."

Hiſt. *of his* Life, Vol. I. p. 50.

His character of the witneſſes.

The archbiſhop himſelf has informed us of his great patience under the hard uſage he met with at his trial; but his diary furniſhes too many examples to the contrary, for it appears from thence, that he ſometimes gave the witneſſes very rude language at the bar, inſinuating to the court, that many of them were perjured; that their evidence was the effect of malice, envy, and a thirſt after his blood. Sometimes he threatened them with the judgments of God, and once he was going to bind his ſin upon one of them, not to be forgiven till he aſked pardon; but he recovered himſelf. He is pleaſed ſometimes to obſerve, that his crimes were proved only by *one witneſs*; and yet at laſt he complains that he was oppreſſed with numbers, no leſs than one hundred and fifty, and calls them "a pack "of ſuch witneſſes, as were never produced againſt any man of his place "and calling; *purſuivants*, *meſſengers*, *pillory-men*, *bawds*; and ſuch as had "ſhifted their religion to and again." And yet there were among them, men of the beſt faſhion and quality in the kingdom, as Sir *H. Vane* ſen. Sir *H. Mildmay*, Sir *William Balfore*, Sir *Nath. Brent* vicar general; ſundry aldermen of the city of *London*, and many excellent divines, as Dr. *Featly*, Dr. *Haywood* the archbiſhop's chaplain, Mr. *Dell* his ſecretary, Mr. *Oſbaldiſton*, and others of an equal if not ſuperior character. When his *grace* was checked at the bar for reflecting upon the witneſſes, and put in mind by the managers that ſome of them were aldermen, ſome gentlemen, and ſome men of quality, he replied ſmartly, "*that is no-thing, there is not an active ſeparatiſt in* England *but his hand is againſt me; both gentlemen, aldermen, and men of all conditions, are ſeparatiſts from the church of* England, *and I would to God ſome of my judges were not.*"

Laud's Hiſt. p. 237. Ib. p. 417. Ib. p. 434.

His cenſure of the managers.

After this it can hardly be expected, that the *managers for the commons* ſhould eſcape his *grace's* cenſure; it muſt be admitted, that in the courſe of their arguments they made uſe of ſome harſh expreſſions, which nothing but the character they ſuſtained could excuſe; but it was no argument of the archbiſhop's patience and diſcretion, to fight them at their own weapons. The managers were ſerjeant *Maynard*, one of the ableſt lawyers

lawyers of his *age*; he lived to be the father of his profeſſion; and when the prince of ORANGE [afterwards king WILLIAM III.] complimented him upon his having out-lived all his brethren of the law, he made this handſome reply, that if it had not been for the wonderful REVOLUTION that his highneſs had brought about, he ſhould have outlived the law itſelf. He managed the firſt part of the evidence *March* 13th, 16th, 18th, and 28th. "This gentleman (ſays the archbiſhop) pleaded "though ſtrongly, yet fairly againſt me." *K.* Charles I. 1644.

Serjeant *Wild* was the ſon of ſerjeant *George Wild* of *Droitwich* in *Worceſterſhire*; he was afterwards reader of the *Inner-Temple*, a great lawyer and of unblemiſhed morals. He was made lord chief-baron according to *Whitlock* in the year 1648. and Mr. *Wood* obſerves, that when OLIVER came to the protectorſhip, he retired and acted not; but when the rump parliament was reſtored after RICHARD's deprivation, he was reſtored to the *Exchequer*; and after king *Charles* IId's return, lived about nine years in a private condition. He managed that part of the evidence which concerned religion, *May* 20, 27. *June* 6, 11, 17, 20, and 27. *July* 20. and 24. but "this gentleman, ſays the archbiſhop, "though he had language good enough ſometimes, he had little or no "ſenſe. I had a character given me before of him, which I forbear to "expreſs, but by his proceedings with me I found it exactly true." *Memorials*, p. 337. Faſt. Vol. I. p. 186.

Samuel Browne Eſq; was an able and grave lawyer. In the reign of king *Charles* II. he was knighted and made lord chief-juſtice of the common pleas; he ſummed up the whole evidence at the lords bar. "His "behaviour towards the archbiſhop was decent and civil, but his pleadings "(according to his *grace*) very unfair." *H. trial and troubles*, p. 442.

Robert Nicolas Eſq; preſſed the archbiſhop very hard, and therefore no wonder that he was diſpleaſed with him. The archbiſhop allows that he had ſome ſenſe, but extream virulent and foul language. He managed the ſecond and fourth branches of the evidence *April* 16. *May* 14. *July* 29. This gentleman happening to call the archbiſhop *pander to the whore of* Babylon; the archbiſhop bids him remember, "that one "of his zealous witneſſes againſt the whore of *Babylon* got all his means "by being a *pander* to other lewd women, and was not long ſince taken "in bed with one of his wife's maids. Good Mr. *Nicolas* (ſays he) do "not diſpence with all whores but the whore of *Babylon!*" Laud's Hiſt. p. 390.

As for Mr. *Hill* the other manager, he is called *conſul Bibulus*, becauſe he ſaid nothing. Upon the whole the archbiſhop is of opinion, that the managers for the commons ſought his blood, "and made falſe conſtruc- "tions, for which (ſays he) I am confident they ſhall anſwer at another "bar, and for ſomething elſe in theſe proceedings." Ib. p. 271.

K. Charles I. 1644.

Such was the unhappy ſpirit of this prelate, who "though he had ſeen "the violent effects of his ill counſels, and had been ſo long ſhut up, and "ſo much at leiſure to reflect upon what had paſt in the hurry of paſſion, "and in the exaltation of his proſperity, yet (as biſhop *Burnet* obſerves) "he does not in any one part of his diary acknowledge his own errors, "nor mix any wiſe or pious reflections upon the unhappy ſteps he had "made." It was no doubt a great mortification to his ſpirit, to be expoſed to the people, and to wait ſometimes an hour or two before he was called to the bar; but as for his charity and patience under his ſufferings, I muſt leave the reader to form his own judgment.

Petitions for juſtice againſt him.

While the proceedings againſt the archbiſhop were at a ſtand, by reaſon of the lords being diſſatisfied, *whether the facts proved againſt him were treaſon by ſtatute law*; the citizens of *London* aſſembled, and preſented a petition to the houſe of commons *Octob.* 28th. ſigned with a great number of hands, praying for ſpeedy juſtice againſt delinquents, and particularly againſt the archbiſhop; which was no doubt an artful contrivance of his enemies. The commons to prevent all further delays, determined not to preſs the lords for judgment upon the trial, but ordered a bill of attainder to be brought in; and when it had been twice read, the archbiſhop was brought to the bar of the houſe of commons, to hear the evidence on which it proceeded, and to make what further defence he thought proper; Mr. *Browne* ſummed up the charge *Nov.* 2. and the archbiſhop had nine days given him to prepare his defence. *Nov.* 11. he ſpoke for himſelf ſome hours at the bar of the houſe of commous, and Mr. *Browne* replied before the archbiſhop withdrew; after which the bill of attainder paſſed the houſe the very ſame day with but one diſſenting voice, and that not upon the ſubſtance of the charge, but upon the manner of proceeding. The bill being ſent up to the lords they made an order *Dec.* 4. *that all books, writings,* &c. *concerning the archbiſhop's trial, ſhould be brought in to the clerk of the parliament*, which being done, they examined over again, all the heads and principal parts of the evidence, and voted each particular as they went forward; ſo tender were they of the life of this prelate, and ſo careful to maintain the honour and juſtice of their proceedings. When they had gone through the whole, they voted him guilty of all the facts charged againſt him, in three branches, namely, *guilty of endeavouring to ſubvert the laws*; —— *of endeavouring to overthrow the proteſtant religion*, —— *and the rights of parliaments.* After this they ſent a meſſage to the commons, to deſire them to anſwer the argument of the archbiſhop's council, as to the points of law, which they accordingly did at a conference *Jan.* 2. when ſerjeant *Wild*, Mr. *Browne*, and Mr. *Nicolas*, having given the reaſons of the commons for their attainder, the lords were ſatisfied, and *Jan* 4. paſſed the bill, where-

Condemned by bill of attainder.

whereby it was ordained that he ſhould ſuffer death as in caſes of high treaſon. To ſtop the conſequence of this attainder, the archbiſhop produced the king's pardon under the *great ſeal*, ſigned *April* 19. 12th. *Car.* but it was over-ruled by both houſes. 1. Becauſe it was granted before conviction. And 2. If it had been ſubſequent, yet in the preſent caſe of treaſon they argued that the king could not pardon a judgment of parliament, eſpecially as the nation was in a ſtate of war; for if the king's pardon was a protection, not a deſerter nor a ſpy nor an incendiary of any kind againſt the parliament, would have ſuffered in his life or liberty. K. Charles I. 1644. Whitl. Mem. d. 117.

All the favour therefore the archbiſhop could obtain, was upon his petition, to have his ſentence altered from hanging, to being beheaded on *Tower-Hill*, which was appointed to be on *Friday Jan.* 10. when the archbiſhop being conducted to the ſcaffold, attended by his chaplain Dr. *Stern*, and by Mr. *Marſhal* and *Palmer*, ſent by the parliament, read his laſt ſpeech to the people, which was a ſort of ſermon from *Heb.* xii. 2. *Let us run with patience the race that is ſet before us, looking unto Jeſus, the author and finiſher of our faith, who, for the joy that was ſet before him, endured the croſs, deſpiſing the ſhame, and is ſat down at the right hand of the throne of God.* In which he acknowledges himſelf to have been a great ſinner; but having ranſacked every corner of his heart, he thanks God, that he has not found any of his ſins deſerving death by any of the known laws of the kingdom, though he does not charge his judges, becauſe they are to proceed according to evidence —— He thanks God that he is as quiet within as ever he was in his life, and hopes that his cauſe in heaven will look of another colour than it does here. It is clamoured againſt me (ſays he) that I deſigned to bring in popery, but I pray God that the pope does not come in, by means of theſe ſectaries which clamour ſo much againſt me. As for the *king*, he aſſured the world, that he was as ſound a proteſtant as any man in the kingdom, and would venture as freely for it. He complains of the citizens for gathering hands to petitions, and particularly againſt himſelf, whereby they were bringing the guilt of innocent blood upon themſelves and their city. He laments the ruin of the hierarchy, and concludes with declaring himſelf a true proteſtant, according to the church of *England* eſtabliſhed by law, and takes it upon his death, that *he never endeavoured the ſubverſion of the laws of the realm, nor any change of the proteſtant religion into popiſh ſuperſtition; nor was he an enemy to parliaments.* *His laſt ſpeech.*

In his laſt prayer he deſires that God would give him patience to die for his honour, for the king's happineſs, and the church of *England*. He then prays for the preſervation of the king in his juſt rights; for the parliament in their ancient and juſt power; for the church, that it may be ſettled in truth and peace, and in its patrimony; and for the people, that they *And prayer.*

K. Charles I. 1644.

they may enjoy their ancient laws, and other liberties; and then having forgiven his enemies, he concluded with the Lord's prayer. After which he gave his paper to Dr. *Sterne*, ſaying, doctor I give you this, to ſhew your fellow chaplains, that they may ſee how I am gone out of the world, and God's bleſſing and his mercy be upon them. When the ſcaffold was cleared, he pulled off his doublet, and ſaid, *God's will be done, I am willing to go out of the world; no man can be more willing to ſend me out.* Then turning to the executioner he gave him ſome money, and bid him do his office in mercy; he then kneeled down, and after a ſhort prayer, laid his head on the block, and ſaid *Lord Jeſus receive my Spirit*; which being the ſign, the executioner did his office at one blow. The archbiſhop's corpſe was put into a coffin, and by the permiſſion of parliament buried in *Barkin* church, with the ſervice of the church read over him. The inſcription upon the coffin was this, *in hac ciſtula conduntur exuviæ* Gulielmi Laud, *archiepiſcopi* Cantuarienſis, *qui ſecuri percuſſus immortalitem adiit, die* x° Januarii, *ætatis ſuæ* 72. *archiepiſcopatus* xii. But after the reſtoration, his body was removed to *Oxford*, and depoſited with great ſolemnity in a brick vault, according to his laſt will and teſtament, near the altar of the chapel of St. *John Baptiſt* college, *July* 24. 1663.

His character.

Thus died Dr. WILLIAM LAUD, archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, primate of all *England*, and metropolitan; ſome time chancellor of the univerſities of *Oxford* and *Dublin*, one of the commiſſioners of his majeſty's *Exchequer*, and privy counſellor to the king, in the ſeventy-ſecond year of his age, and twelfth of his archiepiſcopal tranſlation. He was of low ſtature, and a ruddy countenance; his natural temper was ſevere and uncourtly, his ſpirit active and reſtleſs, which puſhed him on to the moſt hazardous enterprizes. His conduct was raſh and precipitate, for according to Dr. *Heylin*, he attempted more alterations in the church in one year, than a prudent man would have done in a great many. His counſels in *ſtate affairs* were high and arbitrary; he was at the head of all the illegal projects, of ſhip-money, loans, monopolies, ſtar-chamber fines, *&c.* which were the ruin of the king and conſtitution.

His maxims in the *church* were no leſs ſevere, for he ſharpened the ſpiritual ſword, and drew it againſt all ſorts of offenders, intending (as lord *Clarendon* expreſſes it) that the diſcipline of the church ſhould be felt as well as ſpoken of. There had not been ſuch a crowd of buſineſs in *the high commiſſion court* ſince the reformation, nor ſo many large fines impoſed, as under this prelates adminiſtration, with little or no abatement, becauſe they were aſſigned to the repair of St. *Paul's*, which gave occaſion

caſion to an unlucky proverb, that the *church was repaired with the ſins of the people.* K. Charles I. 1644.

As to the archbiſhop's religion, he declared himſelf upon the ſcaffold, a proteſtant according to the conſtitution of the church of *England*, but with more charity to the church of *Rome* than to the foreign proteſtants; and though he was an avowed enemy to ſectaries and fanatics of all ſorts, yet he had a great deal of ſuperſtition in his *make*, as appears from thoſe paſſages in his diary, in which he takes notice of his dreams, of the falling down of pictures, of the bleeding of his noſe, of auſpicious and inauſpicious days of the year, and of the poſition of the ſtars; a variety of which may be collected out of that performance.

His *grace* muſt be allowed to have had a conſiderable ſhare of knowledge, and to have been a learned man, though he was more a man of buſineſs than of letters. He was a great benefactor to the college in which he was educated, enriching it with a variety of valuable manuſcripts, beſides five hundred pounds in money. He gave eight hundred pounds to the repair of the cathedral of St. *Paul*, and ſundry other legacies of the like nature. But with all his accompliſhments, he was a cruel perſecutor, as long as he was in power, and the chief incendiary in the war between the king and parliament, the calamities of which are in a great meaſure chargeable on him. " That which gave me the ſtrongeſt prejudices a-" gainſt him (ſays biſhop *Burnet*) is, that in his diary, after he had ſeen " the ill effects of his violent counſels, and had been ſo long ſhut up, and " ſo long at leiſure to reflect on what had paſſed in the hurry of paſſion, " in the exaltation of his proſperity, he does not in any one part of that " great work acknowledge his own errors, nor mix any wiſe or ſerious re-" flections on the ill uſage he met with, or the unhappy ſteps he had " made." The biſhop adds withal, " that he was a learned, ſincere, and " zealous man, regular in his own life, and humble in his private deport-" ment, but hot and indiſcreet, eagerly purſuing ſuch matters as were ei-" ther very inconſiderable or miſchievous; ſuch as ſettling the commu-" nion-table by the eaſt wall of the church, bowing to it and calling it " an *altar*, ſuppreſſing the *walloon* privileges, breaking of lectures, and " encouraging of ſports on the Lord's day, *&c.* His ſeverity in the ſtar-cham-" ber and in the high commiſſion court, but above all his violent, and in-" deed inexcuſable injuſtice, in the proſecution of biſhop *Williams*, were ſuch " viſible blemiſhes, that nothing but the putting him to death in ſo unjuſt " a manner, could have raiſed his character. His diary repreſents him as " an abject fawner upon the duke of *Buckingham*, and as a ſuperſtitious " regarder of dreams; his defence of himſelf, writ with ſo much care " when he was in the *Tower*, is a very mean performance; and his friends " have really leſſened him; *Heylin* by writing his life, and *Wharton* by

Diary, p. 56.

Hiſt. *of his* Life, Vol. I. p. 49, 50.

K. Charles I. 1644.

Rapin, Vol. XII. p. 254.

" publiſhing his vindication of himſelf." Mr. *Rapin* adds, " Let the " archbiſhop's favourers ſay what they pleaſe, he was one of the chief " authors of the troubles that afflicted *England*, *firſt*, by ſupporting with " all his might the principles of that arbitrary power which the court " ſtrove for ſeveral years to eſtabliſh. *Secondly*, by uſing too much ſtrict- " neſs and rigidneſs in the obſervance of trifles in divine ſervice, and in " compelling every body to conform themſelves thereto." To which I would beg leave to add, that ſince nothing relating to the doctrine or diſcipline of the church of *England* eſtabliſhed by law, was objected to him at his trial, but only certain innovations in the church, without or contrary to law, I cannot conceive with what propriety of language, his friends and admirers have canonized him, as the *bleſſed martyr of the church of* England.

Treaty of Uxbridge. 1644-5

Whitlock, p. 114. 107.

Ruſhw. p. 788, 789.

King's cabinet opened. Whitlock, p. 277.

The laſt and moſt memorable tranſaction of this year, was the treaty of *Uxbridge*. His majeſty had ſent the two houſes ſundry propoſitions for peace laſt ſummer, which took them up a great deal of time to form into propoſitions for his majeſty's aſſent. The commiſſioners were two lords, four commoners, and thoſe of the *ſcots* commiſſioners; they arrived at *Oxford Nov.* 26. and though the king had given them a ſafe conduct, Mr. *Whitlock* obſerves, they met with very rude treatment from the populace, who ſaluted them as they paſſed along the ſtreets, with the names of *traytors*, *rogues*, and *rebels*, throwing ſtones and dirt into their coaches; when they came to their inn they were inſulted by the ſoldiers, ſo they were obliged to ſhut up the doors till the king ordered them a guard. When they delivered their propoſitions, his majeſty received them coldly; and becauſe they were only to receive his anſwer, told them, *a letter carrier might have done as well.* Next day his majeſty gave them his anſwer in writing ſealed up; and when they deſired to ſee it, he replied with a frown, *what is it to you, who are but to carry what I ſend; if I will ſend the ſong of* Robin Hood, *or* Little John, *you muſt carry it.* At length they obtained a copy, which was only to deſire a ſafe conduct for the duke of *Lenox* and earl of *Southampton* to come to *London* with his majeſty's anſwer; but the letter not being directed to the *parliament* of *England*, the houſes would not conſent but upon that condition. The king's council adviſed him to yield, which did not prevail, till his majeſty had found out an evaſion, and entered it upon record in the council books, as appears by his letter to the queen, dated *Jan.* 2. in which he ſays, " that " his *calling* them a parliament did not imply his *acknowledging* them as " ſuch; upon which conſtruction, and no other (ſays he) I called them, " as it is regiſtered in the council books, and if there had been but two " of my opinion (ſays the king) I would not have done it." In another inter-

intercepted letter to the queen he tells her, "he could not prevail with his "parliament at *Oxford*, to vote thoſe at *Weſtminſter* no parliament, but aſ- "ſures her, he would not make peace without *her approbation*, nor go one "jot beyond the paper ſhe ſent him." In another the king informs the queen, that the parliament were ſending him propoſitions for peace, which "IF SHE LIKES, he thinks may be the beſt way for ſettlement as things "ſtand;" ſo that the fate of *England* was to be determined by the queen and her popiſh council. Beſides his majeſty was unhappily elevated at this time by the diviſions at *Weſtminſter*, which produced the new modeling the army; and with a falſe and romantic account of the ſucceſſes of the marquis of *Montroſs* in *Scotland*, which were ſo magnified, that it was expected the *ſcots* muſt immediately march back into their own country; whereas in reality they were not ſo conſiderable, as to oblige them to draw off a ſingle regiment. K. Charles I. 1644-5.

In this ſituation of affairs it was agreed, according to the propoſals of the king's commiſſioners, that there ſhould be a treaty of peace at *Uxbridge*, to commence *Jan.* 30. 1644-5. and to continue twenty days.

There were ſixteen commiſſioners for the king, (*viz.*) nine lords, ſix commoners, and one divine; twelve for the parliament, and ten for the *ſcots*, and one divine, (*viz.*) Mr. *Henderſon*; the king's divine who was Dr. *Steward*, who was aſſiſted by Dr. *Sheldon*, *Laney*, *Fern*, *Potter*, and *Hammond*. Aſſiſtant divines for the parliament were Mr. *Vines*, *Marſhal*, *Cheynel*, and *Chieſly*. Theſe with their retinue, to the number of one hundred and eight perſons, were included in the ſafe conduct. *The commiſſioners.*

The propoſitions to be treated of were *religion*, the *militia*, and *Ireland*, each of which were to be debated three days ſucceſſively, till the twenty days were expired.

The treaty was preceeded by a day of faſting and prayer on both ſides, for a bleſſing but was interrupted the very firſt day, by a ſermon preached occaſionally in the church of *Uxbridge* by Mr. *Love*, then preacher to the garriſon of *Windſor*, wherein he had ſaid, that they [his majeſty's commiſſioners] *came thither with hearts full of blood, and that there was as great a diſtance between this treaty and peace, as between heaven and hell.* The commiſſioners having complained of him next day, the parliament commiſſioners laid it before the two houſes, who ſent for him to *London*, where he gave this account of the affair; that the people being under a diſapointment at their lecture, he was deſired unexpectedly to give them a ſermon; which was the ſame he had preached at *Windſor* the day before. He admits that he cautioned the people not to have too great a dependance upon the treaty, becauſe "whilſt our enemies (ſays "he) *Treaty begins.* *Mr.* Love's *ſermon.* Dugdale's *treaty of* Uxbridge, p. 764.

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" he) go on in their wicked practices, and we keep to our principles, we " may as ſoon make fire and water to agree; and I had almoſt ſaid, re- " conc ile heaven and hell, as their ſpirits and ours. They muſt grow " better, or we muſt grow worſe, before 'tis poſſible for us to agree." He added further, " that there was a generation of men that carried blood " and revenge in their hearts, againſt the well affected in the nation, who " hated not only their bodies but their ſouls, and in their cups would drink " an health to their damnation." Though there might be ſome truth in what the preacher ſaid, yet theſe expreſſions were unbecoming any private man in ſo nice a conjuncture; he was therefore confined to his houſe during the treaty, and then diſcharged.

Rapin, p. 278.

It was too evident that neither party came to the treaty with a healing ſpirit; the king's commiſſioners were under ſuch reſtraints, that little good was to be expected from them, and the parliament commiſſioners would place no manner of confidence in his majeſty's promiſes, nor abate a tittle of the fulleſt ſecurity for themſelves and the conſtitution. The king therefore in his letter to the queen of *Jan.* 22. aſſures her of the utter improbability that this preſent treaty ſhould produce a peace, " conſidering " the great, and ſtrange difference, if not contrariety of grounds, that " were between the rebels propoſitions and his; and that I cannot alter " mine, nor will they ever theirs, but by force."

Of the militia.

We ſhall only juſt mention the propoſitions relating to the *militia* and *Ireland*, our principal view being to religion. The king's commiſſioners propoſed to put the militia *into the hands of* TRUSTEES *for three years, half to be named by the king, and half by the parliament, and then to revert abſolutely to the crown on pain of high treaſon.* But the parliament commiſſioners replied, that by the king's naming half the commiſſioners, the militia would be rendered unactive, and that after three years, they ſhould be in a worſe condition than before the war; they therefore

Rapin, p. 287.

propoſed, that *the parliament ſhould name the commiſſioners for ſeven years, and then to be ſettled as the king and parliament ſhould agree*, or elſe *to limit their nomintion to three years, after the king and parliament ſhould declare the kingdom to be in a ſettled peace.* It had been eaſy to form this propoſition, ſo as both parties might have complied with honour and ſafety, if they had been in earneſt for an accommodation; but his majeſty's commiſſioners could yield no further.

Of Ireland.

As to *Ireland*, the king's commiſſioners juſtified his majeſty's proceedings in the ceſſation, and in ſending for the rebels over to fill up his armies; and when the commiſſioners on the other ſide, put them in mind of his majeſty's ſolemn promiſes to leave that affair to the parliament, and to have thoſe rebels puniſhed according to law; the others replied, " they wiſhed it was in his majeſty's power to puniſh all rebellion accord-

" ing as it deſerved; but ſince it was otherwiſe, he muſt condeſcend to " treaties, and to all other expedients neceſſary to reduce his rebellious " ſubjects to their duty and obedience." Admirable arguments to heal diviſions, and induce the parliament to put the ſword into the king's hands! K. Charles I. 1644-5.

The article of *religion* was, in the opinion of lord *Clarendon*, of leſs conſequence with many in the parliament houſe, for if they could have obtained a *ſecurity for their lives and fortunes*, he apprehends this might have been accommodated, though conſidering the influence of the *ſcots*, and the growing ſtrength of the preſbyterian and independent parties, 'tis very much to be doubted. However this being the firſt point debated in the treaty, and a church controverſy, it will be proper to repreſent the inſtructions on both ſides. While this was upon the carpet, Dr. *Steward* clerk of the cloſet, and a commiſſioner for the king, ſat covered without the bar behind the commiſſioners; as did Mr. *Henderſon* behind thoſe of the parliament. The aſſiſtant divines were preſent in places appointed for them, oppoſite to each other. *Of religion.*

His majeſty's inſtructions to his commiſſioners on the head of religion were theſe: " Here (ſays the king) the government of the church will " be the chief queſtion, wherein two things are to be conſidered, *conſcience* " and *policy*; for the *firſt*, I muſt declare, that I can't yield to the change " of the government by biſhops, not only behauſe I fully concur with the " moſt general opinion of chriſtians in all ages, in epiſcopacy's being the " beſt government, but likewiſe I hold myſelf particularly bound by the " oath I took at my coronation, not to alter the government of this " church from what I found it; and as for the church patrimony, I " I can't ſuffer any diminution or alienation of it, it being without per- " adventure ſacrilege, and likewiſe contrary to my coronation oath; but " whatſoever ſhall be offered for rectifying abuſes, if any have crept in, " or for the eaſe of tender conſciences, (provided the foundation be not " damaged) I am content to hear and willing to return a gracious anſwer. " Touching the *ſecond*, that is the point of *policy*, as it is the king's duty " to protect the church, ſo the church is reciprocally bound to aſſiſt the " king, in the maintenance of his juſt authority. Upon theſe views my " predeceſſors have been always careful (eſpecially ſince the reforma- " tion,) to keep the dependence of the clergy entirely upon the " crown, without which it will ſcarce ſet faſt on the king's head, " therefore you muſt do nothing to change or leſſen this natural depen- " dence." *King's inſtruction to his commiſſioners.* Ruſhw. Vol. V. p. 887.

The commiſſioners from the two houſes of parliament at *Weſtminſter*, inſtead of being inſtructed to treat about a reformation of the hierarchy, were ordered to demand the paſſing of a bill for aboliſhing and taking away *Parliament's inſtructions.* Dugdale, p. 766.

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away epiſcopal government; for confirming the ordinance for the calling and ſitting of the aſſembly of divines; that the directory for public worſhip, and the propoſitions concerning church government, hereunto annexed, be confirmed as a part of reformation of religion and uniformity; that his majeſty take the *ſolemn league* and *covenant*, and that an act of parliament be paſſed, enjoining the taking it by all the ſubjects of the three kingdoms.

The propoſitions annexed to theſe demands were theſe (*viz.*) "That "the ordinary way of dividing chriſtians into diſtinct congregations, as "moſt expedient for edification, be by the reſpective bounds of their "dwellings.

"That the miniſters, and other church-officers in each particular con-"gregation, ſhall join in the government of the church, in ſuch manner "as ſhall be eſtabliſhed by parliament.

"That many congregations ſhall be und er one preſbyterial government.

"That the church be governed by congregational, claſſical, and ſy-"nodical aſſemblies, in ſuch manner as ſhall be eſtabliſhed by parlia-"ment.

"That ſynodical aſſemblies ſhall conſiſt both of provincial and national "aſſemblies."

One may eaſily obſerve the diſtance between the inſtructions of the two parties; one being determined to maintain epiſcopacy, and the other no leſs reſolute for eſtabliſhing preſbytery. After ſeveral papers had paſſed between the commiſſioners, about the bill for taking away epiſcopacy, it was debated by the divines for two days together.

Mr. Henderſon's *ſpeech againſt bps.* Cla. Vol. II. p. 584.

Mr. *Henderſon* in a laboured ſpeech, endeavoured to ſhew the neceſſity of changing the government of the church, for the preſervation of the ſtate. —— "That now the queſtion was not, whether the govern-"ment of the church by biſhops was lawful, but whether it was "ſo neceſſary that chriſtianity could not ſubſiſt without it. —— "That this latter poſition could not be maintained in the affirmative, "without condemning all other reformed churches in *Europe*. —— "That the parliament of *England* had found epiſcopacy a very inconvenient "and corrupt government —— That the hierarchy had been a public "grievance from the reformation downwards —— That the biſhops had "always abetted popery, had retained many ſuperſtitious rites and cuſtoms "in their worſhip and government; and over and above had lately brought "in a great many novelties into the church, and made a nearer approach "to the *roman* communion, to the great ſcandal of the proteſtant churches "of *Germany*, *France*, *Scotland*, and *Holland*. That the prelates had "embroiled the *britiſh* iſland, and made the two nations of *England* and "*Scotland* fall foul upon each other. —— That the rebellion in *Ireland*,

"and

" and the civil war in *England*, may be charged upon them —— That *K.* Charles I 1644-5.
" for theſe reaſons the parliament had reſolved to change this inconvenient,
" miſchievous government, and ſet up another in the room of it, more
" naturally formed for the advancement of piety —— That this altera-
" tion was the beſt expedient to unite all proteſtant churches, and ex-
" tinguiſh the remains of popery —— He hoped therefore the king would
" concur in ſo commendable and godly an undertaking; and conceived
" his majeſty's conſcience could not be urged againſt ſuch a compliance,
" becauſe he had already done it in *Scotland*; nor could he believe that
" epiſcopacy was abſolutely neceſſary to the ſupport of the chriſtian reli-
" gion."

Dr. *Steward* clerk of the king's cloſet, addreſſing himſelf to the commiſſioners, replied " he knew their lordſhips were too well acquainted
" with the conſtitution of the church of *England*, and the baſis upon
" which it ſtood, to imagine it could be ſhaken by the force of Mr. *Hen-*
" *derſon*'s rhetoric —— That he was firmly of opinion, that a govern-
" ment, which from the planting of chriſtianity in *England* had continued
" without interruption; that a government under which chriſtianity had
" ſpread and flouriſhed to a remarkable degree, could have nothing vicious
" or antichriſtian in its frame; that he expected, that thoſe who had ſworn
" themſelves to an abolition of this primitive conſtitution, and came hi-
" ther to perſwade their lordſhips and his majeſty to a concurrence, would
" have endeavoured to prove the unlawfulneſs of that government they
" preſſed ſo ſtrongly to remove —— But though in their ſermons and
" prints they gave epiſcopacy an antichriſtian addition, Mr. *Henderſon* had
" prudently declined charging ſo deep, and only argued from the incon-
" veniences of that government, and the advantages which would be conſe-
" quent on an alteration—Foraſmuch as an union with the proteſtant chur-
" ches abroad was the chief reaſon for this change, the doctor deſired to
" know what foreign church they deſigned for a pattern—That he was ſure
" the model in the *directory*, had no great reſemblance to any foreign reformed
" church —— And though he would not enter upon a cenſure of thoſe
" communions, yet it was well known that the moſt learned men of thoſe
" churches, had lamented a defect in their reformation; and that the want
" of epiſcopacy was an unhappy circumſtance —— That they had always
" paid a particular reverence to the church of *England*, and looked on
" it as the moſt perfect conſtitution, upon the ſcore of its having retained
" all that was venerable in antiquity——from hence he proceeded to en-
" large upon the apoſtolical inſtitution of epiſcopacy, and endeavoured to
" prove, that without biſhops the ſacerdotal character could not be con-
" veyed, or the ſacraments adminiſtered to any ſignificancy.

Doctor Steward's *reply.*

" As

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"As to his majeſty's conſenting to put down epiſcopacy in *Scotland* "he wonld ſay nothing, though he knew his majeſty's preſent thoughts "upon that ſubject. But he obſerved that the king was further obliged "in this kingdom than in the other; that in *England* he was tied by his "coronation oath, to maintain the rights of the church, and that this "ſingle engagement was a reſtraint upon his majeſty's conſcience, not to "conſent to the abolition of epiſcopacy, or the alienation of church "lands."

Ruſhw. p. 848.

Mr. *Henderſon* and Mr. *Marſhal* declared it *it to be falſe in fact, and a downright impoſition upon the commiſſioners, that the foreign proteſtants lamented the want of epiſcopacy, and eſteemed our conſtitution more perfect than their own.* They then ran out into a high commendation of *preſbyterial government*, as that which had the only claim to a *divine right*. Upon which the marquis of *Hereford* ſpoke to this effect.

My Lords,

"HERE is much ſaid concerning church government in "the general; the reverend doctors on the king's part affirm, "that epiſcopacy is *jure divino*; the reverend miniſters on the other part "affirm, that preſbytery is *jure divino*; for my part, I think neither the "one nor the other, nor any government whatſoever to be *jure divino*; "and I deſire we may leave this argument, and proceed to debate on the "particular propoſals."

Dr. *Steward* deſired they might diſpute *ſyllogiſtically*, as became ſcholars, to which Mr. *Henderſon* readily agreed; in that way they proceeded about two days; the points urged by the king's doctors were ſtrongly oppoſed by Mr. *Henderſon*, Mr. *Marſhal*, and Mr. *Vines*, and very learnedly replied to by his majeſty's divines, who ſeverally declared their judgments upon the apoſtolical inſtitution of epiſcopacy; but neither party were convinced or ſatisfied.

When the debate concerning religion came on a ſecond time, his majeſty's commiſſioners delivered in their anſwer to the parliament's demands in writing, with their reaſons why they could not conſent to the bill for aboliſhing epiſcopacy, and eſtabliſhing the directory in the room of the common-prayer, nor adviſe his majeſty to take the covenant; but for the uniting and reconciling all differences in matters of religion, and procuring a bleſſed peace, they were willing to conſent,

King's conceſſions. Ruſhw. p. 872, 818. Dugdale, p. 780.

(1.) "That freedom be left to all perſons, of what opinion ſoever, in "matters of ceremony, and that all the penalties of the laws and cuſ-"toms which enjoin thoſe ceremonies be ſuſpended.

(2.) "That

(2.) "That the biſhop ſhall exerciſe no act of juriſdiction or ordination, "without the conſent of the preſbyters, who ſhall be choſen by the cler- "gy of each dioceſe, out of the moſt learned and grave miniſters of the "dioceſe.

(3.) "That the biſhop keep his conſtant reſidence in his dioceſe, ex- "cept when he ſhall be required by his majeſty to attend him on any "occaſion, and that (if he be not hindered by the infirmities of old age, "or ſickneſs) he preach every ſunday in ſome church within his dioceſe.

(4.) "That the ordination of miniſters ſhall be always in a public and "ſolemn manner, and very ſtrict rules obſerved concerning the ſufficiency, "and other qualifications of thoſe men, who ſhall be received into holy "orders, and the biſhops ſhall not receive any into holy orders, without "the approbation and conſent of the preſbyters, or the major part of "them.

(5.) "That a competent maintenance and proviſion be eſtabliſh- "ed by act of parliament, to ſuch vicarages as belong to biſhops, "deans, and chapters, out of the impropriations, and according to the "value of thoſe impropriations of the ſeveral pariſhes.

(6.) That for time to come no man ſhall be capable of two parſonages "or vicarages, with cure of ſouls.

(7.) "That towards ſettling the public peace, one hundred thouſand "pounds ſhall be raiſed by act of parliament, out of the eſtates of bi- "ſhops, deans, and chapters, in ſuch manner as ſhall be thought fit by "the king and two houſes of parliament, without the alienation of any "of the ſaid lands.

(8.) "That the juriſdiction in cauſes teſtamentary, decimal, matrimo- "nial, be ſettled in ſuch manner as ſhall ſeem moſt convenient by the king "and two houſes of parliament.

(9.) "That one or more acts of parliament be paſſed for regulating "of viſitations, and againſt immoderate fees in eccleſiaſtical courts, "and abuſes by frivolous excommunication, and all other abuſes "in the exerciſe of eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction, in ſuch manner as "ſhall be agreed upon by the king and both houſes of parliament.

"And if your lordſhips ſhall inſiſt upon any other thing, which your "lordſhips ſhall think neceſſary for reformation, we ſhall very willingly "apply ourſelves to the conſideration thereof." But they abſolutely re- fuſed their conſent to the main points (*viz.*) the aboliſhing epiſcopacy, eſtabliſhing the directory, confirming the aſſembly of divines, and taking the covenant.

Remarks.

Mr. *Rapin* obſerves upon the firſt of theſe conceſſions, that ſince the pe- nal laws were not to be aboliſhed, but only ſuſpended, it would be in the king's

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king's power to take off the ſuſpenſion whenſoever he pleaſed. Upon the third, fourth, and fifth, that they were ſo reaſonable and neceſſary, that it was not for the king's honour to let them be conſidered as a condeſcenſion to promote the peace; and the remainder, depending upon the joint conſent of king and parliament, after a peace, it would always be in the king's breaſt to give or with-hold his aſſent, as he thought fit.

Parliament's reply. Dugdale, p. 883.

The commiſſioners for the parliament replied to theſe conceſſions, that they were ſo many new propoſitions, wholly different from what they had propoſed, that they contained little or nothing more, than what they were already in poſſeſſion of by the laws of the land; that they were no way ſatisfactory to their deſires, nor *conſiſting with that reformation to which both nations are obliged by the* ſolemn league *and* covenant; therefore they can give no other anſwer to them, but inſiſt to deſire their lordſhips, that the bill may be paſſed, and their other demands concerning religion granted. The parliament commiſſioners, in their laſt papers ſay, that all objections in favour of the *preſent hierarchy*, ariſing from conſcience, law, or reaſon, being fully anſwered, they muſt now preſs for a determinate anſwer to their propoſition concerning religion.

The king's commiſſioners deny, that their objections againſt paſſing the bill for aboliſhing epiſcopacy have been anſwered, or that they had received any ſatisfaction in thoſe particulars, and therefore cannot conſent to it.

Ib. p. 787.

The parliament commiſſioners add, that after ſo many days debate, and their making it appear, how great a hindrance epiſcopal government is, and has been to a perfect reformation, and to the growth of religion, and how prejudicial it has been to the *ſtate*; they hoped their lordſhips would have been ready to anſwer their expectations.

The king's commiſſioners replied; "'tis evident, and we conceive "conſented to on all ſides, that epiſcopacy has continued from the apoſ- "tles time, by a continued ſucceſſion, in the church of Chriſt, without "intermiſſion or interruption, and is therefore *jure divino*."

Ib. p. 788.

The parliament commiſſioners anſwer, "ſo far were we from conſent- "ing that epiſcopacy has continued from the apoſtles time, by a continu- "ed ſucceſſion, that the contrary was made evident to your lordſhips, "and the *unlawfulneſs* of it fully proved."

Ib. p. 790, 878.

The king's commiſſioners replied, that they conceived the ſucceſſion of epiſcopacy from the apoſtles was conſented to on all ſides, and did not remember that the unlawfulneſs of it had been aſſerted and proved. However they apprehend all the inconveniencies of that government are remedied, by the alterations which they had offered. Nor had the parliament commiſſioners given them a view in particular, of the government they would ſubſtitute in place of the preſent; if therefore the alterations

ations propoſed do not ſatisfy, they deſire the matter may be ſuſpended till after the diſbanding the armies, and both king and parliament can agree in calling a national ſynod. *K.* Charles I. 1644-5.

The abovementioned conceſſions would ſurely have been a ſufficient foundation for peace, if they had been made twelve months ſooner, before the *ſcots* had been called in, with their *ſolemn league and covenant*, and ſufficient ſecurity had been given for their performance; but the commiſſioners hands were now tied; the parliament apprehending themſelves obliged by the *covenant* to aboliſh the hierarchy; and yet if the commiſſioners could have agreed about the *militia*, and the puniſhment of evil counſellors, the affair of religion would not, in the opinion of lord *Clarendon*, have hindered the ſucceſs of the treaty; his words are theſe; "the parliament took none of the points of controverſy leſs to "heart, or were leſs united in any thing than in what concerned the "church; the *ſcots* would have given up every thing into the hands of "the king for their beloved presbytery; but many of the parliament "were for peace, provided *they might have indemnity for what was paſt*, "*and ſecurity for time to come*." And were not theſe reaſonable requeſts? why then did not the commiſſioners prevail with the king to give them ſecurity, and divide the parliament, or put an end to the war? *Remarks upon them.* Clar. p. 581. Ib. p. 594.

The laſt day of the treaty the parliament continued ſitting till nine of the clock at night, in hopes of hearing ſomething from their commiſſioners, that might encourage them to prolong the treaty; but when an expreſs brought word, that the king's commiſſioners would not yield to one of their propoſitions; they broke up without doing any thing in the buſineſs. Each party laid the blame upon the other; the king's commiſſioners complained, that the parliament would not conſent to prolong the treaty; and the others, that after twenty days conference not one propoſition had been yielded. All ſober men, and even ſome of the king's commiſſioners, were troubled at the event; but conſidering the ſtate of the king's affairs, and his ſervile attachment to the counſels of a *popiſh queen*, it was eaſy to foreſee it could not be otherwiſe. *Treaty breaks up.*

Biſhop *Burnet* in the hiſtory of his life and times, ſays, that lord *Hollis* who was one of the commiſſioners, told him "that the king's affairs "were now at a criſis, for the treaty of *Uxbridge* gave him an opportu-"nity of making peace with the parliament, but all was undone by the "unhappy ſucceſs of the marquis of *Montroſs* at this time in *Scotland*, "which being magnified to the king far beyond what it really was, pre-"vailed with his majeſty to put ſuch limitations on his commiſſioners, as "made the whole deſign miſcarry." *Reaſons of it.*

K. Charles I. 1644-5. Hiſt. Stuarts, p. 276. Welwood's mem. p. 68. Ib. p. 72, 73.

Moſt of the king's commiſſioners who were not excepted out of the article of indemnity, were for accommodating matters before they left *Uxbridge*. The earl of *Southampton* rode poſt from *Uxbridge* to *Oxford*, to entreat the king to yield ſomething to the neceſſity of the times; ſeveral of his council preſſed him to it on their knees; and 'tis ſaid his majeſty was at length prevailed with, and appointed next morning to ſign a warrant to that purpoſe, but that *Montroſs*'s romantic letter, of his conqueſt in *Scotland*, coming in the mean time, made the unhappy king alter his reſolution.

Remarks.

But there was ſomething more in the affair than this; lord *Clarendon* is of opinion, that if the king had yielded ſome things to the demands of the parliament, relating to *religion*, the *militia*, and *Ireland*, there were ſtill other articles in reſerve that would have broke off the treaty; in which I cannot but agree with his lordſhip; for not to mention *the giving up delinquents to the juſtice of parliament*, of which himſelf was one, there had been as yet, no debate about the *roman catholics*, whom the parliament would not tolerate, and the king was determined not to give up, as appears from the correſpondence between himſelf and the queen at this time. In the queen's letter, *Jan.* 6. 1644-5. ſhe deſires his majeſty "to have a care of his honour, and not to abandon thoſe who had ſerved "him—for if you agree upon ſtrictneſs againſt *roman catholicks*, it will "diſcourage them from ſerving you; nor can you expect relief from any "*roman catholic* prince—" In her letter of *Jan.* 27. ſhe adds, "above "all have a care not to abandon thoſe who have ſerved you, as well the "biſhops as the *poor catholicks*." In anſwer to which, the king writes *Jan.* 30. "I deſire thee to be confident, that I ſhall never make peace "by abandoning my friends." And *Feb.* 15. "Be confident, that in "making peace I ſhall ever ſhew my confidence in adhering to the biſhops, "and all our friends—" *March* 5. "I give thee power in my name, to "declare to whom thou thinkeſt fit, that I will take away all the penal "laws againſt the *roman catholics* in *England*, as ſoon as God ſhall make "me able to do it, ſo as by their means, I may have ſo powerful aſſiſ-"tance as may deſerve ſo great a favour, and enable me to do it——" As for *Ireland*, his majeſty had already commanded the duke of *Ormond* by his letter of *Feb.* 27. to make peace with the papiſts, coſt what it would. "If the ſuſpending *Poynings*'s act will do it (ſays he) and ta-"king away the penal laws, I ſhall not think it a hard bargain— When "the *Iriſh* give me that aſſiſtance they have promiſed, I will conſent to "the repeal by law."

Rapin, p. 275. Ruſhw. Vol. V. p. 941, 944, 946, 947. Ib. p. 712, 978.

It appears from hence, that the peace which the king ſeemed ſo much to deſire was an empty ſound. The queen was afraid he might be prevailed with to yield too far; but his majeſty bids her be confident of the contrary,

contrary, for *his commiſſioners would not be diſputed from their ground, which was according to the note ſhe remembers, and which he would not alter.* When the treaty was ended, he writes thus to the queen *March* 13. "Now is come to paſs what I foreſaw, the fruitleſs end of this treaty— "Now if I do any thing unhandſome to myſelf or my friends it will be "my own fault —— I was afraid of being preſſed to make ſome mean "overtures to renew the treaty, but now if it be renewed it ſhall be to "my honour and advantage." Such was the queen's aſcendant over the king, and his majeſty's ſervile ſubmiſſion to her imperious dictates; the fate of three kingdoms was at her diſpoſal; no place at court or in the army muſt be diſpoſed of without her approbation; no peace muſt be made but upon her terms; the *Oxford mungrel parliament* (as his majeſty calls it) muſt be diſmiſſed with diſgrace, becauſe they voted for peace; the *iriſh* proteſtants muſt be abandoned to deſtruction; and a civil war permitted to continue its ravages throughout *England* and *Scotland*, that a popiſh religion and arbitrary government might be encouraged and upheld.

Rapin, p. 283.

Claren. Vol. III. p. 364.

As a farther demonſtration of this melancholy remark, his majeſty authorized the earl of *Glamorgan*, by a warrant under his royal ſignet, dated *March* 12. 1644. to conclude privately a peace with the *iriſh* papiſts upon the beſt terms he could, though they were ſuch as his lieutenant the duke of *Ormond* might not well be ſeen in, nor his majeſty himſelf think fit to own publicly at preſent, engaging upon the word of a king and a chriſtian, to ratify and perform whatſoever he ſhould grant under his hand and ſeal, on condition they would ſend over into *England*, a body of ten thouſand men, under the command of the ſaid earl. The date of this warrant is remarkable, as it was at a time when his majeſty's affairs were far from being deſperate; when he thought the diviſions in the parliament-houſe would quickly be their ruin, and that he had little more to do than to ſit ſtill and be reſtored upon his own terms, for which reaſon he was ſo unyielding at the treaty of *Uxbridge*; and yet the earl, by his majeſty's commiſſion, granted every thing to the *iriſh*, even to the eſtabliſhing the *roman catholic* religion, and putting it on a level with the proteſtant; he gave them all the churches and revenues they were poſſeſſed of ſince the rebellion, and not only exempted them from the juriſdiction of the proteſtant clergy, but allowed them juriſdiction over their ſeveral flocks, ſo that the reformed religion in that kingdom, was in a manner ſold for ten thouſand *iriſh* papiſts to be tranſported into *England*, and maintained for three years. Let the reader now judge, what proſpect there could be of a well-grounded peace by the treaty of *Uxbridge!* What ſecurity there was for the proteſtant religion! How little ground of reliance on the king's promiſes! and conſequently, to whoſe account the calamities of the war, and the miſery and confuſions which followed after this period, ought to be placed.

E. of Glamorgan's *treaty with the* Iriſh. Ruſhw. Vol. VI. p. p. 239, *&c.* Rapin, p. 330. Hiſt. Stuarts, p. 305.

The

K. Charles I. 1645. *Death of Mr.* White.

The day before the commencement of the treaty of *Uxbridge*, the members of the houſe of commons attended the funeral of Mr. *John White* chairman of the grand committee of religion, and publiſher of the cenſury of ſcandalous miniſters; he was a grave lawyer (ſays lord *Clarendon*) and made a conſiderable figure in his profeſſion. He had been one of the *feoffees* for buying in impropriations, for which he was cenſured in the ſtar-chamber. He was repreſentative in parliament for the borough of *Southwark*; having been a puritan from his youth, and in the opinion of Mr. *Whitlock*, an honeſt, learned, and faithful ſervant of the public, though ſomewhat ſevere at the committee for plundered miniſters. Mem. p. 112. He died *Jan.* 29. and was buried in the *Temple* church with great funeral ſolemnity.

CHAP. VI.

The progreſs of the war. Debates in the aſſembly about ordination; the power of the keys; the divine right of preſbyterian government. Committees for comprehenſion, and toleration of the independents.

Clarend. p. 595.

THE king's commiſſioners had been told at the treaty of *Uxbridge*, that the fate of the *engliſh* monarchy depended upon its ſucceſs; that if the treaty was broken off abruptly, there were a ſet of men in the houſe, who would remove the earl of *Eſſex*, and conſtitute ſuch an *army*, as might force the parliament and king to conſent to every thing they demanded, or change the government into a commonwealth; whereas if the king would yield to the neceſſity of the times, they might preſerve the GENERAL, and not only diſappoint the deſigns of the enemies to *monarchy*, but ſoon be in circumſtances to enable his majeſty to recover all he ſhould reſign. However, the commiſſioners looked upon this as the language of deſpair, and made his majeſty believe the diviſions at *Weſtminſter*, would ſoon replace the ſcepter in his own hands.

E. of Eſſex *removed and the army new modelled.*

The houſe of commons had been diſſatisfied with the conduct of the earls of *Eſſex* and *Mancheſter* laſt ſummer, as tending to protract the war, leaſt one party ſhould eſtabliſh itſelf upon the ruins of the other; but the

the warmer ſpirits in the houſe, ſeeing noperiod of their calamities this way, apprehended a deciſive battle ought to be fought as ſoon as poſſible, for which purpoſe, after a ſolemn faſt, it was moved that all the preſent officers ſhould be diſcharged, and the army intruſted in ſuch hands as they could confide in. *Dec.* 9. it was reſolved, that no member of either houſe ſhould execute any office civil or military, during the preſent war; accordingly the ordinance commonly called the SELF DENYING ORDINANCE was brought in, and paſſed the commons ten days after, but was laid aſide by the lords till after the treaty of *Uxbridge*, when it was revived and carried with ſome little oppoſition. The earls of *Eſſex*, *Mancheſter*, *Warwick*, and *Denbigh*, the lord *Roberts*, *Willoughby*, and others were diſmiſſed by this ordinance, and all members of the houſe of commons, except lieutenant general *Cromwell*, who after a few months was diſpenſed with, at the requeſt of the new general. All the regiments were diſbanded, and ſuch only liſted under the new commanders, as were determined to conquer or die. Sir *Tho. Fairfax* was appointed general, and *Oliver Cromwell*, after ſome time, lieutenant-general; the clauſe *for preſervation of the king's perſon* was left out of Sir *Thomas*'s commiſſion; nor did it run in the name of the *king and parliament*, but of the *parliament only*. The army conſiſted of twenty-one thouſand reſolute ſoldiers, and was called in contempt by the royaliſts the *new modelled army*; but their courage quickly revenged the contempt. K. Charles I. 1645.

Sir *Thomas Fairfax* was a gentleman of no quick parts or elocution; but religious, faithful, valiant, and of a grave, ſober, reſolved diſpoſition; neither too great, nor too cunning to be directed by the parliament. *Oliver Cromwell* was more bold and aſpiring; and being a ſoldier of undaunted courage and intrepidity, proved at length too powerful for his maſters. The army was more at his diſpoſal than at *Fairfax*'s, and the wonders they wrought ſprung chiefly from his counſels. *Character of the generals.* Baxter's Life, p. 49.

When the old regiments were broken, the chaplains being diſcharged of courſe, returned to their cures; and as new ones were formed, the officers applied to the parliament and aſſembly for a freſh recruit; but the preſbyterian miniſters being poſſeſſed of warm benefices, were unwilling to undergo the fatigues of another campaign, or it may be, to ſerve with men of ſuch deſperate meaſures. This fatal accident proved the ruin of the cauſe, in which the parliament were engaged; for the army being deſtitute of chaplains, who might have reſtrained the irregularities of their zeal, the officers ſet up for preachers in their ſeveral regiments, depending upon a kind of miraculous aſſiſtance of the divine ſpirit, without any ſtudy or preparation; and when their imaginations were heated, they gave vent to the moſt crude and undigeſted abſurdities; nor did the evil reſt there, for from preaching at the head of their regiments, they took poſſeſſion of the *Riſe of enthuſiaſm in the army.*

K. Charles I. 1645.

the country pulpits where they were quartered, till at length they ſpread the infection over the whole nation, and brought the regular miniſtry into contempt. Moſt of the common ſoldiers were religious and orderly, and when releaſed from duty, ſpent their time in prayer and religious conferences, like men who carried their lives in their hands; but for want of prudent and regular inſtruction, where ſwallowed up in the depths of enthuſiaſm. Mr. *Baxter* therefore obſerves very juſtly, "it was the *miniſters* that loſt all by forſaking the army, and betaking themſelves to an "eaſier and quieter way of life. When the earl of *Eſſex*' army went "out, each regiment had an able chaplain, but after *Edge-hill* fight moſt "of them went home, and left the army to their own conduct." But even after the deciſive battle of *Naſeby* he admits, great numbers of the officers and ſoldiers were ſober and orthodox; and from the little good which he did whilſt among them, concludes that if their *miniſters*, would have followed his meaſures, the king, the parliament and religion, might have been ſaved.

Baxter's life p. 54, 56.

Their ſtrict diſcipline.

The new modelled troops were kept under the ſevereſt diſcipline, commiſſioners being appointed to take care that the country was not oppreſſed; that no ſoldiers were quartered in any place but by appointment of the quarter-maſter; that ready money be paid for all proviſions and ammunition; every ſoldier had ſix pence a day for his diet, and every trooper eight pence. No inhabitants were compelled to furniſh more proviſions than they were able and willing to ſpare, under the ſevereſt penalties; whereas the royal army having no regular pay, lived upon the plunder of thoſe places that had the misfortune to receive them.

May 30. the king took the town of *Leiceſter* by ſtorm, with a very great treaſure, which the country people had brought thither for ſecurity, his ſoldiers dividing the ſpoil, and treating the inhabitants in a moſt cruel and unmerciful manner; after *this* conqueſt, his majeſty writ to the queen, that his *affairs were never in ſo hopeful a poſture ſince the rebellion.* The parliament army were preparing to lay ſiege to the city of *Oxford*, but upon news of this diſaſter, had orders to follow the king, and hazard a battle at all events; whereupon Sir *Tho. Fairfax* petitioned the two houſes, to diſpenſe with their *ſelf-denying ordinance* with reſpect to lieutenant general *Cromwell*, whoſe courage and counſels would be of great ſervice in the preſent criſis; *Cromwell* was accordingly diſpenſed with during pleaſure, and having joined the army with ſix hundred horſe and dragoons, they overtook the king, and gave him battle *June* 14. at *Naſeby*, about three miles from *Harborough* in *Leiceſterſhire*.

Whitl. mem. p. 140, 144.

Battle at Naſeby.

The action began about ten in the morning, and ended about three or four in the afternoon, in an abſolute defeat of the king's forces, which was owing, in a great meaſure, to the wiſe conduct, and reſolution of

lieutenant general *Cromwell* on the one hand, and to the indiſcreet fury and violence of prince *Rupert* on the other. The armies were pretty equal in number, about twelve or fourteen thouſand on a ſide, but the parliament ſoldiers were better diſciplined, and fought with all the bravery and magnanimity that an enthuſiaſtick zeal could inſpire. General *Fairfax* having his helmet beat off, rode up and down the field bare-headed; major general *Skippon* received a wound in the beginning of the engagement, upon which being deſired to go off, he anſwered, *he would not ſtir as long as a man would ſtand.* *Ireton* was run through the thigh with a pike, had his horſe killed under him, and was made a priſoner, but found means to eſcape upon the turn of the battle. The king ſhewed himſelf a couragious commander, but his ſoldiers were ſtruck with ſuch a panick, that when they were once diſordered they would never rally, whereas if their enemies were beaten from their ground they preſently returned, and kept their ranks till they received freſh inſtructions. When prince *Rupert* had routed *Ireton*'s left wing, he loſt his advantage, firſt, by following the chaſe almoſt three miles, and *then* by trying to become maſter of the train of artillery, before he knew the ſucceſs of the main body; whereas when *Cromwell* had broke the right wing of the enemy, he purſued them only a quarter of a mile, and leaving a ſmall party of horſe to prevent their rallying, returned immediately to the battel, and with his victorious troops charged the royal infantry in flank. The parliament army took above five thouſand priſoners; all the king's train of artillery, bag and baggage, with his cabinet of letters, ſome of which were afterwards publiſhed to the world; not above ſix or ſeven hundred of his men being killed, with about one hundred and fifty officers. The king with a party of horſe, fled into *Wales*, and prince *Rupert* to *Briſtol*; but the parliament forces purſued their victory with ſuch eagerneſs, and marched with that rapidity over the whole weſt of *England*, to the very land's end, that in a few months all the royal forces were diſperſed, and his majeſty's garriſons ſurrendered almoſt before they were ſummoned. The city of *Briſtol*, into which prince *Rupert* had thrown himſelf, capitulated before the beſiegers approached the walls, which provoked the king to that degree, that he commanded him by letter to depart the land, as did alſo the prince of *Wales*, for the ſecurity of his perſon; ſo that by the end of this campaign, the unhappy king was expoſed to the mercy of his enemies, and ſhut up all the winter little better than a priſoner in his garriſon of *Oxford*.

K. Charles I. 1645.

Whitl. p. 145. Carend. Vol. II. p. 658.

Rapin, p. 310.

To return to the affairs of the church. When it is recollected what great number of clergymen had deſerted to the king, or were otherwiſe diſſatisfied with the new terms of conformity, we muſt conclude it very difficult to ſupply the vacant pulpits in the country, with a learned and regular

Parliament's care for a regular clergy.

K. Charles I. 1645.

gular clergy: one of the univerſities was entirely uſeleſs, and the young ſtudents who adhered to the parliament, could not obtain ordination in a legal way, becauſe all the biſhops were in the oppoſition, and would ordain none except thoſe of their own principles, which was another cauſe of the encreaſe of unqualified preachers. To put ſome ſtop to the clamours of the royaliſts, and to the miſchiefs of lay-preaching, which began to appear in the army, the parliament ordained, *April* 26. "that no "perſon ſhall be permitted to preach who is not ordained a miniſter in "this or ſome other reformed church, except ſuch as intend the miniſtry "who ſhall be allowed for the trial of their gifts, by thoſe that ſhall be "appointed thereunto by both houſes of parliament; and it is earneſtly "deſired, that Sir *Tho. Fairfax* take care, that this ordinance be put in "execution in the army. It is further ordered to be ſent to the lord-"mayor, and committee of the militia in *London*; to the governors and "commanders of all forts, garriſons, forces, cities and towns, with the "like injunction; and the mayor, ſheriffs, and juſtices of the peace, are "to commit all offenders to ſafe cuſtody, and give notice to the parliament, who will take a ſpeedy courſe for their puniſhment."

Husb. col. p. 645.

Directory for ordination of miniſters.

At the ſame time the lords ſent to the *aſſembly*, to prepare a new *directory* for the *ordination of miniſters of the church in* England, without the preſence of a dioceſan biſhop. This took them up a great deal of time, by reaſon of the oppoſition it met with from the *eraſtians* and *independents*, but was at laſt accompliſhed, and paſſed into an ordinance, bearing date *Novem.* 8. 1645. and was to continue in force by way of trial for twelve months; on the 28th of *Auguſt* following, it was prolonged for three years, at the expiration of which term it was made perpetual.

Ruſhw. part IV. Vol. I. p. 212.

The ordinance ſets forth, "that whereas the words *presbyter* and *biſkop* "do in ſcripture ſignify the ſame function, though the title of *biſkop* has "been, by corrupt cuſtom, appropriated to one, who has aſſumed to "himſelf, in the matter of ordination, that which was not meet; which "ordination, notwithſtanding being performed by him, we hold for "ſubſtance to be valid, and not to be diſclaimed by any that have received it; and whereas it is manifeſt, that *ordination*, that is, *an outward, "ſolemn ſetting apart of perſons for the office of the miniſtry in the church "by preaching presbyters*, is an inſtitution of Chriſt, it is therefore ordained by the lords and commons, with the advice of the aſſembly of divines at *Weſtminſter*, that the ſeveral and reſpective claſſical preſbyters, "within their reſpective bounds may examine, approve, and ordain "preſbyters, according to the following directory," which I have placed in the appendix, and is in ſubſtance as follows:

Appendix, N°. III.

Firſt.

First. "The perſon to be ordained muſt apply to the preſbytery, "with a teſtimonal of his taking the covenant, of his proficiency in his "ſtudies," *&c.* K. Charles I. 1645.

Secondly, "He is then to paſs under an examination as to his religion "and learning, and call to the miniſtry."

Then follow rules for examination, as in the *appendix.*

"After examination he ſhall receive a public teſtimonial from his ex- "aminers, which ſhall be read publickly before the people, and then fix- "ed to the door of the church where he preaches for approbation, "with liberty to any perſon or perſons to make exceptions.

"Upon the day of ordination, a ſolemn faſt ſhall be kept by the congre- "gation, when after a ſermon, the perſon to be ordainad ſhall make a "public confeſſion of his faith, and declare his reſolutions to be diligent "and conſtant in the diſcharge of his paſtoral duty. After which he "ſhall be ſeparated, or ſet apart to the paſtoral office with a ſhort prayer, "and the laying on of the hands of the miniſters preſent. After the ordi- "nation there is to be an exhortation to miniſter and people, and the "whole *ſolemnity* to conclude with a *pſalm* and a *prayer.*

It is further declared, "that all ordinations, according to the former "uſage of the church of *England,* as well as thoſe of *Scotland,* and o- "ther reformed churches, ſhall be eſteemed valid. *Former ordinations valid.*

"A regiſter is to be kept by every preſbytery, of the names of the per- "ſons ordained by them, of the miniſters concerned, and of the time "and place where they were ſettled. No money or gift whatſoever "ſhall be received from the perſon ordained, or from any on his behalf, "for his ordination, or any thing relating to it, except for the inſtru- "ments or teſtimonials, which ſhall not exceed ten ſhillings.

Laſtly, It is reſolved, "that all perſons ordained according to this *direc-* "*tory,* ſhall be for ever reputed and taken, to all intents and purpoſes, "for lawfully, and ſufficiently authorized miniſters of the church of "*England,* and as capable of any miniſterial employment in the church, "as any other preſbyter already ordained, or hereafter to be ordained."

To give a ſhort ſpecimen of the debates upon this ordinance; when the paſſage in *Timothy,* of *laying on of the hands of the presbytery,* was voted a full warrant for preſbyters ordaining without a biſhop, Mr. *Selden,* *Lightfoot,* and ſome others, entered their diſſent, declaring that the impoſition of hands there ſpoken, of was only upon the ordination of an elder; and though elders might ordain elders, it did not neceſſarily follow they might ordain biſhops. *Debates upon it.* Lightf. rem. pref.

The *independents* maintained the right of every particular congregation to ordain its own officers; this was debated ten days; and the arguments on both ſides were afterwards publiſhed by conſent of the ſeveral parties, *With the independents.*

K. Charles I. 1645. in a book entitled, *the grand debate between presbytery and independency.* At length the queſtion being put, *that it is requiſite no ſingle congregation that can conveniently aſſociate with others, ſhould aſſume to itſelf the ſole right of ordination,* it was carried in the affirmative, the following independent miniſters entering their diſſent.

Grand debate p. 185.

Tho. Goodwin,	*William Bridge,*
Phil. Nye,	*William Greenhill,*
Jer. Burroughs,	*William Carter.*
Sydrach Simpſon,	

It was next debated, whether ordination might precede election to a particular cure or charge; Dr. *Temple*, Mr. *Herle*, *Vines*, *Palmer*, *Whitaker*, and *Calamy*, argued for the affirmative, 1. from the ordination of *Timothy*, *Titus* and *Apollos*, without any particular charge. 2. Becauſe 'tis a different thing to ordain to an office, and to appropriate the exerciſe of that office to any particular place. 3. If election muſt precede ordination, then there muſt be a new ordination upon every new election. 4. It would then follow, that a miniſter was no miniſter out of his own church or congregation. And, 5. then a miniſter could not gather or plant churches, or baptize new converts, becauſe according to the *independents*, there muſt firſt be a church before there can be a miniſter.

MS. penes me.

Mr. *Goodwin*, *Nye*, *Bridge*, and the reſt of the independents, replied to the foregoing reaſons, that *Timothy* and *Titus* were extraordinary officers—that it appeared to them abſurd, to ordain an officer without a province to exerciſe the office in—that they ſaw no great inconvenience in *re-ordination*, though they did not admit the conſequence, that a perſon regularly ordained to one church, muſt be re-ordained upon every removal; but they aſſerted, that a paſtor of one particular church might preſerve his character in all places; and if there was extraordinary ſervice to be done in planting new churches, or baptizing converts, the churches might ſend out their officers, or create new ones for that purpoſe. The grand difficulty with the *independents* lay here, that ordination without election to a particular charge, ſeemed to imply a conveyance of *office-power*, which in their opinion, was attended with all the difficulties of a lineal ſucceſſion. The debates upon this article continued ſeveral days, and iſſued at laſt in a com-promiſe in theſe words; *it is agreeable to the word of God, and very expedient, that thoſe who are to be ordained miniſters, be deſigned to ſome particular church, or other miniſterial charge.* And with regard to the ceremony of *impoſition of hands*, the *independents* acquieſced in the practice, provided it was attended with an open declaration, *that it was not intended as a conveyance of office-power.*

It

K. Charles I. 1654.

It may ſeem abſurd to begin the reformation of the church, with an ordinance appointing *claſſical presbyters* to ordain miniſters within their ſeveral *diſtricts*, when there was not as yet one *claſſical presbytery* in all *England*; but the urgency of affairs required it; the ſcarcity of miniſters would not ſuffer delay till the whole fabrick of preſbytery was erected; therefore to ſupply this defect for the preſent, the whole buſineſs was intruſted with the *aſſembly*, who voted *December* 24. that a committee for examination of miniſters ſhould ſit every *Tueſday* and *Thurſday* in the afternoon at two of the clock, and the members of the aſſembly ſhould attend in their turns, as they ſhall be nominated and appointed by the ſcribe, according to the order of their names in the regiſter book, five at a time, and each to attend a week.

Power of ordination given to the aſſembly pro tempore. Vide App. N° III. p. ult.

While the point of *ordination* was depending, committees were choſen to prepare materials for a new form of diſcipline and church government; a meaſure of the greater conſequence, becauſe the old form was diſſolved, and no other as yet eſtabliſhed in its room. Here the independents agreed with the preſbyterians, that *there was a certain form of church government laid down in the new teſtament, which was of divine inſtitution*; but when they came to the queſtion, *what that government was? and, whether it was binding in all ages of the church?* both the eraſtians and independents divided againſt them. The propoſition was this, *that the ſcripture holds forth, that many particular congregations may, and by* DIVINE INSTITUTION *ought, to be under one presbyterial government.* The debate laſted thirty days; the *eraſtians* did not except againſt the preſbyterial government as a *political inſtitution*, proper to be eſtabliſhed by the civil magiſtrate, but they were againſt the claim of a *divine right*. Upon this occaſion *Bulſtrode Whitlock*, Eſq; one of the lay-commiſſioners, ſtood up, and made the following ſpeech.

The divine right of presbytery. Vide App. N° III. *Chapter of ch. government.*

Mr. Prolocutor.

"I Might bluſh to ſpeak in this reverend aſſembly, upon the queſtion "now in debate before you, had I not, by the honour of being one "of your members, ſeen your candor to others, and obſerved you to be "moſt capable to give ſatisfaction to any ſcruple here, and to enable ſuch "as I am, to ſatisfy objections abroad, whereof I have met with ſome, "your queſtion not being under ſecrecy.

Objections of the eraſtians. Whitl. mem. p. 95.

"By *government* all men underſtand the prudent and well ordering of "perſons and affairs, that men may live well and happily; and by the "*government of the church*, the ordering and ruling of perſons and mat-"ters having relation to the worſhip of God in ſpiritual matters.

"The word *presbyter* was in great honour among the *Jews*, being "given to the members of their great ſanhedrim, and therefore is not

K. Charles I. 1645.

" now ſo properly to be attributed to the rulers of every ſmall congrega-
" tion. I am none of thoſe, Mr. *prolocutor*, who except againſt the
" preſbyterian government; I think it has a good foundation, and has
" done much good in the church of Chriſt.

" But, Sir, whether this form of government be *jure divino* or not,
" may admit of ſome diſpute? and whether it be now requiſite for you
" to declare, that it is ſo.

" If the meaning be, that it is *jure divino eccleſiaſtico*, then the queſ-
" tion will be raiſed, of the magiſtrates impoſing forms upon mens con-
" ſciences, for then they will be only the magiſtrates impoſition. But
" if the meaning be *jure divino abſolute*, it muſt then be the precept of
" God, and they are in a ſad condition who are not under this govern-
" ment.

" It is objected, that no form of government is *jure divino*, but that
" in general, all things muſt be done decently, and in order. A *govern-*
" *ment* is certainly *jure divino*, but whether preſbytery, epiſcopacy, in-
" dependency, or any other form of government be *jure divino*, or not;
" that is, whether there be a preſcript, rule or command of ſcripture,
" for any of thoſe forms, will not be admitted by many as a clear thing.

" It may therefore not be unworthy your conſideration, whether it be
" not more prudent at this time to forbear to declare your judgments in
" this point; the truth will nevertheleſs continue the ſame.

" If this government be not *jure divino*, no opinion of any council
" can make it ſo; and if it be *jure divino* it continues ſo ſtill, though
" you do not declare it to be ſo.

" I therefore humbly ſubmit it to your judgments, whether it be not
" better at this time to avoid giving occaſion to diſputes of this nature,
" and only to preſent your judgment to the parliament, *that the govern-*
" *ment of the church by presbyteries is moſt agreeable to the word of God,*
" *and moſt fit to be ſettled in this kingdom*; or, in what other expreſſions
" you may think fit to cloth your queſtion; and I hope you may ſoon
" have a deſired iſſue."

Mr. *Selden* and *St. John* were of this mind; and the reverend Mr. *Colman* was ſo zealous on this ſide, that he declaimed againſt the *divine right*, not only in the aſſembly but in the pulpit, apprehending preſbytery would prove as arbitrary and tyrannical as prelacy, if it came in on the foot of a *divine claim*. He therefore propoſed, that the civil magiſtrate ſhould have the ſole power of the keys by way of *interim*, till the nation was ſettled.

And of the independents.

But the *independents* oppoſed the propoſition of the *divine right of preſbytery*, by advancing a counter *divine right* of their own ſcheme; fifteen days

days they took the part of opponents, and fifteen days they were upon the defenſive. To give a ſhort ſpecimen of their debates. K. Charles I. 1645.

The chief enquiries were, concerning the conſtitution and form of the firſt church of *Jeruſalem*; the *ſub-ordination of ſynods*, and *of lay-elders*. Upon the firſt queſtion the independents maintained, *that the firſt church at* Jeruſalem *was not larger than could meet in one place.* In ſupport of which allegation, they produced ſeveral paſſages from the new teſtament; as, *Acts* i. 15. *The whole number of diſciples being about one hundred and twenty, met together with one accord.* And *Acts* ii. 1. *They were all with one accord in one place.* When they were multiplied to three thouſand 'tis ſtill ſaid, *they met together with one accord, and in one place, Acts* ii. 46. When they were further increaſed, *multitudes being added to them, both men and women, they ſtill met together with one accord, and in one place, Acts* v. 12, 14. when the number of diſciples had received yet further additions, ſo that it became neceſſary to chooſe deacons to take care of the poor, *the whole multitude were called together, and choſe out ſeven men from among themſelves*, and ſet them before the apoſtles, *Acts* vi. 2, 5. And even after the general diſperſion of the diſciples, mentioned *Acts* viii. 'tis recorded, that thoſe who remained *met together in one place* as a church, *Acts* xv. 4, 22. *Then pleaſed it the apoſtles and elders, with the* WHOLE CHURCH, *to ſend choſen men of their own company to Antioch.* They allowed, that there was mention of a preſbytery in ſcripture, but that it was no other than the preſbytery or elders of one particular church or congregation, it being no where expreſſed that God has ſet in the church, diſtinct ſorts of preſbyteries, ſuch as *conſiſtories, claſſes, provincial ſynods*, and *general aſſemblies*, one above another. They objected alſo to the high powers claimed by the preſbyteries, as the right of admiſſion and excluſion from the chriſtian church with pains and penalties, which as they had no foundation in ſcripture, were not very conſiſtent with the powers of the civil magiſtrate. *Grand debate*, p. 13, &c.

By way of reply the preſbyterians maintained, *that the church of* Jeruſalem *was made up of more congregations than one*, as appeared from the multitude of diſciples mentioned in divers places;——from the many apoſtles and teachers in the church of *Jeruſalem*, who could not exerciſe their gifts in one aſſembly;—and from the diverſity of languages mentioned *Acts* ii. and *Acts* vi. Now it being granted, that the diſciples were too numerous to aſſemble in one place, it muſt follow that they were under one preſbyterial government, becauſe they are ſtill called ONE CHURCH. *Acts* viii. 1. the elders of which are often mentioned in the ſame hiſtory. The ableſt critics in the aſſembly were divided upon this head, as Dr. *Temple*, *Lightfoot*, *Selden*, *Colman*, *Vines*, and others; but it was carried for the preſbyterians. Preſbyterians *reply*. *Grand debate*, p. 41.

It

K. Charles I. 1645.

It was alledged in favour of the SUBORDINATION OF SYNODS, that the ſcripture ſpeaks of an appeal from one or two brethren *to the whole church*, *Matth.* xviii. 15. and *of the appeal of the church at* Antioch *to the apoſtles and elders at* Jeruſalem, *Acts* xv. 2. But the *independents* affirmed, that a ſynod of preſbyters is no where called a church; and that the appeal of the church of *Antioch* was only for advice, not for judicial determination: But that ſuppoſing the aſſembly of the apoſtles at *Jeruſalem* had been a ſynod, it could neither be provincial nor national in reſpect of the church at *Antioch*, and conſequently no proof of a ſubordination. The maſters of *jewiſh* antiquities diſplayed all their learning upon this ſubject, for the *jewiſh ſanhedrim* being propoſed as the model of their *chriſtian presbytery*, it was neceſſary to enquire, what were the reſpective powers of the eccleſiaſtical and civil courts under the *law*. *Moſes* having appointed, *that he that would not hearken to the prieſt, or the judge, ſhould die*, *Deut.* xvii. 12. it was inferred in favour of church power, that the *prieſt* held one court, and the *civil magiſtrate* another; but Mr. *Selden* obſerved, that the vulgar *latin*, till within theſe forty years reads thus, *qui non obediverit ſacerdoti, ex decreto judicis morietur, he that will not obey the prieſt, ſhall die by the ſentence of the judge*; and Mr. *Lightfoot* added, that when the judges of inferior courts went up to *Jeruſalem* by way of appeal, it was only for advice and conſultation; but when the queſtion was put, *Decem.* 12. for a *ſubordination of ſynods with* LAY-ELDERS, *as ſo many courts of judicature, with power to diſpenſe church cenſures*, it was carried in the affirmative, and inſerted in their *humble advice*, with this addition; "ſo Chriſt has furniſhed ſome in his church (beſides miniſters "of the word) with gifts for government, and with commiſſion to exe- "cute the ſame, when called thereunto, who are to join with the miniſ- "ter in the government of the church, which officers the reformed chur- "ches generally call ELDERS."

Subordination of ſynods. Grand debate, p. 115, 128, &c.

Lightf. rem. p. 17.

Vide App. N° III. *chapter of ch. government.*

Thus the main foundations of the presbyterial government were voted of DIVINE APPOINTMENT, by a very great majority; but the independents entered their diſſent in writing, and complained to the world "of "the unkind uſage they met with in the aſſembly; that the papers they "offered were not read; that they were not allowed to ſtate their own "queſtions, being told, they ſet themſeves induſtriouſly to puzzle the "cauſe, and render the cleareſt propoſitions obſcure, rather than argue "the truth or falſeneſs of them—that it was not worth the aſſembly's "while to ſpend ſo much time, in debating with ſo inconſiderable a num- "ber of men; they alſo declared, that the aſſembly refuſed to debate "their main propoſition, (*viz.*) *Whether a divine right of church govern- "ment, did not remain with every particular congregation*—" To all which it was replied, that the aſſembly were not conſcious they had done

Complaints of the independents.

done them any injuſtice, and as for the reſt, they were the proper judges of their own methods of proceeding. *K.* Charles I. 1645.

Conduct of eraſtians.

The *eraſtians* ſeeing how things were carried, reſerved themſelves for the houſe of commons, where they were ſure to be joined by all the patrons of the independents. The *engliſh* and *ſcots* commiſſioners being no leſs ſolicitous about the event, gave their friends notice to be early in their places, hoping to carry the queſtion before the houſe ſhould be full; but Mr. *Glyn* perceiving their intention, ſpoke an hour to the point of *jus divinum*; and after him Mr. *Whitlock* ſtood up and enlarged upon the ſame argument, till the houſe was full, when the queſtion being put, it was carried in the negative; and that the propoſition of the aſſembly ſhould ſtand thus, *that it is lawful and agreeable to the word of God, that the church be governed by congregational claſſical and ſynodical aſſemblies.*

Whitl. mem. p. 106.

The clauſe of divine right loſt in the h. of commons.

Several petitions to parliament to admit it.

The diſappointment of the *ſcots* commiſſioners and their friends at the loſs of this queſtion *in the houſe* is not to be expreſſed; they alarmed the citizens with the danger of the church, and prevailed with the *common council* to petition the parliament [*Nov.* 15.] that *the presbyterian diſcipline might be eſtabliſhed, as the diſcipline of Jeſus Chriſt*; but the commons anſwered with a frown, *that the citizens muſt have been miſinformed of the proceedings of the houſe, or elſe they would not have precipitated the judgment of parliament.* Not diſcouraged at this rebuke, they prevailed with the *city miniſters* to petition, who when they came to the houſe were told by the ſpeaker, *they need not wait for an anſwer, but go home and look to the charges of their ſeveral congregations*; and immediately appointed a committee to enquire into the riſe of theſe petitions.

The preſbyterian *miniſters* deſpairing of ſucceſs with the commons, inſtead of yielding to the times, reſolved to apply to the houſe of lords, who received them civilly, and promiſed to take their requeſt into conſideration; but no advances being made in two months, they were out of all patience, and determined to renew their application; and to give it the greater weight, prevailed with the *lord-mayor and court of aldermen* to join with them in preſenting an addreſs, which they did *Jan.* 16. "for "a ſpeedy ſettlement of church government according to the covenant, "and that no toleration might be given to popery, prelacy, ſuperſtition, "hereſy, profaneneſs, or any thing contrary to ſound doctrine, and that "all private aſſemblies might be reſtrained." The lords thanked them for their zeal, and recommended it to the city magiſtrates to ſuppreſs all ſuch unlawful aſſemblies; but the houſes were not to be moved as yet by ſuch diſagreeable importunity; however this laid the foundation of thoſe jealouſies and miſunderſtandings between the city and parliament, which in the end proved the ruin of the preſbyterian cauſe.

Vol. Pam. N° 34. p. 3.

K. Charles I. 1645.

But the fierceſt contention between the aſſembly and parliament, aroſe upon the *power of the keys*, which the former had voted to be in the elderſhip or preſbytery in theſe words; "The keys of the kingdom of heaven were committed to the officers of the church, by virtue whereof "they have power reſpectively to retain and remit ſins, to ſhut the kingdom of heaven againſt the impenitent both by word and cenſures, and "to open it to the penitent by abſolution, and to prevent the profanation "of the holy ſacrament by notorious and obſtinate offenders, the ſaid officers are to proceed by admonition, ſuſpenſion from the ſacrament of "the Lord's ſupper for a ſeaſon, and by excommunication from the "church, according to the nature of the crime and demerit of the perſon;" all which power they claimed, not by the laws of the land, but JURE DIVINO, or by divine appointment.

Of the power of the keys in excommunication. Vid. App. N° III. *Chapter of cong. aſſembly.*

The independents opinion.

The *independents* claimed a like power *for the brotherhood of ever particular congregation*, but without any civil ſanctions or penalties annexed; the *eraſtians* were for laying the communion open, and referring all crimes to the civil magiſtrate. When the queſtion therefore came under conſideration in the houſe of commons, the learned Mr. *Selden* delivered his opinion againſt all ſuſpenſions and excommunications to this effect; "that "for four thouſand years there was no law to ſuſpend perſons from religious exerciſes. Strangers, indeed, were kept from the paſſover, but "they were pagans, and not of the *jewiſh* religion. The queſtion is "not now for keeping away pagans in times of chriſtianity, but proteſtants from proteſtant worſhip. No *divine* can ſhew, that there is any "ſuch command as this to ſuſpend from the ſacrament. No man is kept "from the ſacrament *eo nomine*, becauſe he is guilty of any ſin, by the "conſtitution of the reformed churches, or becauſe he has not made ſatisfaction. Every man is a ſinner, the difference is only, that one is in "private, and the other in public. *Dic eccleſiæ* in St. *Matthew*, were "the *courts of law* which then ſat at *Jeruſalem*. No man can ſhew any "excommunication till the popes *Victor* and *Zephorinus* (two hundred "years after Chriſt) firſt began to uſe them upon private quarrels, whereby it appears, that excommunication is an human invention, taken from "the heathens."

And Selden's Ruſhw. p. 203.

And Whit. p. 203.

Mr. *Whitlock* ſpoke on the ſame ſide of the queſtion, obſerving that the "aſſembly of divines had petitioned and adviſed this houſe, *that in every preſbytery, or preſbyterian congregation, the paſtors and ruling elders "may have the power of excommunication, and of ſuſpending ſuch as they ſhall "judge ignorant or ſcandalous.* By *paſtors*, I ſuppoſe, they mean themſelves, and others who are or may be preachers, and would be biſhops "or overſeers of their congregations. By *ruling elders* they mean a ſelect "number of ſuch in every congregation as ſhall be choſen for the execu-

" tion of government and diſcipline therein. A *paſtor* is one who is to K. Charles I. 1645.
" feed his ſheep; and if ſo, how improper muſt it be for ſuch to deſire
" to excommunicate any, or keep them from food; to forbid any to eat,
" or whomſoever they ſhall judge unworthy, when Chriſt has ſaid, *take,*
" *eat,* and *drink* ye all of it, though *Judas* was one of them. But ſome
" have ſaid, 'tis the duty of a ſhepherd, when he ſees a ſheep feeding up-
" on that which will do him hurt, to chaſe him away from that paſture,
" and they apply this to ſuſpending thoſe from the ſacrament whom they
" fear, by eating and drinking unworthily, may eat and drink their own
" damnation. But it ought to be obſerved, that it is not receiving the
" ſacrament, but the unworthineſs of the receiver that brings deſtruction,
" and this cannot be within the judgment of any but the perſon himſelf,
" who alone can examine his own heart; nor can can any one produce a
" commiſſion for another to be judge thereof. But it is ſaid, that ruling
" elders are to be joined with the paſtors; now in ſome country villages
" and congregations, perhaps they may not be very learned; and yet the
" authority given them is very great. The word *elders*, amongſt the *he-*
" *brews*, ſignified men of the greateſt power and dignity; ſo it was a-
" mong the *romans*, whoſe ſenate was ſo called, from *ſenes*, elders. The
" higheſt title among the *french*, *ſpaniards*, and *italians*, *ſeigneur*, and
" *ſeigniori*, is only a corruption of the *latin* word *ſenior*, elder. The
" ſame may be obſerved in our *engliſh* corporations, where the beſt
" and moſt ſubſtantial perſons are called aldermen or eldermen.
" Thus the title of elders may be given to the chief men of eve-
" ry preſbytery, but if the power of excommunication be given
" them, they may challenge the title of elders in the higheſt ſignifi-
" cation.

" Power is deſired to be given to ſuſpend from the ſacrament two ſorts
" of perſons, the ignorant and ſcandalous; now 'tis poſſible, that they
" who are judged to be competent in one place may be deemed ignorant
" in another; however to keep them from the ordinances is no way to
" improve their knowledge. Scandalous perſons are likewiſe to be ſuſpend-
" ed, and this is to be left to the diſcretion of the paſtors and ruling el-
" ders; bnt where have they ſuch a commiſſion? Scandalous ſinners
" ſhould be admoniſhed to forſake their evil ways, and amend their lives;
" and how can this be done better, than by allowing them to hear good
" ſermons, and partake of the holy ordinances. A man may be a good
" phyſician though he never cuts off a member from his patient; and a
" church my be a good church, though no member of it has ever been
" cut off. I have heard many complaints of the juriſdiction of the
" prelates, who were but few; now in this ordinance there will be a
" great multiplication of ſpiritual men in government, but I am of opi-

K. Charles I. 1645. "nion, that where the temporal ſword is ſufficient for puniſhment of of- "fences, there will be no need of this new diſcipline."

Though the parliament did not deem it prudent wholly to reject the ordinance *for excommunication*, becauſe it had been the popular complaint in the late times, *that paſtors of churches had not power to keep unworthy communicants from the Lord's table*; yet the ſpeeches of theſe learned gentlemen made ſuch an impreſſion, that they reſolved to render it ineffectual to all the purpoſes of church tyranny; accordingly they ſent to the aſſembly to ſpecify in writing, *what degrees of knowledge in the chriſtian religion were neceſſary to qualify perſons for the communion?* and, *what ſorts of ſcandal deſerved ſuſpenſion or excommunication?* Which after much controverſy, they preſented to the houſes, who inſerted them in the body of their *ordinance for ſuſpenſion from the Lord's ſupper*, dated *Octob.* 20. 1645, together with certain proviſo's of their own.

Ordinance for ſuſpenſion and excommunication. Ruſhw. part IV. Vol. I. p. 211.

The ordinance ſets forth, that the ſeveral elderſhips within their reſpective limits, ſhall have power to ſuſpend from the ſacrament of the Lord's ſupper, all ignorant and ſcandalous perſons, within the rules nnd directions hereafter mentioned, and no others.

RULES *for ſuſpending from the ſacrament in caſe of* IGNORANCE.

1. "All that do not know and believe the being of a God, and the "holy trinity.

2. "They that are not acquainted with the original ſin, and the fall of "man.

3. "They that don't believe Chriſt to be God and man, and our only "Mediator and Redeemer.

4. —— "That Chriſt and his benefits are applied only by faith; "which faith is the gift of God, and implies a truſting in him, for the re- "miſſion of ſins, and life everlaſting.

5. —— "The neceſſity of ſincere repentance, and a holy life, in or- "der to ſalvation.

6. —— "The nature and importance of the two ſacraments, eſpeci- "ally of the Lord's ſupper.

7. —— "That the ſouls of the faithful do immediately live with "Chriſt after death; and the ſouls of the wicked immediately go to "hell.

8. —— "The reſurrection of the body, and a final judgment."

RULES

RULES *for ſuſpenſion in caſe of* SCANDAL. *K.* Charles I. 1645.

" The elderſhips ſhall have power to ſuſpend from the ſacrament all " *ſcandalous perſons* hereafter mentioned, and no others, being duly con- " victed by the oaths of two witneſſes, or their own confeſſion; that is " to ſay,

1. " All blaſphemers againſt God, his holy word or ſacraments.
2. " Inceſtuous perſons.
3. " Adulterers.
4. " Fornicators.
5. " Drunkards.
6. " Profane ſwearers and curſers.
7. " Murderers.
8. " Worſhippers of images, croſſes, crucifixes, or relics.
9. " All that make images of the trinity, or of any perſon there- " of.
10. " All religious worſhipers of ſaints, angels, or any meer crea- " ture.
11. " Such as declare themſelves not to be in charity with their " neighbours.
12. " Such as ſhall challenge others to a duel, or that ſhall accept ſuch " challenge.
13. " Such as knowingly ſhall carry a challenge either by word, meſ- " ſage, or writing.
14. " Such as profane the Lord's day by dancing, playing at cards or " dice, or any other game; or that ſhall on the Lord's day uſe maſking, " wakes, ſhooting, bowling, playing at foot-ball, or ſtool-ball, wreſtling; " or that ſhall reſort to plays, interludes, fencing, bull-baiting, or bear-bait- " ing; or, that ſhall uſe hawking, hunting, courſing, fiſhing, or fowling; " or, that ſhall publicly expoſe any ware to ſale, otherwiſe than is provided " by the ordinance of *April* 6. 1644. or, that ſhall travel on the Lord's " day without reaſonable cauſe.
15. Such as keep known ſtews, or brothel-houſes; or, that ſhall ſo- " licit the chaſtity of any perſon for himſelf, or another.
16. " Such parents as give their conſent to marry their children to pa- " piſts; and ſuch as do themſelves marry a papiſt.
17. " Such as conſult for advice, witches, wizards, or fortune-tel- " lers.
18. " Such as aſſault their parents, or any magiſtrate, miniſter, or el- " der, in the execution of his office.

19 " Such

K. Charles I. 1645.

19. "Such as ſhall be legally attainted of barretry, forgery, extortion, "or bribery.

"And the ſeveral elderſhips ſhall have power to ſuſpend all MINISTERS "who ſhall be duly convicted of any of the crimes abovementioned, from "giving or receiving the Lord's ſupper.

"Perſons ſuſpended by one congregation ſhall not be admitted to the "ſacrament by another, without certificate from that congregation of "which he was a member. But in all caſes of ſuſpenſion, if the party "ſuſpended ſhall manifeſt his repentance before the elderſhip by whom he "was ſuſpended, he ſhall be re admitted to the Lord's ſupper, and the "ſuſpenſion taken off."

And then follow the proviſo's, which ſtripped the preſbyteries of that *power of the keys* which they were reaching at.

Parliament's proviſo's.

Provided always, "that if any perſon find himſelf aggrieved with "the proceedings of the preſbytery to which he belongs, he may "appeal to the claſſical elderſhip; from them to the provincial aſ-"ſembly; from them to the national; and from them TO THE PAR-"LIAMENT."

'Tis further provided, "that the cognizance and examination of all "capital offences ſhall be reſerved entire to the magiſtrate appointed by "the laws of the kingdom, who upon his committing the party to pri-"ſon, ſhall make a certificate to the elderſhip of the congregation to which "they belonged, who may thereupon ſuſpend them from the ſacra-"ment.

"The preſbytery or elderſhip ſhall not have cognizance of any "thing relating to contracts, payments, or demands; or of any mat-"ter of conveyance, title, intereſt, or property, in lands or goods.

"No uſe ſhall be made of any confeſſion, or proof made be-"fore an elderſhip, at any trial at law of any perſon for any of-"fence.

"And 'tis further ordained, that thoſe members of parliament who "are members of the aſſembly of divines, or any ſeven of them, ſhall "be a ſtanding committee, to conſider of ſuch other offences or ſcandals "not mentioned in this ordinance, which may be conceived to be a ſuf-"ficient cauſe of ſuſpenſion from the ſacrament, and ſhall lay them be-"fore the parliament."

By an ordinance of *June* 5. 1646. a diſcretionary power was lodged in a committee of lords and commons, not leſs than nine, to adjudge and determine ſcandalous offences, not formerly enumerated, and report them

to

to the two houſes, that if they concurred with the committee they might be added to the catalogue. *K.* Charles *I.* 1645.

By theſe proviſo's 'tis evident the parliament were determined not to part with the *ſpiritual ſword*, or ſubject their civil properties to the power of the church, which gave great offence to the *ſcots* commiſſioners, and to moſt of the *engliſh* preſbyterians, who declaimed againſt the ordinance, as built upon *eraſtian* principles, and depriving the church of that which it claimed by a DIVINE INSTITUTION. They allowed of appeals from one ſpiritual court to another, but declared openly from the pulpit and preſs, that appeals to the parliament or civil magiſtate, as the *dernier reſort*, were inſufferable. The parliament obſerving their ambition, of making the church independent or the ſtate, girt the laws cloſer about them, and ſubjected their determinations more immediately to the civil magiſtrate, by an ordinance dated *March* 14. 1645-6. which enacts, "that an "appeal ſhall lie from the deciſions of every claſſis, to the commiſſioners "choſen by parliament out of every province, and from them to the par- "liament itſelf. That if any perſon commit any ſcandalous offences not "mentioned in the ordinance, the miniſter may forbear to adminſter the "ſacrament to him for that time; but then he ſhall within eight days, "certify the ſame to the commiſſioners, who ſhall ſend up the caſe, with "their opinions to the parliament, by whoſe determination the elderſhip "ſhall abide." Presbyterians *diſſatisfied.*

This ordinance of ſuſpenſion from the ſacrament, was extorted from the two houſes before the time, by the importunate ſolicitations of the city clergy, for as yet there were no claſſes or preſbyteries in any part of *England*, which ought to have been erected before they had determined their powers. The houſes had voted, that there ſhould be a choice of *lay-elders* throughout *England* and *Wales*, and had laid down ſome rules for this purpoſe *Aug.* 19. 1645. but it was the 14th of *March* following, before it paſſed into a law.

It was then ordained, 1. "That there be forthwith a choice of [ru- "ling] elders throughout the kingdom of *England* and dominion of "*Wales*. *Ordinance for erecting preſbyteries.* Ruſhw. p. 226.

2. "That public notice be given of ſuch election in every pariſh, "by the miniſter of the church, a fortnight before; and that on the "Lord's day on which the choice is to be made, a ſermon be preached "ſuitable to the occaſion.

3. "Elections ſhall be made by the congregation, or the major part "of them then aſſembled, being heads of families, and ſuch as have ta- "ken the covenant.

4. "That certain perſons be appointed TRIERS in every claſſis, *viz.* "ſix miniſters and three lay-men, whereof ſeven to be a quorum,

"to

K. Charles I. 1645.

" to determine the validity of elections. All members of parliament, " and peers of the realm, to be triers in the pariſhes wherein they live.

5. " No man to be a ruling *elder* but for one congregation, and that " in the pariſh where he lives.

6. " The qualifications of a *ruling elder* are, that he be of good un- " derſtanding in religion, ſound in the faith, prudent, diſcreet, grave, of " unblameable converſation, willing to undergo the office, and in com- " munion with the church.

7. " All pariſhes, privilege places, exempt juriſdictions, and all other "places whatſoever, ſhall be brought under the exerciſe of congregational, " claſſical, provincial, and national aſſemblies, except chapels within any " of the king's houſes, or the houſe of peers, which ſhall continue free " for the exerciſes of religion, according to the *Directory*, but not other- " wiſe.

8. " The province of *London* ſhall be divided into twelve claſſical elder- " ſhips, each to contain about twelve pariſhes of the city, and parts adja- " cent, and theſe to be the boundaries of the province of *London*.

9. " The ſeveral counties of *England* and *Wales*, ſhall be divided into " claſſical preſbyteries, by perſons to be appointed by parliament for this " purpoſe, who ſhall ſettle the boundaries of each claſſis, and certify the " ſame to the parliament for their approbation.

10. " The *preſbytery or elderſhip of every pariſh*, ſhall meet once a " week; the *claſſical aſſemblies* of each province once a month, by ad- " journment, in ſuch places as may be moſt convenient; *provincial aſ- " ſemblies* ſhall meet twice a year; *national aſſemblies* as often as they ſhall " be ſummoned by parliament, and ſhall continue ſitting as long as the " parliament ſhall direct and appoint, and not otherwiſe.

11. " Every congregational or parochial elderſhip, ſhall ſend *two el- " ders*, or more, not exceeding *four*, and one miniſter, to the claſſical " aſſembly; every claſſical aſſembly within the province ſhall ſend two mi- " niſters, and four ruling elders at leaſt, but not to exceed nine, to the " provincial aſſembly. Every provincial aſſembly ſhall appoint two mi- " niſters, and four ruling elders, which ſhall continue a national aſſembly, " when ſuch an one ſhall be ſummoned by parliament."

When this ordinance had paſſed the *commons*, it ſtuck a conſiderable time with the lords, inſomuch that the preſbyterian clergy thought it neceſſary to quicken them by a petition, *May* 29. under the hands of three hundred miniſters of *Suffolk* and *Eſſex*, lamenting the decay of religion, and the want of church-diſcipline, and beſeeching their lordſhips to put the finiſhing hand to the bill ſo long depending; which they did accordingly, *June* 6. 1646.

Thus

Thus the preſbyterian form of church-government became the national eſtabliſhment, by way of *probation*, as far as an ordinance of parliament could make it; for the preamble ſets forth, "that if upon trial it "was not found acceptable it ſhould be reverſed or amended. It declares "further, that the houſes found it very difficult to make their new ſet- "tlement agree with the laws and government of the kingdom, that "therefore it could not be expected, that a preſent rule in every particular "ſhould be ſettled at once, but that there will be need of ſupplements "and additions, and perhaps alterations, as experience ſhall bring to light "the neceſſity thereof." *K.* Charles I. 1645.

The parliament apprehended they had now eſtabliſhed the plan of the preſbyterian diſcipline, though it proved not to the ſatisfaction of any one party of chriſtians; ſo hard is it to make a good ſettlement when men dig up all at once old foundations. The *preſbyterian hierarchy* was as narrow as the *prelatical*; and as it did not allow a liberty of conſcience, claiming a civil as well as eccleſiaſtical authority over men's perſons and properties, it was equally, if not more inſufferable. Biſhop *Kennet* obſerves, that the ſettling preſbytery was ſupported by the fear and love of the *ſcots* army, and that when *they* were gone home it was better managed by the *engliſh* army, who were for independency and a principle of toleration; but as things ſtood no-body was pleaſed; the epiſcopalians and independents were excluded; and becauſe the parliament would not give the ſeveral preſbyteries an abſolute power over their communicants, but reſerved the laſt appeal to themſelves, neither the *ſcots* nor *engliſh* preſbyterians would accept it. *Remarks.*

When the ſcheme was laid before the *ſcots* parliament and general aſſembly, as a plan for uniformity between the two nations, they inſiſted upon the following amendments.

Exceptions of the Scots *to the new diſcipline.* Ruſhw. p. 253.

(1.) "That no godly miniſter may be excluded from being a mem- "ber of claſſical provincial or national aſſemblies.

(2.) "That the ordinary time for the meeting of the national aſſem- "bly may be fixed; with a reſerve of power to the parliament to con- "vene them when they pleaſe, and a liberty to the church to meet oft- "ner on neceſſary occaſions.

(3.) "That *the congregational elderſhip may have power to judge in "caſes of ſcandal not expreſſed.* This they conceive cannot be conſtrued "lodging an arbitrary power in the church; whereas on the other hand, "the appointing ſuch *provincial commiſſioners* as are ſettled in the ordinance, "will occaſion diſputes, create a diſconformity between this and other "churches, and is a mixture in church-government altogether without

K. Charles I. 1645.

" precedent. This buſineſs therefore they conceive may be better ma-
" naged by *aſſemblies of miniſters and ruling elders.*

(4.) " That the ordinance for *ordination of miniſters* may be perpe-
" tual.

(5.) " The manner of ſubjecting church-aſſemblies to the controul
" and deciſion of parliament, being very liable to miſtakes; the exemp-
" tion likewiſe of perſons of diſtinction from eccleſiaſtical cenſures; and
" the adminiſtring the ſacrament to ſome perſons, againſt the conſcience
" of the miniſtry and elderſhips; theſe and ſome other particulars, being
" more than they can admit, they deſire may be altered to general ſatis-
" faction.

(6.) " As to the articles relating to the perpetual officers of the church,
" with their reſpective functions; the order and power of church-aſſem-
" blies; the directions for public repentance or penance; the rules for
" excommunication and abſolution;" all theſe they deſire may be fixed,
and ſettled purſuant to the *covenant*, and with the joint advice of the divines of both kingdoms [*i. e.* the aſſembly at *Weſtminſter*] long ſince offered to both houſes.

After the delivery of theſe papers by the *ſcots* commiſſioners, and before the houſes had returned an anſwer, they were publiſhed with a preface by a private hand, which provoked the houſes to ſuch a degree, that *April* 14. they voted it to be burnt by the hands of the common hangman, which was done accordingly. *April* 17. the commons publiſhed their anſwer to the commiſſioners papers, in which they declare to the world, " that their real intentions are to ſettle religion according to the
" covenant, and to maintain the ancient and fundamental government
" of this kingdom. They think it ſtrange that any ſober and modeſt
" men ſhould imagine, they are unwilling to ſettle any government in
" the church, after they have declared ſo fully for the preſbyterian;
" have taken ſo much pains for the ſettling it; have paſſed moſt of the
" particulars brought to them by the aſſembly of divines, without any
" material alteration, ſave in the point of commiſſioners, and have pub-
" liſhed ſo many ordinances for putting the ſame in execution, *only be-*
" *cauſe they cannot conſent to the granting an arbitrary and unlimited power*
" *and juriſdiction to near ten thouſand judicatories to be erected within this*
" *kingdom, and this demanded in ſuch a way, as is not conſiſtent with the*
" *fundamental laws and government of the ſame, and by neceſſary conſe-*
" *quence, excluding the parliament of* England *from the exerciſe of all ec-*
" *cleſiaſtical juriſdiction.* This ſay they, has been the great cauſe that
" church-government has not been long ſince ſettled; and we have the
" more reaſon not to part with this power out of the hands of the civil
" magiſtrate, ſince the experience of all ages will manifeſt, that the re-

Parliament's reply.

for-

" formation and purity of religion, and the preſervation and protection " of the people of God in this kingdom, has under God, been owing " to the parliament's exerciſe of this power. If then the minds of any " are diſturbed for want of the preſent ſettling of church-government, " let them apply to thoſe [miniſters] who having ſufficient power and " direction from the houſes on that behalf, have not as yet put the ſame " in execution." K. Charles I. 1645.

The *engliſh* preſbyterians having reſolved to ſtand and fall with the *Scots*, refuſed peremptorily to comply with the ordinance, relying upon the aſſiſtance and ſupport of that nation. Mr. *Marſhall* ſtood up in the aſſembly, *March* 20. and ſaid, that ſince an ordinance of parliament for church-government was now publiſhed, and ſpeedily to be put in execution; and ſince there were ſome things in that ordinance which lay very hard upon his conſcience, and upon the conſciences of many of his brethren, (though he bleſſed God for the zeal of the two houſes in ſettling the government of the church thus far); yet being much preſſed in ſpirit with ſome things contained therein, he moved that a committee might be appointed to examine what things in the ordinance were contrary to their conſciences, and to prepare a petition to preſent them to the two houſes. ——A petition was accordingly drawn up, and preſented *March* 23. by the whole aſſembly with Mr. *Marſhall* at their head, in this petition they aſſert the DIVINE RIGHT of the preſbyterian government, and complain of a clauſe in the late ordinance, which eſtabliſhes *an appeal from the cenſures of the church to a committee of parliament.* It was a ſanguine and daring attempt of theſe divines, who were called together only for their advice, to examine and cenſure the ordinances of parliament, and diſpute in this manner with their ſuperiors; the commons alarmed at this petition, appointed a committee to take into conſideration the matter and manner of it, who after ſome time reported it as their opinion, that the aſſembly of divines in their late petition had broken the priviledges of parliament, and were guilty of a PRAEMUNIRE; and whereas they inſiſted ſo peremptorily on the JUS DIVINUM of the preſbyterian government, the committee had drawn up certain queries, which they deſired the aſſembly might reſolve for their ſatisfaction; the houſe agreed to the report of the committee, and on the 30th of *April* ſent Sir *John Evelin*, Mr. *Nathaniel Fiennes*, and Mr. *Browne* to the aſſembly, to acquaint them with their reſolutions: Theſe gentlemen ſet before them their raſh and imprudent conduct, and in ſeveral ſpeeches ſhewed wherein they had exceeded their province, which was, *to adviſe the houſes in ſuch points as they ſhould lay before them, but not to dictate to thoſe to whom they owed their being an aſſembly.* Then they read the votes abovementioned, and

English Preſbyterians *petition againſt the ordinance. MS.* penes me, Seſſ. 608.

They are threatened with a præmunire.

K. Charles I. 1645. delivered in the following queſtions with the orders of the houſe thereupon.

Queſtions ſent to the aſſembly relating to the jus divinum. Ruſhw. p. 260.

Queſtions propounded to the aſſembly of divines by the houſe of commons, touching the point of jus divinum *in the matters of church-government.*

1. "Whether the congregational and preſbyterial elderſhips appointed "by ordinance of parliament, or any other congregational or preſbyterial "elderſhips are *jure divino*, and by the will and appointment of Jeſus "Chriſt? and whether any particular church-government be *jure di-* "*vino?* and what that government is?

2. "Whether all the members of the ſaid elderſhips as members there- "of, or which of them are *jure divino*, and by the will and appointment "of Jeſus Chriſt?

3. "Whether the claſſical provincial and national aſſemblies, or any "of them, and which of them are *jure divino*, and by the will and ap- "pointment of Jeſus Chriſt?

4. "Whether appeals from congregational elderſhips, to claſſical pro- "vincial and national aſſemblies, or any of them, and to which of them "are *jure divino*, and by the will and appointment of Jeſus Chriſt? and "whether their POWERS upon ſuch appeals are *jure divino*, and by the "will and appointment of Jeſus Chriſt?

5. "Whether oecumenical aſſemblies are *jure divino?* and whether "there be appeals from any of the former aſſemblies to the ſaid oecume- "nical *jure divino*, and by the will and appointment of Jeſus Chriſt?

6. "Whether by the word of God, the power of judging and decla- "ring what are ſuch notorious and ſcandalous offences, for which per- "ſons guilty thereof are to be kept from the ſacrament of the Lord's "ſupper, and of convening before them, trying, and actually ſuſpending "from the ſacrament of the Lord's ſupper ſuch offenders, is either in the "congregational elderſhip, preſbytery, or in any other elderſhip congre- "gation or perſons? and whether ſuch powers are in them only, or any "of them, and and in which of them *jure divino*, and by the will and "appointment of Jeſus Chriſt?

7. "Whether there be any certain and particular rules expreſſed in the "word of God, to direct the elderſhips or preſbyteries, congregations or "perſons, or any of them, in the exerciſe and execution of the powers "aforeſaid, and what are thoſe rules?

8. "Is there any thing contained in the word of God, that the ſu- "preme magiſtracy in a chriſtian ſtate, may not judge and determine "what are the aforeſaid notorious and ſcandalous offences, and the man-

" ner of ſuſpenſion for the ſame; and in what particulars concerning the " premiſes is the ſaid ſupreme magiſtracy by the word of God exclu- " ded? K. Charles I. 1645.

9. " Whether the proviſion of commiſſioners to judge of ſcandals not " enumerated (as they are authorized by the ordinance of parliament, " be contrary to that way of government which Chriſt has appointed in " his church? and wherein are they ſo contrary?"

In the aſſembly's anſwer to theſe propoſitions, the houſe of commons ordered the proofs from ſcripture to be ſet down, with the ſeveral texts at large in the expreſs words of the ſame; and that every miniſter of the aſſembly, who ſhould be preſent at the debate of any of theſe queſtions, ſhould ſubſcribe his reſpective name in the affirmative or negative, according as he gave his vote; and that thoſe who diſſented from the major part ſhould ſet down their poſitive opinions, with the expreſs texts of ſcripture upon which their opinions are grounded.

'Tis eaſy to diſcover the maſterly hands of Mr. *Selden* and *Whitlock* in theſe queſtions; which were ſent to the aſſembly not with any proſpect of a ſatisfactory anſwer, but to employ, and it may be to divide them, till they ſaw how they were like to ſettle with the king. The houſes were afraid of being fettered with the *ſcots* diſcipline, and yet the *Scots* were not to be diſguſted, becauſe they had an army in the north, to whom the king had committed the cuſtody of his perſon. *Remarks.*

As ſoon as the aſſembly had heard the reſolutions of the houſe of commons abovementioned, and the queſtions read, firſt by Sir *J. Evelin*, and then by their ſcribe, they adjourned in a very great fright till next morning, in order to conſult their brethren in the city; and then appointed a day of faſting and humiliation for themſelves, in reference to their preſent circumſtances, and ſent letters to all the members to give their attendance. The faſt was obſerved within their own walls on *Wedneſday May* 6. from nine in the morning till four in the afternoon; and committees were appointed to conſider of an anſwer to the queſtions, whoſe report we ſhall conſider under the next year. *They are terrified and appoint a faſt.*

In the mean time we muſt go back a little, to take a view of the attempts which were making to comprehend the *independents*, or *diſſenting brethren* in the aſſembly, within the new eſtabliſhment, or at leaſt to obtain a toleration for them; the parliament had ordered *September* 13. 1644. that the " committee of lords and commons appointed to treat with the " *ſcots* commiſſioners and the committee of divines, do take into conſi- " deration the differences of the opinions of the members of the aſſem- " bly in point of church-government, and endeavour *an union if poſſible*; " and if that cannot be accompliſhed, endeavour to find out ſome way *Committee of accommodation. Papers for accommodation*, p. 1.

" *how*

K. Charles I. 1645.

"*how far tender conſciences, who cannot in all things ſubmit to the ſame* "*rule, may be born with according to the word of God, and conſiſtent with* "*the public peace.*" This was called the GRAND COMMITTEE OF ACCOMMODATION, which met the firſt time *Sept.* 20. and choſe a ſub-committee of ſix divines of the aſſembly, to conſider the points of difference, and to prepare materials for the conſideration of the *grand committee*; the names of theſe divines were the reverend Mr. *Marſhal*, Mr. *Herle*, Mr. *Vines*, Dr. *Temple*, Mr. *Goodwin*, and Mr. *Nye*, who after ſeveral conſultations among themſelves, delivered to the committee certain propoſitions [*Octob.* 15. 1644.] which were read by Mr. *Vines* their chairman: The independents would have ſtated *the points in variance* between the two parties, and endeavoured a compromiſe while the diſcipline of the church was depending; but the preſbyterians inſiſted, that the new form of government ſhould firſt paſs into a law as *a ſtandard*, before the exceptions of the independents were received; upon which they were adjourned by order of the houſe of commons, till the affair ſhould be determined in the aſſembly, who agreed *April* 4. 1645. that *the brethren who had entered their diſſent againſt the presbyterian government, ſhould be a committee to bring in the whole frame of their government in a body, with their grounds and reaſons.* The *independents* deſired liberty to bring in their *objections* by parts, as the *presbyterians* had done their *advices*; but this not being admitted, they deſired time to perfect their plan before any other ſcheme paſſed into a law; but the preſbyterians without any regard to the compromiſe, by the aſſiſtance of their *ſcots* friends, puſhed the affair to a concluſion in parliament; upon which the independents laid aſide their own *model*, and publiſhed a remonſtrance, complaining of the artful conduct of the aſſembly, and that the diſcipline of the church being fixed, it was too late to think any more of a comprehenſion. The houſe of commons having ſeen their miſtake, reſumed this affair with their own hands, and by an order dated *Nov.* 6. 1645. revived the *committee of accommodation*, which beſides the *ſcots* commiſſioners, conſiſted of the following peers, *viz.*

Remonſt. p. 3.

Earl of *Northumberland*,	Lord *Wharton*, and
Earl of *Mancheſter*,	Lord *Howard.*
Lord Vic. *Say* and *Seale*,	

Theſe were to confer with the following members of the aſſembly, *viz.*

Dr. *Burges*,	Mr. *Reynolds*,	Mr. *Vines*,
Mr. *Marſhal*,	Dr. *Hoyle*,	Mr. *Hill*,
Mr. *Herle*,	Mr. *White*,	Dr. *Temple*,

Mr.

Mr. *Palmer*, Dr. *Smith*, Mr. *Newcomen*,
Mr. *Tuckney*, Mr. *Seaman*, Mr. *Young*.
Mr. *Arrowſmith*,

with the diſſenting brethren of the aſſembly.

Mr. *Tho. Goodwin*, Mr. *Nye*, Mr. *Bridge*,
Mr. *Simpſon*, Mr. *Burroughs*, Mr. *Drury*.

The committees revived. *Papers for accommodation.* p. 14, 24.

The committee met in the *Jeruſalem chamber Nov.* 17. and would have entered upon a ſcheme for comprehenſion, but the *independents* moved only for an *indulgence* or *toleration*, obſerving that as they had already moved in the aſſembly and elſewhere, that their ſcheme of government might be debated before the *presbyterian* had paſſed into a law, and for this purpoſe had offered to prepare a compleat model, if they might have been indulged a few days, and that having been over-ruled, and another form of government ſettled; they apprehended themſelves ſhut out from the eſtabliſhment, and precluded from any further attempts towards an union or comprehenſion; but ſtill they were willing to enter upon the ſecond part of the parliament's order, which was to conſider, *how far tender conſciences who cannot in all things ſubmit to the eſtabliſhed rule, may be indulged conſiſtent with the word of God and the public peace.* Accordingly in their next meeting *Dec.* 4. they offered the following propoſals.

Taking for granted that both ſides ſhall agree in one confeſſion of faith, they humbly crave,

Propoſals of the Independents

1. That their congregations may have the power of ordination within themſelves.

2. That they may not be brought under the power of claſſes, nor forced to communicate in thoſe pariſh churches where they dwell, but that they may have liberty to join with ſuch congregations as they prefer, and that ſuch congregations may have power of all church cenſures within themſelves, ſubject only to parliament; and be as ſo many *exempt*, or *priviledged places.*

Reply of the preſbyterians. *Papers of accommodation*, p. 18, 19, 26, 27.

To the preamble the *presbyterians* replied, that only ſuch as agreed to their confeſſion of faith and directory ſhould have the benefit of the forbearance to be agreed on, with which the committee concurred; but the independents would admit only of the affirmative, *that ſuch as agreed with them ſhould be tolerated*; and would not conſent to the negative, ſo as to ſet bounds or limits of forbearance to tender conſciences, nor make ſuch an agreement a neceſſary qualification for receiving the ſacrament.

To

K. Charles I. 1645. To the requeſt of the *independents*, of being exempted from the juriſdiction of their claſſes, and having a liberty of erecting ſeparate congregations the preſbyterians replied,

Ib. p. 20,21. 1. That this implied a total ſeparation from the eſtabliſhed rule.

2. The lawfulneſs of gathering churches out of other true churches.

3. That the parliament would then deſtroy what they had ſet up.

4. That the members of independent churches, would then have greater privilege than thoſe of the eſtabliſhment.

5. That this would countenance a perpetual ſchiſm. And,

6. Introduce all manner of confuſion in families.

They therefore propoſed, that ſuch as after conference with their pariſh miniſter were not ſatisfied with the eſtabliſhment, ſhould not be compelled to communicate in the Lord's ſupper, nor be liable to cenſures from claſſes or ſynods, provided they joined with the pariſh congregation where they lived, and were under the government of it in other reſpects.

Anſwer of the independents. *Papers for accommodation.* p. 29, 30. The *independents* replied, that they did not intend a total ſeparation, but ſhould agree with their brethren in the moſt eſſential points; as in worſhipping according to the directory, in chooſing the ſame officers, paſtors, teachers, ruling-elders, with the ſame qualifications as in the *rule*; that they ſhould require the ſame qualifications in their members as the aſſembly had adviſed, that is, *viſible ſaints profeſſing faith in Chriſt, and obedience to him, according to the rules of faith and life taught by Chriſt and his apoſtles*; that they ſhould practiſe the ſame church-cenſures, being accountable for their conduct to their civil ſuperiors. They would alſo hold occaſional communion with the preſbyterian churches, in baptiſm and the Lord's ſupper, communicating occaſionally with them, and receiving their members to communion as occaſion required. Their miniſters ſhould preach for each other, and in caſes of difficulty they would call in their aſſiſtance and advice; and when an *ordination* falls out, they would deſire the preſence and approbation of their miniſters with their own. Now ſurely ſay they, this does not imply a total ſeparation; but if in ſome things men cannot comply with the *eſtabliſhed rule* without ſin, we think ſuch perſons ought not to live without communicating in the Lord's ſupper all their days, rather than gather into churches where they

Ib. p. 35,36. may enjoy all ordinances without offence to their conſciences.——Nor ought ſuch ſeparation to be accounted *ſchiſm*, which is a name of reproach we deſire not to be branded with, when we are willing to maintain chriſtian love and communion with our neighbours, as far as our

Ib. p. 40. conſciences will permit.——They add further, that if the *ſtate* is pleaſed to grant them this liberty, they will refer themſelves to the wiſdom of the legiſlature, to conſider of limiting their congregations to a certain num-

number, to be as ſo many receptacles for pious perſons of tender conſciences. K. Charles I. 1645.

The *presbyterians* in the next *reply*, *Dec.* 23. after having blamed the *independents* for not going upon a comprehenſion, argue againſt the lawfulneſs of a *ſeparation* after this manner: "that if a pretence of "conſcience be a ſufficient ground of ſeparation, men may gather im- "pure and corrupt churches out of purer, becauſe upon the dictate of "an erring conſcience they may diſallow that which is pure, and ſet up "that which is agreeable to their erring conſciences; and we very much "doubt (ſay they), whether tenderneſs of conſcience in doubtful points "will juſtify a ſeparation; it may oblige men to forbear communion, "but not to ſet up a contrary practice. If a church impoſe any thing "that is ſinful we muſt forbear to comply yet without ſeparation, as "was the practice of the puritans in the late times.——" They then argue from the conceſſions of the *independents*, that becauſe they agree with them in ſo many material points, therefore they ſhould not ſeparate. "If ſay they, you can communicate with our church *occaſionally*, once "or a ſecond and third time without ſin, we know no reaſon why you "may not do it conſtantly, and then ſeparation will be needleſs——As "for ſuch a toleration as our brethren deſire, we apprehend it will open "a door to all ſects; and though the *independents* now plead for it, their "brethren in *New England* do not allow it." *The* presbyterians *reply. Papers for accommodation.* p. 51. Ib. p. 56.

As to the charge of *ſchiſm* they admit, that difference in judgment in ſome particular points is not *ſchiſm*; nor does an inconformity to ſome things enjoined deſerve that name; but our brethren deſire further to ſet up *ſeparate communions*, which is a manifeſt rupture of our ſocieties into others, and is therefore a ſchiſm in the body. This is ſetting up altar againſt altar, allowing our churches (as the independents do) to be true churches; for St. *Auſtin* ſays, *ſchiſmaticos facit non diverſa fides, ſed communionis diſrupta ſocietas.* And we conceive it is the *cauſe* of the ſeparation that makes ſchiſm, and not the ſeparation itſelf; if then the cauſe of our brethrens ſeparation be not ſufficient, by what other name can it be called? To all which they add, that this indulgence if granted, will be the mother of all contentions, ſtrifes, hereſies, and confuſions in the church; and contrary to their covenant, which obliges them to endeavour to their utmoſt an UNIFORMITY. Ibid. p. 65, 73, 74.

When the committee met the next time, *Feb.* 2. 1645-6. the *independents* replied chiefly to the point of *uniformity*, and argued that it was not neceſſary to the peace of the churches; and ought not to extend beyond peoples light and meaſure of underſtanding, according to the apoſtolical canon, *as far as we have attained let us walk by the ſame rule*, Phil. iii. 15. As for a mere exemption from the cenſure of the claſſes, they *Anſwer of the* independents. *Papers for accommodation.* p. 86.

K. Charles I. 1645. declared frankly they could not acquieſce in it, becauſe it would deprive them of the enjoyment of the Lord's ſupper; and that it was very hard to urge, that becauſe they came ſo near their brethren, therefore they ſhould be obliged to a total and conſtant conformity.

Concluſion of the preſbyterians.

The *committee* met the laſt time, *March* 9. when the ſub-committee of preſbyterian divines anſwered the laſt paper of the *independents*, maintaining all their former poſitions, and concluding in this ſtrange and wonderful manner: "that whereas their brethren ſay, that uniformity ought "to be urged no further than is agreeable to all mens conſciences, and to "their edification; it ſeems to them, as if their brethren not only deſired "liberty of conſcience for themſelves, but for all men, and would have "us think, that we are bound by our covenant, to bring the churches "in the three kingdoms to no nearer a conjunction and uniformity, than "is conſiſtent with the liberty of all mens conſciences; which whether "it be the ſenſe of the covenant we leave with the honourable commit-"tee."

Ib. p. 123.

Hereupon the reverend Mr. *Jer. Burroughs*, a divine of great candor and moderation; declared in the name of the *independents*, "that if their "congregations might not be exempted from that coercive power of the "claſſes; if they might not have liberty to govern themſelves in their "own way, as long as they behaved peaceably towards the civil magiſ-"trate, they were reſolved to ſuffer, or go to ſome other place of the "world, where they might enjoy their liberty. But while men think "there is no way of peace, but by forcing all to be of the ſame mind "(ſays he), while they think the civil ſword is an ordinance of God "to determine all controverſies of divinity, and that it muſt needs be "attended with fines and impriſonment to the diſobedient; while they "apprehend there is no medium between a ſtrict uniformity, and a general "confuſion of all things; while theſe ſentiments prevail, there muſt be a "baſe ſubjection of mens conſciences to ſlavery, a ſuppreſſion of much "truth, and great diſturbances in the chriſtian world."

Remarks.

Thus ended the laſt committee of lords and commons, and aſſembly of divines for *accommodation*, which adjourned to a certain day, but being then diverted by other affairs never met again. Little did the preſbyterian divines imagine, that in leſs than twenty years all their artillery would be turned againſt themſelves; that they ſhould be excluded the eſtabliſhment by an act of *prelatical uniformity*; that they ſhould be reduced to the neceſſity of pleading for that indulgence which they now denied their brethren; and eſteem it their duty to gather churches for ſeparate worſhip out of other churches, which they allowed to be true ones. If the

leading presbyterians in the aſſembly and city, had carried it with temper towards the *independents*, and allowed even of a limited toleration, they had, in all likelihood, prevented the diſputes between the army and parliament, which involved them in one common ruin; they might then have ſaved the conſtitution, and made their own terms with the king, who was now their priſoner; but they were enamoured with the charms of their *covenant uniformity*, and the *divine right* of presbytery, which, after all, the parliament would not admit in its full exent. Mr. *Baxter* who was no friend of the independents, ſays, "that the presbyterian "miniſters were ſo little ſenſible of their own infirmities, that they "would not agree to tolerate thoſe who were not only tolerable, but "worthy inſtruments and members in the churches, prudent men were "for *union in things neceſſary, for liberty in things unneceſſary, and for* "*charity in all*; but they could not be heard." K. Charles I. 1645. Baxter's life, p. 103.

Great was the reſort of the city divines to *Sion college* at this time, where there was a kind of ſynod every *Monday*, to conſult proper methods to propagate religion, and ſupport the aſſembly at *Weſtminſter* in their oppoſition to the toleration of ſectaries; for this purpoſe they writ them a *letter*, dated *Jan.* 15. 1645-6. in which they capitulate the arguments of the committee, and beſeech them to oppoſe with all their might, the great *Diana* of the independents, and not ſuffer their new eſtabliſhment to be ſtrangled in the birth by a lawleſs toleration. *Debates about toleration and liberty of conſcience.*

The whole *ſcots* nation was alſo commanded into the ſervice; the parliament of that kingdom writ to the two houſes at *Weſtminſter*, *Feb.* 3. acquainting them, that "*it was expected the honourable houſes would add* "*the civil ſanction to what the pious and learned aſſembly have adviſed*; *and* "*I am commanded by the parliament of this kingdom (ſays the preſident) to* "*demand it, and I do in their names demand it.* And the parliament of "this kingdom is perſuaded, that the piety and wiſdom of the honoura- "ble houſes will never admit toleration of any ſects or ſchiſms contrary "to our ſolemn league and covenant." At the ſame time they appeal'd to the people, and publiſhed a declaration *againſt toleration of ſectaries and liberty of conſcience*; in which, after having taken notice of their own great ſervices, they obſerve that here is a party in *England* who are endeavouring to ſupplant the true religion, by pleading for *liberty of conſcience*, which (ſay they) is the nouriſher of all hereſies and ſchiſms. They then declare againſt all ſuch notions as are inconſiſtent with the truth of religion, and againſt opening a door to licentiouſneſs, which to the utmoſt of their power, they will endeavour to oppoſe; and as they have all entered into one covenat, ſo to the laſt man in the kingdom they will go on in the preſervation of it. And however the parliament of *England* may determine in point of *toleration and liberty of conſcience*, Rushw. p. 334. Scots *declaration againſt toleration.*

K. Charles I. 1645.

they are reſolved not to make the leaſt ſtart, but to live and die, for the glory of God, in the entire preſervation of the truth.

Moſt of the ſermons before the houſe of commons, at their monthly faſts, ſpoke the language of *ſeverity*, and called upon the magiſtrate to draw his ſword againſt the *ſectaries*. The preſs teem'd with pamphlets of the ſame nature; Mr. *Prynne* againſt *J. Goodwin* ſays, "that if the "parliament and ſynod eſtabliſhed preſbytery, the *independents* and all "others, are bound to ſubmit under pain of obſtinacy." Another writes, "that to let men ſerve God according to the perſuaſion of their own con-"ſciences, is to caſt out one devil that ſeven worſe may enter."

Independents for a limited toleration.

But the cauſe of liberty was not deſtitute of advocates, the *independents* pleaded for a toleration ſo far, as to include themſelves and the ſober *anabaptiſts*, but did not put the *controverſy* on the moſt generous foundation; they were for tolerating all who agreed in the fundamentals of chriſtianity, but when they came to enumerate fundamentals they were ſadly embarraſſed, as all muſt be who plead the cauſe of liberty, and yet do not place the religious and civil rights of mankind on a ſeparate baſis: a man may be an *orthodox* believer and yet deſerve death as a traytor to his king and country; and on the other hand, an heretic or errant non conformiſt to the eſtabliſhed religion, may be a loyal and dutiful ſubject, and deſerve the higheſt preferment his prince can beſtow.

Anſwer to the Reaſons *for the* London *clerg. Vol. pamph.* N° 52.

The letter of the city divines to the aſſembly received a quick reply from a writer of more generous principles, who complains "that the "presbyterians not content with their own freedom and liberty, nor with "having their form of government made the national eſtabliſhment, were "graſping at as much power as the *prelates* before them had uſurped; for "this purpoſe they had obtained the privilege of licenſing the preſs, that "nothing might be writ againſt them but what they ſhould pleaſe to ap-"prove; they were continually ſoliciting the parliament to eſtabliſh their "church government, which they called the government of Chriſt, with "a *coercive power*; they were always buſy in framing petitions, and en-"gaging the magiſtrates of city to preſent them to the houſes; and not "content with this, they were now moving the aſſembly of divines, of "whom themſelves are a conſiderable part, to become the patrons of op-"preſſion." Our author maintains, that "*liberty of conſcience is the na-"tural right of every man*, though of all parties of men thoſe deſerve "leaſt the countenance of the ſtate, who would perſecute others if it "were in their power, becauſe they are enemies of the ſociety in which "they live. He that will look back on paſt times, and examine into the "true cauſes of the ſubverſion and devaſtation of ſtates and countries, "will find it owing to the tyranny of princes, and the perſecution of "prieſts. All governments therefore which underſtand their true intereſts,

" will endeavour to ſuppreſs in every ſect, or diviſion of men, whether K. Charles I. 1645.
" papiſt, epiſcopal, preſbyterian, independent, or anabaptiſt, the ſpirit
" of dominion and perſecution, which is the diſturber of mankind, and
" the off-ſpring of the devil. But the miniſters ſay, if we tolerate one ſect
" we muſt tolerate all; which our author admits, and adds, that they
" have as good a right to the liberty of their conſciences as to their clothes
" or eſtates; *no opinions or ſentiments of religion being cognizable by the*
" *magiſtrate, any further than they are inconſiſtent with the peace of the*
" *civil government.* The way to put an end to diverſity of opinions is
" not by fines and impriſonments; can *Bedlam*, or the *Fleet*, open men's
" underſtandings, and reduce them from error? No certainly, nothing
" but ſound reaſon and argument can do it, which 'tis to be feared, they
" are not furniſhed with, who have recourſe to any other weapons.
" *Schiſm* and *hereſy* are to be rooted out, not by oppreſſion, but by reaſon
" and debate; by the ſword of the *ſpirit*, not of the *fleſh*; by argument,
" not by blows, to which men have recourſe when they are beat out of
" the other. *Schiſm* and *hereſy* are words of terror thrown upon the ad-
" verſary by all parties of men; and perhaps, there may need an infal-
" lible judge to determine where the *ſchiſm* lies, before we venture upon
" extraordinary methods to extirpate it." He adds " that *perſecution*
" will breed more confuſion and diſturbance than *toleration*; and that
" their ſolemn league and covenant ought to bind them no farther than it
" is conſiſtent with the word of God. Now, that toleration, or liberty
" of conſcience, is the doctrine of *ſcripture*, is evident, 1. From the
" parable of the tares and wheat growing together till the harveſt.
" 2. From the apoſtle's direction, *let every man be perſwaded in his own*
" *mind.* 3. That *whatſoever is not of faith is ſin.* 4. From our Savi-
" our's golden rule, *whatſoever ye would that men ſhould do to you, that*
" *do ye to them* ——"

This pamphlet was anſwered by another, entitled *Anti-Toleration*, in which the author endeavours to vindicate the moſt unbounded licenſe of perſecution; but neither the aſſembly, nor the city divines, nor the whole *ſcots* nation, could prevail with the parliament to deliver the ſword into their hands. The high behaviour of the preſbyterians loſt them the affections of great numbers of people, who began to diſcover that the contention between them and the *prelates* was not for liberty but power, and that all the ſpiritual advantage they were like to reap from the war was to ſhift hands, and inſtead of epiſcopal government to wear the yoke of preſbyterial uniformity.

Lord *Clarendon* admits, that the king endeavoured to make his advantage of theſe diviſions, by courting the *independents*, and promiſing ſome of them very valuable compenſations for any ſervice they ſhould do him; *The king fomments their diviſions.* Vol. II. p. 746.

inti-

K. Charles I. 1645. intimating, that it was impoſſible for him to expect relief in their ſcruples from perſons who pretended they were erecting the *kingdom of Chriſt*; but though the independents were enemies to the preſbyterian diſcipline, they had no confidence in the king's promiſes. Mr. *Whitlock* agrees with the noble hiſtorian, that the king was watchful to take advantage of theſe diviſions, and commanded one *Ogle* to write to Mr. *Tho. Goodwin*, and *Phil. Nye*, two of the independent miniſters, and make them large overtures, if they would oppoſe the preſbyterian government intended to be impoſed upon *England* by the *ſcots*; but theſe two gentlemen very honeſtly acquainted their friends with the propoſal, which put an end to the correſpondence; all which might have convinced the preſbyterians of the neceſſity of coming to ſome terms with the diſſenters; but the king's affairs were ſo low, that they were under no apprehenſions of diſturbance from that quarter at preſent.

p. 176.

New verſion of Pſalms *in metre appointed.*

The aſſembly perfected nothing further this year; however complaint being made of the obſelete verſion of the pſalms by *Sternhold* and *Hopkins*, the parliament deſired them to recommend ſome other to be uſed in churches; accordingly they read over Mr. *Rouſe*'s verſion, and after ſeveral amendments ſent it up to the houſe *Nov.* 14. 1645. with the following recommendation: "Whereas the honourable houſe of commons, by "an order bearing date *Nov.* 20. 1643. have recommended the pſalms "publiſhed by Mr. *Rouſe* to the conſideration of the aſſembly of divines, "the aſſembly has cauſed them to be carefully peruſed, and as they are "now altered and amended do now approve them, and humbly conceive "they may be uſeful and profitable to the church, if they may be permit-"ted to be publicly ſung." Accordingly they were authorized by the two houſes. Care was alſo taken to prevent the importation of incorrect bibles printed in *Holland*.

MS. Seſſ. 535.

Parl. Chr. p. 319.

Cenſures of Paul Beſt. Whitlock, p. 176.

To reurn to the proceedings of parliament; the committee for plundered miniſters having reported to the houſe of commons, *Jan.* 28. 1645. certain blaſphemies of *Paul Beſt*, who denied the holy trinity; the houſe ordered an ordinance to be brought in [*March* 28.] to puniſh him with death alſo. Several divines being appointed to confer with him in order to convince him of his error, he confeſſed his belief of that doctrine in general terms before he was brought to his trial, and that he hoped to be ſaved thereby, but perſiſted in denying the *perſonality*, as a *jeſuitical* tenet; upon this confeſſion his trial was adjourned, and he was at length diſcharged.

Ordinance to ſeize the revenues of cathedrals. Huſb. Col. p. 758.

The government of the church being now changed into a preſbyterian form, and the war almoſt at an end, the parliament reſolved to apply the revenues of the cathedrals to other public uſes, and accordingly *Nov.* 18. it was ordained, "that whereas the preſent dean and prebendaries of *Weſt-*

" *Weſtminſter* had deſerted their charge, and were become delinquents to " the parliament, they did therefore ordain, that the earl of *Northumber-* " *land*, with about ten other lords, and twenty-two commoners, ſhould " be a committee; and that any perſon, or more of them, ſhould have " authority to order, direct, and diſpoſe of the rents, iſſues, and profits, " belonging to the college or collegiate church, and to do and execute all " other acts that did any way concern either of them." They ordained further, " that the dean, prebendaries, and and all other officers belong- " ing either to the college or church, who had abſented themſelves, and " were become delinquents, or had not taken the covenant, ſhould be ſuſ- " pended from their ſeveral offices and places, and all manner of benefit " and profit ariſing from them, or from the arrears of them, Mr. *Oſbal-* " *deſton* only excepted." K. Charles I. 1645.

When the cathedral of *Hereford* fell into the parliament's hands the dean and chapter of that church were diſpoſſeſſed, and their lands and revenues ſeized into the hands of the committee of that county. The dignities of the cathedral churches of *Wincheſter* and *Carliſle* were ſerved in the ſame manner the latter end of this year, when the whole frame of the hierarchy was diſſolved.

Revenues of the univerſity of Cambridge *preſerved.*

The parliament at the requeſt of the *aſſembly of divines*, gave ſome marks of their favour to the univerſity of *Cambridge*, which was reduced to ſuch neceſſitous circumſtances, by reaſon of the failure of their college rents, that they could not ſupport their ſtudents; it was therefore ordained, *April* 11. 1645. " that nothing contained in any ordinance of par- " liament concerning levying or paying of taxes ſhould extend to the uni- " verſity of *Cambridge*, or any of the colleges or halls within the ſaid uni- " verſity, nor to any of the rents or revenues belonging to the ſaid uni- " verſity or colleges, or any of them, nor to charge any maſter, fellow, " or ſcholar of any of the ſaid colleges, nor any reader, officer, or mi- " niſter of the ſaid univerſity or colleges, for any ſtipend, wages, or pro- " fit ariſing, or growing due to them, in reſpect of their places and em- " ployments in the ſaid univerſity." They likewiſe confirmed all their ancient rights and privileges, and ordered the differences between the *univerſity* and *town*, to be determined according to law. On the ſame day the ordinance for regulating the univerſity, and removing ſcandalous miniſters in the aſſociated counties by the earl of *Mancheſter*, mentioned in the beginning of the laſt year, was revived and continued. Ib. p. 636, 637.

Death of Dr. Featly.

On the 17th of *April* this year died Dr. *Dan. Featly*; he was born at *Charlton* in *Oxfordſhire* 1581. and educated at *Corpus Chriſti* college, of which he was fellow; upon his leaving the univerſity he went chaplain to Sir *Tho Symmonds*, the king's ambaſſador to the *french* court, where he gained reputation by his ſermons and diſputations with the papiſts.

When

K. Charles I. 1645. When he returned home, he became domeſtic chaplain to archbiſhop *Abbot*, and was preſented by him to the rectory of *Lambeth*, and in the year 1627. to that of *Acton*. In 1643. he was nominated of the aſſembly of divines, and ſat among them till his correſpondence with the court was diſcovered, by an intercepted letter to archbiſhop *Uſher* relating to their proceedings; upon which he was committed to lord *Peter's* houſe for a ſpy, both his livings were ſequeſtered, and himſelf expelled the aſſembly. The doctor was a thorough *calviniſt*, but very zealous for the hierarchy of the church; ſo that when in priſon he publiſhed the following challenge.

"WHEREAS I am certainly informed, that divers lecturers "and preachers in *London* do in their pulpits, in a moſt inſolent "manner, demand where they are now, that dare ſtand up in defence of "the church hierarchy, or book of common-prayer, or any ways oppoſe "or impugn the new intended reformation both in doctrine and diſcipline "of the church of *England*; I do, and will maintain by diſputation or "writing, againſt any of them, theſe three concluſions.

1. "That the articles of religion agreed upon in the year 1562. "by both houſes of convocation, and ratified by queen *Elizabeth*, "need no alteration at all, but only an orthodox explication of "ſome ambiguous phraſes, and a vindication againſt falſe aſperſions.

2. "That the diſcipline of the church of *England*, eſtabliſhed by "many laws, and acts of parliament, that is, the government by biſhops (removing all innovations and abuſes in the execution thereof) is agreeable to God's word, and a truly ancient and apoſtolical inſtitution.

3. "That there ought to be a ſet form of public prayer; and that the "book of common-prayer (the kalendar being reformed in point of apocryphal ſaints and chapters, ſome rubrics explained, and ſome expreſſions reviſed, and the whole correctly printed with the pſalms, chapters, "and allegations out of the old and new teſtament, according to the laſt "tranſlation) is the moſt compleat, perfect, and exact liturgy now extant in the chriſtian world."

The doctor was a little man, of warm paſſions, and exceedingly inflamed againſt the parliament for his impriſonment, as appears by his laſt prayer a few hours before his death, which happened at *Chelſea*, whither he had been removed for the benefit of the air, in the ſixty-fifth year of

of his age. His prayer had theſe words in, it —— "Lord, ſtrike through "the reins of them that riſe againſt the church and king, and let them "be as chaff before the wind, and as ſtubble before the fire; let them be "ſcatterred as patridges on the mountains, and let the breath of the Lord "conſume them, but upon our gracious ſovereign and his poſterity let "the crown flouriſh ——" A prayer not formed after the model of St. *Stephen*'s, or that of our bleſſed Saviour on the croſs. *K.* Charles I. 1645. Featly's life, p. 78.

The writer of the life of archbiſhop *Uſher* ſays, the doctor was both orthodox and loyal; but lord *Clarendon* and Dr. *Heylin* can't forgive his ſitting in the aſſembly, and being a witneſs againſt archbiſhop *Laud* at his trial. "Whether he ſat in the aſſembly (ſays *Heylin*) to ſhew his "parts, or to head a party, or out of his old love to *calviniſm*, may beſt "be gathered from ſome ſpeeches which he made and printed; but he "was there in heart before, and therefore might afford them his body "now, though poſſibly he might be excuſed from taking the covenant as "others did." Hiſt. Preſ. p. 464.

Soon after died famous old Mr. *John Dod*, whoſe pious and and remarkable ſayings are remembered to this day; he was born at *Shotlidge* in *Cheſhire* in the year 1550. and educated in *Jeſus* college *Cambridge*, of which he was fellow. At thirty years of age he removed to *Hanwell* in *Oxfordſhire*, where he continued preaching twice on the Lord's day, and once on the weeks days, for above twenty years; at the end of which he was ſuſpended for non-conformity by Dr. *Bridges* biſhop of the dioceſe. Being driven from *Hanwell* he removed to *Canons Aſhby* in *Northamptonſhire*, and lived quietly ſeveral years, till upon complaint made by biſhop *Neal* to king *James*, he commanded archbiſhop *Abbot* to ſilence him. After the death of king *James* Mr. *Dod* was allowed to preach publicly again, and ſettled at *Fauſtly* in the ſame county, where he remained till his death. He was a moſt humble, pious, and devout man, and univerſally beloved; an excellent *hebrician*, a plain, practical, fervent preacher, a noted caſuiſt, and charitable almoſt to a fault; his converſation was heavenly; but being a noted puritan, though he never meddled with ſtate-affairs, he was ſeverely uſed by the king's cavaliers, who plundered his houſe, and would have taken away his very ſheets, if the good old man, hardly able to riſe out of his chair, had not put them under him for a cuſhion; all which he endured patiently, calling to mind one of his own maxims, *ſanctified affiictions are ſpiritual promotions.* He died of the ſtrangury in the ninety-ſixth year of his age, and lies buried in his pariſh church at *Fauſtly*. *Death of Mr.* Dod. Clark's Martyrol. Fuller's Ch. Hiſt. p. 220.

CHAP. VII.

The concluſion of the firſt civil war, by the king's ſurrendering his royal perſon to the ſcots. *Petitions of the aſſembly and city divines againſt* TOLERATION, *and for the* DIVINE RIGHT *of the preſbyterial government, which is erected in* London. *Debates between the king, Mr.* Henderſon, *and the* ſcots *commiſſioners. His majeſty is removed from* Newcaſtle *to* Holmby-Houſe. *Farther account of the ſectaries.*

K. Charles I. 1646.

King's melancholy condition at Oxford. Rapin, p. 320.

THE king being returned to *Oxford*, *Nov.* 6. after an unfortunate campaign, in which all his armies were beaten out of the field, and diſperſed, had no other remedy left but to make peace with his ſubjects, which his friends in *London* encouraged him to expect he might be able to accompliſh, by the help of ſome advantage from the growing diviſions among the members, the majority of whom were enclined to an accomodation, provided the king would conſent to aboliſh epiſcopacy, and offer ſufficient aſſurances to govern for the future according to law. But tho' his majeſty was willing to yield a little to the times, with regard to the ſecurity of the *civil* government, nothing could prevail with him to give up the *church*. Beſides as the king's circumſtances obliged him to recede, the parliament as conquerors advanced in their demands. In the month of *December*, his majeſty ſent ſeveral meſſages to the parliament, to obtain a perſonal treaty at *London*, upon the public faith for himſelf and a certain number of his friends, reſiding there with ſafety and honour forty days; but the parliament would by no means truſt their enemies within their own bowels, and therefore inſiſted peremptorily upon his ſigning the bills they were preparing to ſend him, as a preliminary to a well grounded ſettlement.

Ruſhw. Vol. I. p. 215, 216.

The king made ſome conceſſions on his part, relating to the *militia* and *liberty of conſcience*, but very far ſhort of the demand of the two houſes, who were ſo perſwaded of his art and ability in the choice of ambiguous expreſſions, capable of a different ſenſe from what appeared at firſt ſight, that they durſt not venture to make uſe of them as the baſis of a treaty. Thus the winter was waſted in fruitleſs meſſages between *London*

and *Oxford*, while the unfortunate king ſpent his time muſing over his papers in a moſt diſconſolate manner, forſaken by ſome of his beſt friends, and rudely treated by others. Mr. *Locke* ſays, the uſage the king met with from his followers at *Oxford* made it an hard, but almoſt an even choice, to be the *parliament's* priſoner, or *their* ſlave. In his majeſty's letter to the queen he writes, "If thou knew what a life I lead in point of converſation, I dare ſay thou wouldſt pity me." The chief officers quarrelled, and became inſupportably inſolent in the royal preſence; nor was the king himſelf without blame; for being deprived of his oracle the QUEEN, he was like a ſhip in a ſtorm without ſails or rudder. Lord *Clarendon* therefore draws a vail over his majeſty's conduct in theſe words: "It is not poſſible to diſcourſe of particulars with the clearneſs that is neceſſary to ſubject them to common underſtandings, without opening a door for ſuch reflections upon the king himſelf, as ſeem to call both his wiſdom and ſteadineſs in queſtion; as if he wanted the *one* to apprehend and diſcover, and the *other* to prevent the miſchiefs that were evident and impending." And yet nothing could prevail with him to ſubmit to the times, or deal frankly with thoſe who alone were capable of retrieving his affairs.

K. Charles I. 1646.

Vol. IV. p. 626.

The king having neither money nor forces, and the queen's reſources from abroad failing, his majeſty could not take the field in the ſpring, which gave the parliament army an eaſy conqueſt over his remaining forts and garriſons. All the *Weſt* was reduced before *Midſummer*, by the victorious army of Sir *Tho. Fairfax*; the city of *Exeter* ſurrendered *April* 9. in which one of the king's daughters, princeſs *Henrietta*, was made priſoner, but her governeſs the counteſs of *Dalkeith*, found means afterwards to convey her privately into *France*. *Dennington-Caſtle* ſurrendered *April* 1. *Barnſtaple* the 12th, and *Woodſtock* the 26th; upon which it was reſolved to ſtrike the finiſhing blow, by beſieging the king in his head quarters at *Oxford*; upon the news of which, like a man in a fright, he left the city by night *April* 27. and travelled as a ſervant to Dr. *Hudſon* and Mr. *Aſhburnham*, with his hair cut round to his ears, and a cloke bag behind him to the *ſcots* army before *Newark*: His majeſty ſurrendered himſelf to general *Leven*, *May* 5. who received him with reſpect, but ſent *an expreſs* immediately to the two houſes, who were diſpleaſed at his majeſty's conduct, apprehending it calculated to prolong the war, and occaſion a difference between the two nations; which was certainly intended, as appears by the king's letter from *Oxford* to the duke of *Ormond*, in which he ſays, he had good ſecurity, that he and all his adherents ſhould be ſafe in their perſons honours and conſciences in the *ſcots* army, *and that they would join with him, and employ their forces to obtain a happy and well grounded peace*; whereas the *ſcots* commiſſioners, in

King ſurrenders his perſon to the ſcots.

Rapin, p. 337, 338. *and* Ruſhw. Vol. IV. p. 268, 273, 274, 303, 304.

K. Charles I. 1646.

their letter to the houſe of peers aver, "They had given no aſſurance, "nor made any capitulation for joining forces with the king, or combin- "ing againſt the two houſes, or any other private or public agreement "whatſoever, between the king on one part, and the kingdom of *Scot-* "*land*, their army, or any in their names, and having power from them, "on the other part;" and they called the contrary aſſertion a *damnable untruth*; and add, "that they never expect a bleſſing from God any "longer than they continue faithful to their *covenant*." So that this muſt be the artifice of *Montrevil*, the *french* ambaſſador, who undertook to negotiate between the two parties, and drew the credulous and diſtreſſed king into that ſnare, out of which he could never eſcape.

Concluſion of the firſt civil war.

His majeſty's ſurrendering his perſon to the *ſcots*, and ſending orders to the governors of *Newark*, *Oxford*, and all his other garriſons and forces to ſurrender and diſband, concluded the firſt civil war; upon which moſt of the officers, with prince *Rupert* and *Maurice*, retired beyond ſea; ſo that by the middle of *Auguſt* all the king's forces and caſtles were in the parliament's hands; *Ragland-Caſtle* being the laſt; which was four years wanting three days, from the ſetting up the royal ſtandard at *Nottingham*.

Some time before the king left *Oxford* he had commiſſioned the marquis of *Ormond* to conclude a peace with the *iriſh* papiſts, in hopes of receiving ſuccours from thence, which gave great offence to the parliament; but though his majeſty upon ſurrendering himſelf to the *ſcots* writ to the marquis *June* 11. not to proceed; he ventured to put the finiſhing hand to the treaty, *July* 28. 1646. upon the following ſcandalous articles, among others, which ſurely the marquis durſt not have conſented to, without ſome private inſtructions from the king and queen.

Articles of peace with the iriſh *papiſts.* Ruſhw. Part IV. Vol. I. p. 402.

1. "That the *roman* catholics of that kingdom ſhall be diſcharged "from taking the oath of ſupremacy.

2. "That all acts of parliament made againſt them ſhall be repealed; "that they be allowed the freedom of their religion, and not be debarred "from any of his majeſty's graces or favours.

3. "That all acts reflecting on the honour of the *roman* catholic re- "ligion ſince *Aug.* 7. 1641. be repealed.

4. "That all indictments, attainders, out-lawries, *&c.* againſt them, "or any of them, be vacated and made void.

5. "That all impediments that may hinder their ſitting in parliament, "or being choſen burgeſſes, or knights of the ſhire, be removed.

6. "That

6. "That all incapacities impoſed upon the nation be taken away, "and that they have power to erect one or more inns of court in or near "the city of *Dublin*; and that all catholics educated there, be capable of "taking their degrees without the oath of ſupremacy." K. Charles I. 1646.

7. "That the *roman* catholics ſhall be empowered to erect one or more "univerſities, and keep free-ſchools for the education of their youth, "any law or ſtatute to the contrary notwithſtanding.

8. "That places of command, honour, profit and truſt, ſhall be con-"ferred on the *roman* catholics, without making any difference between "them and proteſtants, both in the army and in the civil government.

9. "That an act of oblivion ſhall be paſs'd in the next parliament, to "extend to all the *roman catholicks* and their heirs, abſolving them of all "treaſons and offences whatſoever, and particularly of the maſſacre of "1641. ſo that no perſons ſhall be impeached, troubled, or moleſted, "for any thing done on one ſide or the other.

10. "That the *roman* catholics ſhall continue in poſſeſſion of all thoſe "cities, forts, garriſons and towns, that they are poſſeſſed of, till things "are come to a full ſettlement."

Was this the way to eſtabliſh a good underſtanding between the king and his two houſes? or could they believe, that his majeſty meant the ſecurity of the proteſtant religion, and the extirpation of popery in *England*, when his general conſented to ſuch a peace in *Ireland*, without any marks of his ſovereign's diſpleaſure? nay, when after a long treaty with the parliament commiſſioners, he refuſed to deliver up the forts and garriſons into their hands, inſomuch that after ſix weeks attendance, they were obliged to return to their ſhips, and carry back the ſupplies they had brought for the garriſons, having only publiſhed a declaration, that the parliament of *England* would take all the proteſtants of *Ireland* into their protection, and ſend over an army to carry on the war againſt the papiſts with vigor. *Parliament's commiſſioners proteſt againſt it.*

The king being now in the hands of the *ſcots*, the *engliſh* preſbyterians at *London* reſumed their courage, concluding they could not fail of a full eſtabliſhment of their diſcipline, and of bringing the parliament at *Weſtminſter* to their terms of uniformity; for this purpoſe they framed a bold remonſtrance in the name of the lord mayor, aldermen, and common council, and preſented it to the houſe *May* 26. complaining, "that the "reins of diſcipline were let looſe; that particular congregations were "allowed to take up what form of divine ſervice they pleaſed, and that "ſectaries began to ſwarm by virtue of a *toleration* granted to tender con-"ſciences. They put the parliament in mind of their *covenant*, which "obliged them to endeavour the extirpation of popery, prelacy, ſuper-

Preſbyterians *petition againſt ſectaries.* Vol. pamp. No. 34.

"ſtitution,

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" ſtition, hereſy, ſchiſm, profaneneſs, and whatſoever elſe was found " contrary to ſound doctrine; and at the ſame time to preſerve and defend " the perſon and authority of the king; they therefore deſired, ſince the " whole kingdom was now in a manner reduced to the obedience of the " parliament, *that all ſeparate congregations may be ſuppreſſed*; *that all* " *ſuch ſeparatiſts who conform not to the public diſcipline may be declared* " *againſt*, *that no perſon diſaffected to the preſbyterial government ſet forth* " *by parliament*, *may be employed in any place of public truſt*; that the " houſe will endeavour to remove all jealouſies between them and the " *Scots*, and haſten their propoſitions to the king, for a ſafe and well " grounded peace."

And are ſeconded by the ſcots. Ruſhw. p. 306.

This remonſtrance was ſupported by the whole *ſcots* nation, who acted in concert with their *engliſh* brethren, as appears by a letter of thanks to the lord mayor, aldermen, and common council, from the general aſſembly, dated *June* 10. 1646. within a month after the delivery of the remonſtrance: the letter commends their couragious appearance againſt ſects and ſectaries; their firm adherence to the covenant, and their maintaining the preſbyterial government to be the *government of Jeſus Chriſt*. It beſeeches them to go on boldly in the work they had begun, till the three kingdoms were united in one faith and worſhip. At the ſame time they directed letters to the parliament, beſeeching them alſo, in the bowels of Jeſus Chriſt, to give to him the glory that is due to his name, by an immediate eſtabliſhing of all his ordinances in their full integrity and power, according to the covenant. Nor did they forget to encourage the *aſſembly* at *Weſtminſter* to proceed in their zeal againſt ſectaries, and to ſtand boldly for the ſcepter of Jeſus Chriſt againſt the encroachments of earthly powers. Theſe letters were printed and diſperſed over the whole kingdom.

Parliament's anſwer.

The wiſe parliament received the lord mayor and his brethren, with marks of great reſpect and civility; for neither the *ſcots* nor *engliſh* preſbyterians were to be diſguſted, while the *prize* was in their hands, for which both had been contending; but the majority of the commons were diſpleaſed with the remonſtrance and the high manner of enforcing it, as aiming, by an united force, to eſtabliſh a ſovereign deſpotic power in the church, with an uniformity, to which themſelves, and many of their friends were unwilling to ſubmit; however they diſmiſſed the petitioners with a promiſe to take the particulars into conſideration.

Independents *oppoſe it.*

But the *independents* and ſectarians in the army being alarmed at the impending ſtorm, procured a counter petition from the city with great numbers of hands, " applauding the labours and ſucceſſes of the parlia- " ment in the cauſe of *liberty*, and praying them to go on with managing " the affairs of the kingdom according to their wiſdoms, and not ſuffer " the

" the free-born people of *England* to be enſlaved upon any pretence " whatſoever; nor *to ſuffer any ſet of people to preſcribe to them in matters " of government or conſcience*, and the petitioners will ſtand by them with " their lives and fortunes." Mr. *Whitelock* ſays, the hands of the royaliſts were in this affair, who being beaten out of the field, reſolved now to attempt the ruin of the parliament, by ſowing diſcord among their friends. K. Charles I. 1646. Hiſt. Stuarts, p. 308.

The houſes were embarraſſed between the contenders for *liberty* and *uniformity*, and endeavoured to avoid a deciſion, till they ſaw the effect of their treaty with the king. They kept the preſbyterians in ſuſpence, by preſſing the aſſembly for their anſwer to the queſtions relating to the *jus divinum* of preſbytery already mentioned, inſinuating that they themſelves were the obſtacles to a full ſettlement, and aſſuring them, when this point was agreed, they would concur in ſuch an ordinance as they deſired. Upon this the aſſembly appointed three committees to take the *queſtions* into conſideration; but the *independents* took this opportunity to withdraw, refuſing abſolutely to be concerned in the anſwer. *Aſſembly's ſentiments of the* jus divinum.

The firſt committee was appointed to determine, *whether any particular church government was* jure divino, and to bring their proofs from ſcripture. But here they ſtumbled at the very threſhold, for the *eraſtians* divided them, and entered their diſſent, ſo that when the anſwer was laid before the aſſembly, it was not called the anſwer of the committee; but of ſome brethren of the committee; and when the queſtion was put, they withdrew from the aſſembly, and left the *high presbyterians* to themſelves, who agreed with only one diſſenting voice, that *Jeſus Chriſt as king of the church, hath himſelf appointed a church government diſtinct from the civil magiſtrate.* The names of thoſe who ſubſcribed this propoſition were.

The reverend	Mr. White,	*The reverend* Mr. Calamy,	*MS.* ſeſſ. 672.
	Mr. Palmer,	Mr. Proffet,	
	Dr. Wincop,	Mr. Perne,	
	Mr. Ley,	Mr. Scuddir,	
	Dr. Gough,	Mr. Carter, *ſen.*	
	Mr. Walker,	Mr. Caryl,	
	Mr. Sedgwick,	Mr. Woodcocke,	
	Mr. Marſhall,	Mr. Carter, *jun.*	
	Mr. Whitaker,	Mr. Goodwin,	
	Mr. Newcomen,	Mr. Nye,	
	Mr. Spurſtow,	Mr. Greenhill,	
	Mr. Delmy,	Mr. Valentine,	

Mr.

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The reverend Mr. Price,	*The reverend* Mr. Corbet,
Dr. Smith,	Mr. Dury,
Dr. Staunton,	Mr. Salway,
Dr. Hoyle,	Mr. Hardwicke,
Mr. Bayly,	Mr. Langley,
Mr. Taylor,	Mr. Simpſon,
Mr. Young,	Mr. Conant,
Mr. Cawdrey,	Mr. De la March,
Mr. Aſh,	Mr. Byfield,
Mr. Gibſon,	Mr. Herle,
Mr. Good,	Mr. De la Place,
Mr. Vines,	Mr. Wilſon,
Mr. Seaman,	Mr. Reyner,
Mr. Chambers,	Mr. Gower.

Sentiments of the London *miniſters.*

The divine who entered his diſſent was Mr. *Lightfoot*, with whom Mr. *Colman* would have joined, if he had not fallen ſick at this juncture and died.

The diſcuſſing the remaining queſtions, engaged the aſſembly from *May* till the latter end of *July*, and even then they thought it not ſafe to preſent their determinations to parliament for fear of a *praemunire*; upon which the city divines at *Sion college* took up the controverſy, in a treatiſe entitled, *The divine right of Church Government, by the* LONDON MINISTERS. Wherein they gave a diſtinct anſwer to the ſeveral queries of the houſe of commons, and undertake to prove every branch of the preſbyterial diſcipline to be *jure divino*, and that the civil magiſtrate had no right to intermeddle with the cenſures of the church.

And to ſhew the parliament they were in earneſt, they reſolved to ſtand by each other, and not comply with the preſent eſtabliſhment, till it was delivered from the yoke of the civil magiſtrate; for which purpoſe they drew up a *paper of reaſons*, and preſented it to the lord-mayor, who having adviſed with the common council, ſent a deputation to *Sion-College*, offering to concur in a petition for redreſs, which they did accordingly, though without effect; for the parliament taking notice of the combination of the *city miniſters*, publiſhed an order *June* 9. requiring thoſe of the province of *London* to obſerve the ordinance relating to church government, enjoining the members for the city to ſend copies thereof to their ſeveral pariſhes, and to take effectual care that they were immediately put in execution. Upon this the miniſters of *London* and *Weſtminſter* met

Their paper of conſiderations and cautions.

met again at *Sion College June* 19. and being a little more ſubmiſſive, publiſhed *certain conſiderations and cautions according to which they agree to put the preſbyterial government in practice, according to the preſent eſtabliſhment.* Here they declare, " that the power of church cenſures ought " to be in church officers, *by the will and appointment of Jeſus Chriſt*, but " then they are pleaſed to admit, that the *magiſtracy* ought to be ſatisfied " in the truth of the government they authorize; and though it be not " right in every *particular*, yet church officers may act under that rule, " provided they do not acknowledge the rule to be right in all points. " Therefore though they conceive the ordinances of parliament already " publiſhed, are not *a compleat rule, nor in all points ſatisfactory to their " conſciences*, yet becauſe in many things they are ſo, and proviſion being " made to enable the elderſhips, by their authority, to keep away from " the Lord's ſupper all ignorant and ſcandalous perſons; and a further de- " claration being made, that there ſhall be an addition to the ſcandalous " offences formerly enumerated, therefore they conceive it their duty to " put in practice the preſent ſettlement, as far as they conceive it correſ- " pondent with the word of God; hoping that the parliament will in due " time, ſupply what is lacking, to make the government entire, and rec- " tify what ſhall appear to be amiſs." With ſo great reluctance did theſe gentlemen bend to the authority of the parliament!

K. Charles I. 1646. *Cautions.*

The kingdom of *England*, inſtead of ſo many dioceſes, was now divided into a certain number of *provinces*, made up of repreſentatives from the ſeveral *claſſes* within their reſpective boundaries; every pariſh had a congregational, or parochial preſbyrery for the affairs of the pariſh; the parochial preſbyteries were combined into *claſſes*; theſe returned repreſentatives to the *provincial aſſembly*, as the *provincial* did to the *national*; for example, the province of *London* being compoſed of twelve claſſes, according to the following diviſion, each claſſis choſe two miniſters, and four lay-elders, to repreſent them in a *provincial aſſembly*, which received general appeals from the parochial, and claſſical preſbyteries, as the *national aſſembly* did from the *provincial*.

Claſſical diviſion of the province of London.

The DIVISION of the Province of *London*.

The firſt claſſis to contain the following pariſhes

1 Allhallows Breadſtreet,
2 St. Andrews Wardrope,
3 Bennet Paul's Wharf,
4 Faith's,
5 St. Gregory,
6 St. John Evangeliſt,
7 Margaret Moſes,
8 St. Martin Ludgate,
9 St. Anne Black Friars,
10 St. Auſtin's Pariſh,

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11 St. Mary Aldermary,
12 St. Mary le Bow,
13 St. Matthew Friday-ſtreet,
14 Mildred Bread-ſtreet, St. Paul's,
15 St. Peter's Paul's Wharf.

The ſecond claſſis.

1 St. Antholine,
2 Bennet Sheerhog,
3 St. James Garlick-hithe,
4 St. John Baptiſt,
5 Martin *the* Vintry,
6 St. Mary Magdalene, Old Fiſh-ſtreet,
7 St. Mary Somerſet,
8 St. Mary Mounthaw,
9 St. Micahel Queen-hithe,
10 St. Micahel Royal,
11 St. Nicholas Old Abby,
12 St. Nicholas Olives,
13 Pancras Sopers Lane,
14 St. Thomas Apoſtles,
15 Trinity Pariſh.

The third claſſis.

1 Allhallows *the Greater*,
2 Allhallows *the Leſs*,
3 Allhallows Lombard-ſtreet,
4 St. Edmund Lombard-ſtreet,
5 Lawrence Pountney,
6 St. Mary Abchurch,
7 St. Mary Bothaw,
8 St. Mary Woolchurch,
9 St. Mary Woolnoth,
10 St. Nicholas Aaron,
11 St. Stephen's Wallbrooke,
12 St. Swithin's.

The fourth claſſis.

1 St. Andrews Hubbert,
2 St. Bennet Gracechurch,
3 St. Buttolph Billingſgate,
4 St. Clement Eaſtcheap,
5 St. Dionis Back-church,
6 St. George Buttolph-lane,
7 St. Leonard Eaſt-cheap,
8 St. Magnus,
9 St. Margaret New Fiſh-ſtreet.
10 St. Martin Orgars,
11 St. Mary Hill,
12 St. Michael Crooked-lane,
13 St. Michael Cornhill,
14 St. Peter Cornhill.

The fifth claſſis.

1 St. Anne Alderſgate,
2 St. Buttolph Alderſgate,
3 St. Brides,
4 Bridewell,
5 Chriſt Church,
6 St. John Zachary.

7 St.

7 St. Leonard Foſter-lane,
8 St. Mary Staynings,
9 St. Michael *in the* Corn, *vulgò in the* Querne,
10 St. Olave Silver-ſtreet,
11 St. Peter Cheap,
12 St. Foſter *alias* Vedaſt.

The ſixth claſſis.

1 St. Alban Wood-ſtreet,
2 Allhallows Honey-lane,
3 St. Alphage,
4 St. Giles's Cripplegate,
5 St. James's Chapel,
6 St. Lawrence Jewry,
7 St. Martin Ironmonger-lane,
8 St Mary Aldermanbury,
9 St. Mary Magdalen Milk-ſtreet,
10 St. Mary Colechurch,
11 St. Michael Wood-ſtreet,
12 St. Mildred Poultry,
13 St. Olave Jewry.

The ſeventh claſſis.

1 Allhallows *in the* Wall,
2 St. Botholomew exchange,
3 St. Bennet Finck,
4 St. Buttolph Biſhopſgate,
5 St. Chriſtopher's,
6 St. Margaret Lothbury,
7 St. Michael Baſſiſhaw,
8 St. Peter Poor,
9 St. Stephen Colman-ſtreet.

The eighth claſſis.

1 St. Andrew Underſhaft,
2 St. Buttolph Aldgate,
3 St. Ethelburga,
4 St. John Hackney,
5 St. Helens,
6 St. James Duke Place,
7 St. Katherine Creechurch,
8 St. Leonard Shoreditch,
9 St. Martin Outwich,
10 St. Mary Stoke Newington.

The ninth claſſis.

1 Allhallows Barkin,
2 Allhallow, Steyning,
3 St. Dunſtan *in the* Eaſt,
4 St. Gabriel Fenchurch,
5 St. Katherine Coleman,
6 St. Katherine Tower,
7 St Margaret Pattoons,
8 St. Olave Hartſtreet,
9 St. Peter *in the* Tower,
10 Stepney,
11 Trinity Minories,
12 Wapping,
13 Whitechapel.

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The tenth claſſis.

1 St. George Southwark,
2 Lambeth,
3 St. Mary Magdalen Bermondſey,
4 St. Mary Overies,
5 Newington Butts,
6 St. Olave Southwark,
7 Rotherhithe,
8 St. Thomas's Hoſpital,
9 St. Thomas's Southwark.

The eleventh claſſis.

1 St. Clement Danes,
2 St. Giles's *in the* Fields,
3 Knightſbridge,
4 St. Margaret Weſtminſter.
5 St. Martin *in the* Fields,
6 New Church,
7 St. Peter Weſtminſter,
8 St. Paul Covent Garden.

The twelfth claſſis.

1 St. Andrew Holbourn,
2 St. Bartholomew *the Greater*,
3 St. Bartholomew *the Leſs*,
4 Charter-houſe,
5 St. Dunſtan *in the* Weſt,
6 St. James's Clerkenwell,
7 St. Mary Iſlington,
8 St. Sepulchres.

Remarks. Thus the preſbyterian eccleſiaſtical government began to appear in its proper form; but new obſtructions ariſing amongſt the miniſters in the choice of repreſentatives, the provincial aſſembly did not meet till next year, nor did it ever obtain except in *London* and *Lancaſhire*. The parliament never heartily approved it, and the intereſt that ſupported it being quickly diſabled, Mr. *Eachard* ſays, "the preſbyterians never ſaw their "dear preſbytery ſettled in any one part of *England*." But Mr. *Baxter* who is a much better authority, ſays the ordinance was executed in *London* and *Lancaſhire*, though it remained unexcuted in all other parts. However the preſbyterian miniſters had their voluntary aſſociations for church affairs in moſt counties, though without any authoritative juriſdiction.

p. 634.

Scots *behaviour to the king at* Newcaſtle. To return to the king, who marched with the *ſcots* army from *Newark* to *Newcaſtle*, where he reſided about eight months, being treated with ſome reſpect, though not with all the duty of ſubjects to a ſovereign. The firſt ſermon that was preached before him gave hopes, that they would be mediators between him and the parliament; it was from 2 *Sam.* xix. 41, 42, 43. *And behold all the men of* Iſrael *came to the king, and ſaid*

ſaid to the king, why have the men of Judah *ſtolen thee away? —— And all the men of* Judah *anſwered the men of* Iſrael, *becauſe the king is near of kin to us; wherefore then be ye angry for this matter, have we eaten at all of the king's coſt? Or hath he given us any gift? —— And the men of* Iſrael *anſwered the men of* Judah *and ſaid, we have ten parts in the king; and we have alſo more right in* David *than ye; why then did ye deſpiſe us, that our advice ſhould not be firſt had in bringing back our king? And the words of the men of* Judah *were fiercer than the words of the men of* Iſrael. But it quickly appeared, that nothing would be done except upon condition of the king's taking the covenant, and eſtabliſhing the preſbyterial government in both kingdoms. When the king was preſſed upon theſe heads, he pleaded *his conſcience*, and declared that though he was content the *ſcots* ſhould enjoy their own diſcipline, he apprehended his honour and conſcience were concerned to ſupport *epiſcopacy* in *England*, becauſe it had been eſtabliſhed from the reformation, and that he was bound to uphold it by his coronation oath; however he was willing to enter into a conference, with any perſon whom they ſhould appoint, proteſting he was not aſhamed to change his judgment, or alter his reſolution, provided they could ſatisfy him in two points. K. Charles I. 1646.

Firſt, That the epiſcopacy he contended for was not of *divine inſtitution.*

Secondly, That his coronation oath did not bind him to ſupport and defend the church of *England* as it was then eſtabliſhed.

Conference between the king and Mr. Henderſon.

To ſatisfy the king in theſe points, the *ſcots* ſent for Mr. *Alexander Henderſon* from *Edinburgh*, paſtor of a church in that city, rector of the univerſity, and one of the king's chaplains, a divine of great learning and abilities, as well as diſcretion and prudence. Mr. *Ruſhworth* ſays, that he had more moderation than moſt of his way. And *Collier* adds, that he was a perſon of learning elocution and judgment, and ſeems to have been the top of his party. The debate was managed in writing; the king drew up his own papers, and gave them Sir *Robert Murray* to tranſcribe, and deliver to Mr. *Henderſon*; and Mr. *Henderſon*'s hand not being ſo legible as his, Sir *Robert* by the king's appointment, tranſcribed Mr. *Henderſon*'s papers for his majeſty's uſe. Collier, p. 848. Hamil. M. p. 227.

King's firſt paper. Bibl. Reg. p. 296.

The KING in his firſt paper of *May* 29. declares, his eſteem for the *engliſh* reformation, becauſe it was effected without tumult; and was directed by thoſe who ought to have the conduct of ſuch an affair. He apprehends they kept cloſe to apoſtolical appointment, and the univerſal cuſtom of the primitive church; that therefore the adhering to epiſcopacy muſt be of the laſt importance, as without it the prieſthood muſt ſink, and the ſacrament be adminiſtered without effect; for theſe reaſons he conceives epiſcopacy neceſſary to the being of a church, and alſo that

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he is bound to ſupport it by his coronation oath. *Laſtly*, His majeſty deſires to know of Mr. *Henderſon*, what warrant there is in the word of God, for ſubjects to endeavour to force their king's conſcience, or to make him alter laws againſt his will.

Mr. Henderſon's *firſt reply.* Bib. Reg. p. 312, &c.

Mr. HENDERSON in his firſt paper of *June* 3. after an introduction of modeſty and reſpect, wiſhes when occaſion requires, that religion might always be reformed by the civil magiſtrate, and not left either to the prelates or the people; but when princes or magiſtrates are negligent of their duty, God may ſtir up the ſubject to perform this work. He obſerves that the reformation of king *Henry* VIII. was very defective in the eſſentials of doctrine, worſhip, and government, that it proceeded with a *laodicean* lukewarmneſs; that the ſupremacy was transferred from one wrong head to another, and the limbs of the antichriſtian hierarchy were viſible in the body. He adds that the imperfection of the *engliſh* reformation, had been the complaint of many religious and godly perſons; that it had occaſioned more ſchiſm and ſeparation than had been heard of elſewhere, and been matter of unſpeakable grief to other churches As to the king's argument, that the validity of the prieſthood, and the efficacy of the ſacraments depended upon epiſcopacy, he replies, that epiſcopacy cannot make out its claim to *apoſtolical appointment*; that when the apoſtles were living, there was no difference between a biſhop and a preſbyter, no inequality in power or degree, but an exact parity in every branch of their character: That there is no mention in ſcripture of a paſtor or biſhop ſuperior to other paſtors. There is a beautiful ſubordination in the miniſtry of the new teſtament; one kind of miniſters being placed in degree and dignity above another, as firſt apoſtles, then evangeliſts, then paſtors and teachers, but in offices of the ſame rank and kind we don't find any preference; no apoſtle is conſtituted ſuperior to other apoſtles; no evangeliſts is raiſed above other evangeliſts; nor has any paſtor or deacon a ſuperiority above others of their order.

Farther, Mr. HENDERSON humbly deſires his majeſty to take notice, that arguing from the practice of the primitive church, and the conſent of the fathers, is fallacious and uncertain, and that *the law and teſtimony of the word of God* is the only rule. The practice of the primitive church, in many things, cannot certainly be known, as *Euſebius* confeſſes; that even in the apoſtle's time *Diotrephes* moved for the preeminence, and the *myſtery of iniquity began to work*; and that afterwards ambition and weakneſs quickly made way for a change in church government.

Mr. *Henderſon* hopes his majeſty will not deny the lawfulneſs of the miniſtry, and due adminiſtration of the ſacraments, in thoſe reformed churches where there are no dioceſan biſhops; that it is evident from ſcrip-

ſcripture, and confeſſed by many champions for epiſcopacy, that *preſbyters* may ordain *preſbyters*; and to diſengage his majeſty from his coronation oath, as far as relates to the church, he conceives, when the formal reaſon of an oath ceaſes the obligation is diſcharged: when an oath has a ſpecial regard to the benefit of thoſe to whom the engagement is made, if the parties intereſted relax upon the point, diſpenſe with the promiſe, and give up their advantage, the obligation is at an end. Thus when the parliaments of both kingdoms have agreed to the repealing of a law, the king's conſcience is not tied againſt ſigning the bill, for then the altering any law would be impracticable—He concludes with obſerving, that king *James* never admitted epiſcopacy upon divine right; and that could his *ghoſt* now ſpeak, he would not adviſe your majeſty to run ſuch hazards, for men [prelates] who would pull down your throne with their own, rather than that they periſh alone. *K.* Charles I. 1646.

The *king* in his ſecond paper of *June* 6. avers, no reformation is lawful, unleſs under conduct of the royal authority; that king *Henry* the eighth's reformation being imperfect is no proof of defects in that of king *Edward* VI. and queen *Elizabeth*; that Mr. *Henderſon* can never prove, *God has given the multitude leave to reform the negligence of princes*; that his comparing our reformation to the *laodicean* lukewarmneſs, was an unhandſome way of begging the queſtion, for he ſhould firſt have made out, that thoſe men [the puritans] had reaſon to complain, and that the ſchiſm was chargeable upon the conformiſts. His majeſty is ſo far from allowing the preſbyterian government to be practiſed in the primitive times, that he affirms, it was never ſet up before *Calvin*; and admits, that it was his province to ſhew the lawfulneſs, and uninterrupted ſucceſſion, and by conſequence the neceſſity of *epiſcopacy*, but that he had not then the convenience of books, nor the aſſiſtance of ſuch learned men as he could truſt, and therefore propoſes a conference with his divines. And whereas Mr. *Henderſon* excepts to his reaſoning from the primitive church, and conſent of the fathers; his majeſty conceives his exception indefenſible, for if the ſenſe of a doubtful place of ſcripture is not to be governed by ſuch an authority, the interpretation of the inſpired writings muſt be left to the direction of every private ſpirit, which is contrary to St. *Peter*'s doctrine, 2 *Pet.* i. 20. *No prophecy of ſcripture is of private interpretation*; it is likewiſe the ſource of all ſects, and without prevention will bring theſe kingdoms into confuſion. His majeſty adds, that it is Mr. *Henderſon*'s part to prove, that preſbyters without a biſhop may ordain other preſbyters. As to the adminiſtration of the ſacraments Mr. *Henderſon* himſelf will not deny, a *lawfully ordained preſbyter's* being neceſſary to that office; ſo that the determination of this latter queſtion will depend in ſome meaſure on the former. With regard to *King's ſecond papers.* Bib. Reg. p. 320, 322, &c.

oaths,

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oaths, his majeſty allows Mr. *Henderſon*'s general rule, but thinks he is miſtaken in the application; for the clauſe touching religion in the *coronation oath* was made only for the benefit of the church of *England*; that therefore it is not in the power of the two houſes of parliament to diſcharge the obligation of this oath, without their conſent. That *this church never made any ſubmiſſion to the two houſes, nor owned herſelf ſubordinate to them*; that the reformation was managed by the king and clergy, and the parliament aſſiſted only in giving a civil ſanction to the eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhment. Theſe points being clear to his majeſty, it follows by neceſſary conſequence, that 'tis only the church of *England*, in whoſe favour he took this oath, that can releaſe him from it, and that therefore, when the church of *England* lawfully aſſembled, ſhall declare his majeſty, he ſhall then, and not till then, reckon himſelf at liberty.

Mr. Henderſon's *ſecond reply.* Bib. Reg. p. 325.

Mr. HENDERSON, in his reply to this ſecond paper of *June* 17. agrees with the king, that the prime reforming power is in kings and princes, but adds that in caſe they fail of their duty, this authority devolves upon the inferior magiſtrate, and upon their failure, to the body of the people, upon ſuppoſition that a reformation is neceſſary, and that people's ſuperiors will by no means give way to it; he allows that ſuch a reformation is more imperfect with reſpect to the manner, but commonly more perfect and refined in the product and iſſue. He adds that the government of the church of *England* is not ſuppoſed to be built on the foundation of Chriſt and his apoſtles, by thoſe who confeſs that church government is mutable and ambulatory, as was formerly the opinion of moſt of the *engliſh* biſhops; that the *divine right* was not pleaded till of late by ſome few; that the *engliſh* reformation has not perfectly purged out the *roman* leaven, but rather depraved the diſcipline of the church by conforming to the civil polity, and adding many ſupplemental officers to thoſe inſtituted by the Son of God. To his majeſty's objection, that the preſbyterian government was never practiſed before *Calvin*'s time, he anſwers, that it is to be found in ſcripture; and the aſſembly of divines at *Weſtminſter* had made it evident, that the primitive church at *Jeruſalem* was governed by a preſbytery; that the chureh at *Jeruſalem* conſiſted of more congregations than one; that all theſe congregations were combined under one preſbyterial government, and made but one church; that this church was governed by elders of the ſame body, and met together for functions of authority, and that the apoſtles acted not in quality of apoſtles, but only as elders, *Acts* xv. that the ſame government was ſettled in the churches of *Epheſus*, *Corinth*, *Theſſalonica*, and continued many years after; and at laſt, when one of the preſbytery preſided over the reſt with the ſtile of *biſhop*, even then, as St. *Jerom* ſays, churches were governed with the joint conſent of the preſbytery, and it was *cuſtom* rather than divine appointment

pointment which raiſed a biſhop above a preſbyter. To his majeſty's argument, that where the meaning of ſcripture is doubtful, we muſt have recourſe to the fathers, Mr. *Henderſon* replies, that notwithſtanding the decrees of councils, and the reſolutions of the fathers, a liberty muſt be left for a judgment of diſcretion, as had been ſufficiently ſhown by biſhop *Davenant* and others. To prove prſbyters may ordain other preſbyters without a biſhop, he cites St. *Paul*'s advice to *Timothy*, 1 *Tim.* iv. 14. not to neglect the gift that was given him by the *laying on of the hands of the preſbytery*; but granting biſhops and preſbyters to be diſtinct functions, it will not follow, that the authority and force of the preſbyters character was derived from the biſhop; for though the evangeliſts and ſeventy diſciples were inferior to the apoſtles, they received not their commiſſion from the apoſtles, but from Chriſt himſelf. K. Charles I. 1646.

Concerning the king's coronation oath, Mr. *Henderſon* apprehends nothing need be added. As to the ſupremacy, he thinks ſuch an headſhip as the kings of *England* claim, or ſuch an one as the two houſes of parliament now inſiſt on, that is, an authority to receive appeals from the ſupream eccleſiaſtical judicatures, in things purely ſpiritual, is not to be juſtified; nor does he apprehend the conſent of the clergy to be abſolutely neceſſary to church reformation, for if ſo, what reformation can be expected in *France*, in *Spain*, or in *Rome* itſelf; 'tis not to be imagined, that the pope or prelates will conſent to their own ruin. His majeſty had ſaid, that if his father king *James* had been conſulted upon the queſtion of *reſiſtance*, he would have anſwered, that prayers and tears are the church weapons. To which Mr. *Henderſon* replies, *that he could never hear a good reaſon to prove a neceſſary defenſive war, a war againſt unjuſt violence, unlawful*; and that biſhop *Jewel* and *Bilſon* were of this mind. To the queſtion, what warrant there was in ſcripture for ſubjects to endeavour to force their king's conſcience? He replies, that when a man's conſcience is miſtaken it lies under a neceſſity of doing amiſs; the way therefore to diſentangle himſelf is to get his conſcience better informed, and not to move till he has ſtruck a light and made further diſcoveries.

The KING in his anſwer of *June* 22. to Mr. *Henderſon*'s ſecond paper, ſtill inſiſts, that *inferior magiſtrates and people have no authority to reform religion.* If this point can be proved by ſcripture his majeſty is ready to ſubmit; but the ſacred hiſtory in the book of *Numbers*, chap. xvi. is an evidence of God's diſapproving ſuch methods. Private mens opinions disjoined from the general conſent of the church ſignify little, *for rebels*, ſays his majeſty, *never want writers to maintain their revolt.* Though his majeſty has a regard for biſhop *Jewel*'s and *Bilſon*'s memories, he never thought them infallible; as for epiſcopal government, he *King's third paper.* Bib. Reg. p. 337, &c.

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is ready to prove it an APOSTOLICAL INSTITUTION, *and that it has been handed down through all ages and countries till* Calvin's *time*, as ſoon as he is furniſhed with books, or ſuch divines as he ſhall make choice of; he does not think that Mr. *Henderſon*'s arguments to prove the church of *England* not built on the foundation of Chriſt and his apoſtles are valid, nor will he admit that moſt of the prelates about the time of the reformation, did not inſiſt upon the DIVINE RIGHT. The king adds, Mr. *Henderſon* would do well to ſhow, where our Saviour had prohibited the addition of more church officers than thoſe named by him, and yet the church of *England* has not ſo much as offered at this, for an archbiſhop is not a new officer, but only a diſtinction in the order of government, like the moderator of aſſemblies in *Scotland*. His majeſty denies that the biſhops and preſbyteries always import the ſame thing in ſcripture, and when they do, it only reſpects the apoſtle's times, for it may be proved, that the order of biſhops ſucceeded that of the apoſtles, and that the title was altered in regard to thoſe who were immediately choſen by our Saviour. As for the ſeveral congregations in *Jeruſalem*, united in one church his majeſty replies, are there not many pariſhes in one dioceſe? And do not the deans and chapters, and ſometimes the inferior clergy aſſiſt the biſhop? So that unleſs ſome poſitive and direct proof can be brought of an equality between the apoſtles and other preſbyteries, all arguments are with him inconcluſive. The king confeſſes, that in caſe he cannot prove from antiquity that *ordination and juriſdiction are peculiar branches of authority belonging to biſhops*, he ſhall begin to ſuſpect the truth of his principles. As for biſhop *Davenant's* teſtimony, he refuſes to be governed by that; nor will he admit of Mr. *Henderſon*'s exception againſt the *fathers*, till he can find out a better rule of interpreting ſcripture. And whereas Mr. *Henderſon* urged the precedent of foreign reformed churches in favour of preſbytery, his majeſty does not undertake to cenſure them, but ſuppoſes *neceſſity* may excuſe many things which would be otherwiſe unlawful; the church of *England*, in his majeſty's judgment, has this advantage, that it comes neareſt the primitive doctrine and diſcipline; and that Mr. *Henderſon* has failed in proving presbyters may ordain without a biſhop, for 'tis evident St. *Paul* had a ſhare in *Timothy*'s ordination, 2 *Tim.* i. 6. As to the obligation of the *coronation oath*, the king is ſtill of opinion, none but the repreſentative body of the clergy can abſolve him; and as for the impracticableneſs of reformation upon the king's principles, he can't anſwer for that, but thinks it ſufficient to let him know, that *incommodum non ſolvit argumentum.* His majeſty then declares, that as it is a great ſin for a prince to oppreſs the church; ſo on the other hand, *he holds it abſolutely unlawful for ſubjects to make war (though defenſively) againſt their lawful ſovereign, upon any pretence whatſoever.*

Mr,

Mr. HENDERSON in his third paper of *July* 2. conſiders chiefly the rules his majeſty had laid down for determining the controverſy of church government, which are the practice of the primitive church, and the univerſal conſent of the fathers, and affirms, there is no ſuch primitive teſtimony, no ſuch univerſal conſent in favour of *modern epiſcopacy*; the fathers very often contradicting one another, or at leaſt not concurring in their teſtimony. But to ſhew the uncertainty of his majeſty's rule for determining controverſies of faith, Mr. *Henderſon* obſerves, K. Charles I. 1646. *Mr.* Henderſon's *third reply.*

1. That ſome critics join *the word of God and antiquity together*; others make *ſcripture the only rule, and antiquity the authentic interpreter.* Now he thinks the latter a greater miſtake than the former, for the papiſts bring tradition no farther than to an equality of regard with the inſpired writings, but the others make antiquity the very ground of their belief of the ſenſe of ſcripture, and by that means exalt it above the ſcripture; for the interpretation of the fathers is made the very formal reaſon why I believe the ſcripture interpretable in ſuch a ſenſe; and thus, contrary to the apoſtle's doctrine, *Our faith muſt ſtand in the wiſdom of man, and not in the power of God.*

2. He obſerves that ſcripture can only be authenticly interpreted by ſcripture itſelf. Thus the *levites* had recourſe only to one part of ſcripture for the interpreting another, *Neh.* viii. 8. So likewiſe our Saviour interprets the old teſtament, by comparing ſcripture with ſcripture, and not having recourſe to the *rabbies.* This was likewiſe the apoſtles method. Beſides when perſons inſiſt ſo much upon the neceſſity of the fathers, they are in danger of charging the ſcriptures with obſcurity or imperfection.

3. The fathers themſelves ſay, that ſcripture is not to be interpreted but by ſcripture.

4. Many errors have paſſed under the ſhelter of antiquity and tradition; Mr. *Henderſon* cites a great many examples under this head.

And *laſtly*, He inſiſts, that the univerſal conſent and practice of the primitive church is impoſſible to be known; that many of the fathers were no authors; that many of their tracts are loſt; that many performances which go under their names are ſpurious, eſpecially upon the ſubject of epiſcopacy, and that therefore they are an uncertain rule.

The KING in his papers of *July* 3d and 16th ſays, no man can reverence ſcripture more than himſelf; but when Mr. *Henderſon* and he differ about the interpretation of a text, there muſt be ſome judge or umpire, otherwiſe the diſpute can never be ended; and when there are no parallel texts the ſureſt guide muſt be the *fathers.* In anſwer to Mr. *Henderſon*'s particulars his majeſty anſwers, that if ſome people over-rule tradition, that can be no argument againſt the ſerviceableneſs of it; but to charge *King's laſt reply.* Bibl. Reg. p. 351, 353.

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the primitive church with error, and to call the cuſtoms and practices of it unlawful, unleſs the charge can be ſupported from ſcripture, is an unpardonable preſumption. Thoſe who object to the ancient rites and uſages of the church muſt prove them *unlawful*, otherwiſe the practice of the church is ſufficient to warrant them. His majeſty denies it is impoſſible to diſcover the univerſal conſent, and underſtanding the practice of the primitive church; and concludes with this maxim, that though he never eſteemed any authority equal to the ſcriptures, yet he believes the unanimous conſent of the fathers, and the univerſal practice of the primitive church, the beſt and moſt authentic interpreters, and by conſequence the beſt qualified judges between himſelf and Mr. *Henderſon*.

Remarks.

One may learn from this controverſy, ſome of the principles in which king *Charles* I. was inſtructed; as,

(1.) The divine right of dioceſan epiſcopacy.

(2.) The uninterrupted ſucceſſion of biſhops, rightly ordained, from the time of the apoſtles; upon which the whole validity of the adminiſtration of the chriſtian ſacraments depends.

(3.) The neceſſity of a judge of controverſies, which his majeſty lodges with the fathers of the chriſtian church, and by that means leave little or no room for private judgment.

(4.) The independency of the church upon the ſtate.

(5.) That no reformation of religion is lawful but what ariſes from the prince or legiſlature; and this only in caſes of neceſſity, when a general council cannot be obtained.

(6.) That the multitude or common people may not in any caſe take upon them to reform the negligence of princes. Neither

(7.) May they take up arms againſt their prince, even for ſelf-defence, in caſes of extream neceſſity.

How far theſe principles are defenſible in themſelves, or conſiſtent with the *engliſh* conſtitution, I leave with the reader; but 'tis very ſurprizing that his majeſty ſhould be ſo much intangled with that part of his *coronation oath* which relates to the *church*, when for fifteen years together he broke through all the bounds of it with relation to the *civil liberties of his ſubjects*, without the leaſt remorſe.

Upon the cloſe of this debate, and the death of Mr. *Henderſon*, which followed within ſix weeks; the king's friends gave out, that his majeſty had broke his adverſary's heart. Biſhop *Kennet* and Mr. *Eachard* have publiſhed the following recantation, which they would have the world believe *this divine* dictated, or ſigned upon his death-bed.

"I

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"I Do declare before God and the world, that ſince I had the honour "and happineſs to converſe and confer with his majeſty with all ſorts "of freedom, eſpecially in matters of religion, whether in relation to the "kirk or ſtate, that I found him the moſt intelligent man that I ever "ſpoke with, as far beyond my expreſſion as expectation. I profeſs, that "I was oftentimes aſtoniſhed with the ſolidity and quickneſs of his rea- "ſons and replies; and wondered how he, ſpending his time ſo much "in ſports and recreations, could have attained to ſo great knowledge; "and muſt confeſs ingenuouſly, that I was convinced in conſcience, and "knew not how to give him any reaſonable ſatisfaction; yet the ſweet- "neſs of his diſpoſition is ſuch, that whatſoever I ſaid was well taken. "I muſt ſay, I never met with any diſputant of that mild and calm tem- "per, which convinced me the more, and made me think, that ſuch "wiſdom and moderation could not be, without an extraordinary mea- "ſure of divine grace. I had heard much of his carriage towards the "prieſts in *Spain*, and that king *James* told the duke of *Buckingham* "upon his going thither, that he durſt venture his ſon *Charles* with all the "jeſuits in the world, he knew him to be ſo well grounded in the pro- "teſtant religion, but could never believe it before. I obſerved all his "actions, more particularly thoſe of devotion, which I muſt truly ſay are "more than ordinary—If I ſhould ſpeak of his juſtice, magnanimity, "charity, ſobriety, chaſtity, patience, humility, and of all his other "chriſtian and moral virtues, I ſhould run myſelf into a panegyric; no "man can ſay there is conſpicuouſly any predominant vice in him; never "man ſaw him paſſionately angry; never man heard him curſe, or given "to ſwearing; or heard him complain in the greateſt durance of war, or "confinement—But I ſhould ſeem to flatter him, to ſuch as do not know "him, if the preſent condition that I lie in, did not exempt me from any "ſuſpicion of worldly ends, when I expect every hour to be called from "all tranſitory vanities to eternal felicity, and the diſcharging of my con- "ſcience before God and man, did not oblige me to declare the truth "ſimply and nakedly, in ſatisfaction of that which I have done ignorant- "ly, though not altogether innocently." The declaration adds, that he was heartily ſorry for the ſhare he had had in the war; that the parliament and ſynod of *England* had been abuſed with falſe aſperſions of his majeſty; and that they ought to reſtore him to his juſt rights, and his crown and dignity, leaſt an indelible character of ingratitude lie upon them.

Mr. Henderſon's *pretended recantation.* Compl. hiſt. p. 190. Bennet's def. *of* mem. p. 130.

Mr. *Eachard* confeſſes he had been informed, that this declaration was ſpurious, but could find no authority ſufficient to ſupport ſuch an aſſertion. It will be proper therefore to trace the hiſtory of this impoſture, and ſet it in a clear and convincing light, from a memorial ſent me from

The falſeneſs of it. Eachard, p. 626. ed. 3d.

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from one of the principal *ſcot*'s divines, profeſſor *Hamilton* of *Edinburgh*; the ſtory was invented by one of the *ſcots* epiſcopal writers, who had fled to *London*, and was firſt publiſhed in the beginning of the year 1648. in a ſmall pamphlet in quarto about two years after Mr. *Henderſon*'s death. From this pamphlet Dr. *Heylin* publiſhed it as a *credible report*; *between* 30 and 40 years after *Heylin* had publiſhed it, (*viz.*) 1693. Dr. *Hollingworth* in his character of king *Charles* I. republiſhed the paper abovementioned, entitled the *declaration of Mr.* Alexander Henderſon, *principal miniſter of the word of God at* Edinburgh, *and chief commiſſioner of the kirk of* Scotland *to the parliament and ſynod of* England; which paper the doctor ſays he had from Mr. *Lamplugh*, ſon to the late archbiſhop of *York* of that name, from whom the hiſtorians above-mentioned, and ſome others have copied it; but (ſays my memorial) upon publiſhing the aforeſaid ſtory to the world, the aſſembly of the kirk of *Scotland* appointed a committee to examine into the affair, who after a full enquiry, by their act of *Auguſt* 7. 1648. declared the whole to be a forgery, as may be ſeen in the printed acts of the general aſſembly for that year, quarto *page* 420, &c. in which they ſignify their ſatisfaction and aſſurance, that Mr. *Henderſon* perſiſted in his former ſentiments to his death; that when he left the king at *Newcaſtle* he was greatly decayed in his natural ſtrength; that he came from thence by ſea in a languiſhing condition, and died within eight days after his arrival at *Edinburgh*; that he was not able to frame ſuch a declaration as is palmed upon him; and that all he ſpoke upon his death-bed ſhewed his judgment was the ſame as it ever had been about church reformation. This was atteſted before the aſſembly by ſeveral miniſters who viſited him upon his death-bed, and particularly by two who conſtantly attended him from the time he came home till the time he expired. After this and a great deal more to the ſame purpoſe, "they "declare the above-mentioned paper, entitled *a declaration of Mr.* Alex- "ander Henderſon's, &c. to be *forged, ſcandalous, and falſe*, and the "author and contriver of the ſame to be void of charity and a good con- "ſcience; a groſs lyar and calumniator, and led by the ſpirit of the ac- "cuſer of the brethren."

Vid. hiſt. Stuarts, p. 310.

Vide Bennet's def. *of his* mem. p. 134.

Parliament's propoſitions to the king at Newcaſtle. Ruſhw. Vol. VI. p. 309, 311. Rapin, p. 343, &c.

While the king was debating the cauſe of epiſcopacy, the parliament were preparing their propoſitions for a peace, which were ready for the royal aſſent by the 11th of *July*. The *ſcots* commiſſioners demurred to them for ſome time, as not coming up fully to their ſtandard, but at length acquieſcing, they were engroſſed, and carried to the king by the earl of *Pembroke* and *Montgomery* and the earl of *Suffolk*, of the houſe of peers; and by Sir *Walter Erle*, Sir *John Hippiſly*, *Robert Goodwin*, and *Luke Robertſon*, Eſq; of the houſe of commons; the earls of *Argyle* and *Loudon* were commiſſioners for *Scotland*, and the reverend Mr. *Marſhall*

was ordered to attend as their chaplain. The commiſſionors arrived at *Newcaſtle July* 23. next day they waited upon his majeſty, and having kiſſed his hand, Mr. *Goodwin* delivered the following propoſitions. K. Charles I. 1646.

Thoſe relating to the civil government were,

(1.) That the king ſhould call in all his declarations againſt the parliament.

(2) That he ſhould put the militia into their hands for twenty years, with a power to raiſe money for their maintenance.

(3.) That all peerages ſince *May* 21. 1642. ſhould be made void.

(4.) That the delinquents therein menrioned ſhould undergo the penalties aſſigned in the bill. And

(5.) That the ceſſation with the *iriſh* be diſannulled, and the management of the war left to the parliament.

The propoſitions relating to religion were,

1. "That his majeſty, according to the laudable example of his father, "would be pleaſed to ſwear and ſign the late *ſolemn league and covenant*, "and give his conſent to an act of parliament, enjoining the taking it "throughout the three kingdoms, under certain penalties, to be agreed "upon in parliament.

2. "That a bill be paſſed for the utter aboliſhing, and taking away "all archbiſhops, biſhops, their chancellors, commiſſaries, deans, ſub-"deans, deans and chapters, archdeacons, canons and prebendaries, and "all chaunters, chancellors, treaſurers, ſub treaſurers, ſuccentors, ſa-"criſts; and all vicars and choriſters, old vicars and new vicars of any ca-"thedral or collegiate church, and all other under offices, out of the church "of *England*, and out of the church of *Ireland*, with ſuch alterations as "ſhall agree with the articles of the late treaty of *Edinburgh*, *Nov.* 29. "1643. and the joint declaration of both kingdoms.

3. "That the ordinance for the calling and ſitting of the aſſembly of "divines be confirmed.

4. "That reformation of religion according to the *covenant*, be ſettled "by act of parliament in ſuch manner as both houſes have agreed, or "ſhall agree, after conſultation with the aſſembly of divines.

5. "For as much as both kingdoms are obliged by covenant to endea-"vour ſuch an uniformity of religion, as ſhall be agreed upon by both "houſes of parliament in *England*, and by the church and kingdom of "*Scotland*, after conſultation had with the divines of both kingdoms aſ-"ſembled, that this be confirmed by acts of parliament of both kingdoms "reſpectively.

6. "That for the more effectual diſabling jeſuits, prieſts, papiſts, and "popiſh recuſants, from diſturbing the ſtate, and eluding the laws, an "oath be eſtabliſhed by act of parliament, wherein they ſhall abjure and

"renounce

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" renounce the pope's ſupremacy, the doctrine of tranſubſtantiation, " purgatory, worſhipping of the conſecrated hoſt, crucifixes and images, " and all other popiſh ſuperſtitions and errors; and the refuſal of the " ſaid oath, legally tendered, ſhall be a ſufficient conviction of recuſancy.

7. " That an act of parliament be paſſed, for educating of the children " of papiſts by proteſtants, in the proteſtant religion.

8. " That an act be paſſed for the better levying the penalties againſt " papiſts; and another for the better preventing their plotting againſt the " ſtate; and that a ſtricter courſe may be taken to prevent ſaying, or " hearing maſs in the court, or any other part of the kingdom: the like " for *Scotland*, if the parliament of that kingdom ſhall think fit.

9. " That his majeſty give his royal aſſent to an act for the due ob- " ſervation of the lord's day; to the bill for the ſuppreſſion of innova- " tions in churches and chapels in and about the worſhip of God; to an " act for the better advancement of the preaching of God's holy word in " all parts of the kingdom; to the bill againſt pluralities of benefices and " non-reſidency; and to an act to be framed for the reforming and re- " gulating both univerſities, and the colleges of *Weſtminſter*, *Wincheſter*, " and *Eaton*."

Ruſhw. p. 315.

About ſixty perſons were by name excepted out of the general pardon; beſides

(1.) All papiſts that had been in the army.

(2.) All perſons that had been concerned in the *iriſh* rebellion.

(3.) Such as had deſerted the two houſes at *Weſtminſter* and went to *Oxford*.

(4.) Such members of parliament as had deſerted their places, and bore arms againſt the two houſes. And,

(5.) Such biſhops or clergymen, maſters or fellows of colleges, or maſters of ſchools or hoſpitals, or any eccleſiaſtical living, who had deſerted the parliament, and adhered to the enemies thereof, were declared incapable of any preferment or employment in church or commonwealth, all their places preferments and promotions, were to be utterly void, as if they were naturally dead; nor might they be permitted to uſe their function of the miniſtry, without advice and conſent of both houſes of parliament; provided that no lapſe ſhall incur by this vacancy till ſix months after notice thereof.

When Mr. *Goodwin* had done, the king aſked the commiſſioners if they had power to treat, to which they replied, that they were only to receive his majeſty's anſwer; then ſaid the king, *ſaving the honour of the buſineſs, a trumpeter might have done as well*; the very ſame language as at the treaty of *Oxford*; but the earl of *Pembroke* told his majeſty, they muſt receive his peremptory anſwer in ten days, or return without it.

Great

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Great interceſſions were made with the king to comply with theſe propoſals, particularly in the point of religion, for without full ſatisfaction in that, nothing would pleaſe the *ſcots* nation, nor the city of *London*, by whom alone his majeſty could hope to be preſerved; but if this was yielded they would interpoſe for the moderating other demands; the *ſcots general*, at the head of one hundred officers, preſented a petition upon their knees, beſeeching his majeſty to give them ſatisfaction in the point of religion, and to take the covenant. Duke *Hamilton* and the reſt of the *ſcots* commiſſioners, preſſed his majeſty in the moſt earneſt manner, to make uſe of the preſent opportunity for peace. The lord chancellor for that kingdom ſpoke to this effect: "the differences be-
"tween your majeſty and your parliament are grown to ſuch an height,
"that after many bloody battles they have your majeſty, with all your
"garriſons and ſtrong holds in their hands, and the whole kingdom at
"their diſpoſal, they are now in a capacity to do what they will in church
"and ſtate; and ſome are ſo afraid, and others ſo unwilling to ſubmit to
"your majeſty's government, that they deſire not you, nor any of your
"race longer to reign over them; but they are unwilling to proceed to
"extremities, till they know your majeſty's laſt reſolutions——Now
"Sir, if your majeſty ſhall refuſe to aſſent to the propoſitions, you will
"loſe all your friends in the houſes, and in the city, and all *England* will
"join againſt you as one man; they will depoſe you and ſet up another
"government; they will charge us to deliver your majeſty to them, and
"remove our armies out of *England*, and upon your refuſal, we ſhall be
"conſtrained to ſettle religion and peace without you, which will ruin
"your majeſty and your proſperity. We own the propoſitions are higher
"in ſome things than we approve of, but the only way to eſtabliſh
"your majeſty's throne is to conſent to them at preſent, and your majeſty
"may recover in a time of peace, all that you have loſt in this time of
"tempeſt and trouble."

Great interceſſionis made with the king to comply.

But he refuſes.

This was plain-dealing: the king's beſt friends prayed his majeſty to conſider his preſent circumſtances, and not hazard his crown for a form of church government; or if he had no regard to himſelf, to conſider his royal poſterity; but the king replied, *his conſcience was dearer to him than his crown*; that till he had received better ſatisfaction about the *divine right of epiſcopacy*, and the *obligation of his coronation oath*, no conſiderations ſhould prevail with him; he told the officers of the army, he neither could nor would take the covenant *till he had heard from the queen*. Which was only an excuſe to gain time to divide his enemies, for the king had then actually heard from his queen by monſieur *Bellievre*, the *french* ambaſſador, who preſſed his majeſty, purſuant to poſitive inſtructions given him for that purpoſe, as the advice of the king of *France*, of the queen,

Ham. mem. p. 218.

Clarend. Vol. III. p. 29, 31, 32. Rapin, p. 344.

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and of his own party, to give the preſbyterians ſatisfaction about the church. *Bellievre* not being able to prevail, diſpatched an expreſs to *France*, with a deſire, that ſome perſon of more weight with the king might be ſent. Upon which Sir *William Davenant* came over, with a letter of credit from the queen, beſeeching him to part with the church for his peace and ſecurity. When Sir *William* had delivered the letter, he ventured to ſupport it with ſome arguments of his own, and told his majeſty in a moſt humble manner, that it was the advice of lord *Culpeper*, *Jermyn*, and of all his friends; upon which the king was ſo tranſported with indignation, that he forbid him his preſence. When therefore the ten days for conſidering the propoſitions were expired, inſtead of conſenting, his majeſty gave the commiſſioners his anſwer in a paper, directed to the ſpeaker of the houſe of peers, to this effect, "that the propoſi- "tions contained ſo great alterations both in church and ſtate, that his "majeſty could not give a particular and poſitive anſwer to them," but after ſome few conceſſions hereafter to be mentioned, "he propoſes to "come to *London*, or any of his houſes thereabouts, and enter upon a "perſonal treaty with both houſes; and he conjures them, as chriſtians "and ſubjects, and as men that deſire to leave a good name behind them, "to accept of this propoſal, that the unhappy diſtractions of the nation "may be peaceably ſettled."

His conference with the Scots *commiſſioners.* Ham. mem. p. 286.

When this anſwer was reported to the houſe, *Aug.* 12. it was reſolved, to ſettle accounts with the *Scots*, and to receive the king into their own cuſtody; but in the mean time his majeſty attempted to bring that nation over to his intereſt, by playing the *independents* againſt them, and telling them, the only way to deſtroy the ſectarians was to join with the epiſcopalians, and admit of the eſtabliſhment of both religions. "I do by no "means perſuade you (ſays the king) to do any thing contrary to your "covenant, but I deſire you to conſider whether it be not a great ſtep to- "wards your reformation (which I take to be the chief end of your co- "venant), that the preſbyterial government be legally ſettled. 'Tis true, "I deſire that the liberty of my own conſcience, and thoſe who are of "the ſame opinion with myſelf may be preſerved, which I confeſs, does "not as yet totally take away epiſcopal government. But then conſider "withal, *that this will take away all the ſuperſtitious ſects and hereſies of "the papiſts and independents, to which you are no leſs obliged by your cove- "nant, than to the taking away of epiſcopacy.* And this that I demand is "likely to be but temporary; for if it be ſo clear as you believe, that "epiſcopacy is unlawful, I doubt not but God will ſo enlighten my eyes "that I ſhall ſoon perceive it, and then I promiſe to concur with you "fully in matters of religion; but I am ſure you cannot imagine, that "*there is any hopes of converting or ſilencing the independent party, which*

undoubtedly

" *undoubtedly will get a toleration in religion from the parliament of* Eng- K. Charles I. 1646.
" land, *unleſs you join with me in that way that I have propoſed for the eſta-*
" *bliſhing of my crown*; or at leaſt, that you do not preſs me to do this
" (which is yet againſt my conſcience) till I may do it without ſinning,
" which as I am confident, none of you will perſuade me to do, ſo I
" hope you have ſo much charity, as not to put things to ſuch a deſperate
" iſſue as to hazard the loſs of all, becauſe for the preſent you cannot
" have full ſatisfaction from me in point of religion, not conſidering, that Ruſhw.
" beſides the other miſchiefs that may happen, *it will infallibly ſet up the* p. 328.
" *innumerable ſects of the independents, nothing being more againſt your co-*
" *venant, than the ſuffering theſe ſchiſms to encreaſe.*" His majeſty then Ham. mem.
added, " that he ſhould be content to reſtrain epiſcopal government to p. 348.
" the dioceſes of *Oxford*, *Winchester*, *Bath* and *Wells*, and *Exeter*, leav-
" ing all the reſt of *England* fully to the preſbyterial diſcipline, *with the*
" *ſtricteſt clauſes that could be thought of in an act of parliament, againſt the*
" *papiſts and independents.*" But the *ſcots* would abate nothing in the arti-
cle of religion; even for the overthrow of the ſectaries. Duke *Hamilton*
left no methods unattempted to perſuade his majeſty to comply, but
without effect.

When the king could not gain the commiſſioners, he applied by his Scots *kirk will not truſt the king.*
friends to the kirk, who laid his propoſals before the general aſſembly, Ham. mem.
with his offer to make any declaration they ſhould deſire againſt the *inde-* p. 298.
pendents, and that really, without any reſerve or equivocation; but the Ruſhw.
kirk were as peremptory as the commiſſioners; they ſaid the king's heart p. 380.
was not with them, nor could they depend upon his promiſes, any longer
than it was not in his power to ſet them aſide.

In the mean time the *engliſh* parliament were debating with the *ſcots*
commiſſioners at *London*, the right of diſpoſing of the king's perſon, the
latter claiming an equal right to him with the former; and the parlia-
ment voted that *the kingdom of* Scotland *had no joint right to diſpoſe of the*
perſon of the king, in the kingdom of England. To which the *ſcots* would
hardly have ſubmitted, had it not been for fear of engaging in a new war,
and loſing all their arrears. His majeſty would willingly have retired in-
to *Scotland*, but the clergy of that nation would not receive him, as ap-
pears by their *ſolemn warning to all eſtates and degrees of perſons through-*
out the land, dated *Dec.* 17. 1646. in which they ſay, " ſo long as his *Their ſolemn warning and declaration.*
" majeſty does not approve in his heart, and ſeal with his hand, the
" *league and covenant*, we cannot but apprehend, that according to his
" former principles he will walk contrary to it, and ſtudy to draw us into
" the violation of it. Beſides, our receiving his majeſty into *Scotland* at
" this time, will confirm the ſuſpicion of the *Engliſh* nation, of our un-
" derhand dealing with him before he came into our army. Nor do we

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" ſee how it is conſiſtent with our covenant and treaties, but on the con-
" trary, it would involve us in the guilt of perjury, and expoſe us to the
" hazard of a bloody war. We are bound by our *covenant* to defend the
" king's perſon and authority, in the defence and preſervation of the true
" religion, and the liberties of the kingdom, and ſo far as his ma-
" jeſty is *for theſe* we will be for him; but if his majeſty will
" not ſatisfy the juſt deſires of his people, both nations are engaged to pur-
" ſue the ends thereof, againſt all lets and impediments; we therefore de-
" ſire, that thoſe who are intruſted with the public affairs of this king-
" dom, would ſtill inſiſt upon his majeſty's ſettling religion according to
" the covenant, as the only means of preſerving himſelf, his crown, and
" poſterity." Upon reading this admonition of the *kirk*, the *ſcots* parlia-
ment reſolved, that his majeſty be deſired to grant the whole propoſitions;
thatin caſe of refuſal, the kingdom ſhould be ſecured without him. They
declared further, that the kingdom of *Scotland* could not lawfully engage
for the king, as long as he refuſed to take the covenant, and give them
ſatisfaction in point of religion. Nor would they admit him to come in-
to *Scotland*, unleſs he gave a ſatisfactory anſwer to the propoſitions lately
preſented to him in the name of both kingdoms.

Proceedings of the Scots *parliament relating to the king.*

Ruſhw. p. 392.

They deliver him up and publiſh their reaſons

The reſolutions abovementioned were not communicated in form to the king, till the beginning of *January*, when the *ſcots* commiſſioners preſſing him again in the moſt humble and importunate manner to give them ſatisfaction, at leaſt, in the point of religion, his majeſty remained immoveable; which being reported back to *Edinburgh*, the queſtion was put in that parliament, *whether they ſhould leave the king in* England, *to his two houſes of parliament?* and it was carried in the affirmative. *Jan.* 16. a declaration was publiſhed in the name of the whole kingdom of *Scotland*, wherein they ſay, " that when his majeſty came to their army
Ruſhw. p. 396. " before *Newark*, he profeſſed that he abſolutely reſolved to comply with
" his parliaments in every thing, for ſettling of truth and peace; in confi-
" dence whereof the committees of the kingdom of *Scotland* declared to
" himſelf, and to the kingdom of *England*, that they received him into
" their protection only upon theſe terms, ſince which time propoſitions of
" peace have been preſented to his majeſty for the royal aſſent, with ear-
" neſt ſupplications to the ſame purpoſe, but without effect. The parlia-
" ment of *Scotland* therefore being now to recal their army out of *England*,
" *conſidering that his majeſty in ſeveral meſſages has deſired to be near his*
" *two houſes of parliament, and that the parliament has appointed his majeſ-*
" *ty to reſide at* Holmby houſe *with ſafety to his royal perſon; and in re-*
" *gard of his majeſty's not giving a ſatisfactory anſwer to the propoſitions for*
" *peace; and from a deſire to preſerve a right underſtanding between the*
" *two kingdoms, and for preventing new troubles*, the ſtates of parliament
" of the kingdom of *Scotland*, do declare their concurrence for the king's

" majeſty's going to *Holmby-Houſe*, to remain there till he gave ſatisfac- *K.* Charles I. 1646.
" tion about the propoſitions for peace, and that in the mean time,
" *there be no harm, prejudice, injury or violence done to his royal perſon*;
" *that there be no change of government*; *and that his poſterity be no way*
" *prejudiced in their lawful ſucceſſion to the crown and government of theſe*
" *kingdoms.*"

While the parliament and kirk of *Scotland* were debating the king's propoſals, his majeſty writ to the parliament of *England* in the moſt preſſing terms, for a perſonal treaty at *London*, " 'Tis your king (ſays he in " his letter of *Dec.* 10.) that deſires to be heard, the which, if refuſed " to a ſubject by a king, he would be thought a tyrant, wherefore I con- " jure you, as you would ſhew yourſelves really what you profeſs, good " chriſtians and good ſubjects, that you accept this offer." But the houſes were afraid to truſt his majeſty in *London*, and therefore appointed commiſſioners to receive him from the *ſcots*, and convoy him to *Holmby-Houſe* in *Northamptonſhire*, where he arrived *Feb.* 6. 1646-7. The ſum of two hundred thouſand pounds, being half the arrears due to the *ſcots* army, having been paid them by agreement before they marched out of *Newcaſtle*, it has been commonly ſaid, *they ſold their king*. An unjuſt and malicious aſperſion! It ought to be conſidered, that the money was their due before the king delivered himſelf into their hands; for that in ſettling the accounts between the two nations his majeſty's name was not mentioned; that it was impoſſible to detain him without a war with *England*, and that the officers of the army durſt not carry the king to *Edinburgh*, becauſe both parliament and kirk had declared againſt receiving him.

Engliſh commiſſioners receive the king and convey him to Holmby-houſe.

Vide Rapin, p. 347.

But how amazing was his majeſty's conduct! What croſs and inconſiſtent propoſals did he make at this time! While he was treating with the *ſcots*, and offering to concur in the ſevereſt meaſures againſt the *independents*, he was liſtning to the offers of thoſe very *independents* to ſet him upon the throne, without taking the covenant, or renouncing the liturgy of the church, provided they might ſecure a toleration for themſelves. This agreeing with the king's inclinations had too great a hearing from him, (ſays biſhop *Burnet*) till *Lauderdale* writ from *London*, " that he was in- " fallibly ſure, they deſigned the deſtruction of monarchy, and the ruin " of the king and his poſterity; but that if he would conſent to the pro- " poſitions, all would be well, in ſpight of the devil and the independents " too." If his majeſty had in good earneſt fallen in with the overtures of the army at this time, I am of opinion they would have ſet him upon the throne, without the ſhackles of the *ſcots covenant*.

Remarks.

Ham. Mem. p. 288.

While the king was at *Holmby-Houſe* he was attended with great reſpect, and ſuffered to divert himſelf at bowls with gentlemen in the neighbouring

King at Holmby-Houſe.

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bouring villages, under a proper guard. The parliament appointed two of their clergy (*viz.*) Mr. *Caryl* and Mr. *Marſhall*, to preach in the chapel, morning and afternoon on the Lord's day, and perform the devotions of the chapel on week days, but his majeſty never gave his attendance. He ſpent his ſundays in private; and though they waited at table, he would not ſo much as admit them to aſk a bleſſing.

Ordinance for aboliſhing abps and bps. &c.

Before the king removed from *Newcaſtle*, the parliament put the finiſhing hand to the deſtruction of the hierarchy, by aboliſhing the very names and titles of archbiſhops, biſhops, *&c.* and alienating their revenues for payment of the public debts. This was done by two ordinances, bearing date *Octob.* 9. and *Nov.* 16. 1646. entitled, *Ordinances for aboliſhing archbiſhops and biſhops, and providing for the payment of the juſt and neceſſary debts of the kingdom, into which the ſame has been drawn by a war, mainly promoted by, and in favour of the ſaid archbiſhops, biſhops, nnd other their adherents and dependants.* The ordinance appoints, "that the name, "title, ſtile, and dignity of *archbiſhop of* Canterbury, *archbiſhop of* York, "*biſhop of* Wincheſter, *biſhop of* Durham, and all other biſhops of any "biſhoprics within the kingdom of *England* and dominion of *Wales*, "be, from and after *September* 5. 1646. wholly aboliſhed and taken a-"way; and all and every perſon and perſons are to be thenceforth diſab-"led to hold the place, function, ſtile of archbiſhop, or biſhop of any "church, ſee, or dioceſe now eſtabliſhed or erected, or hereafter to be "eſtabliſhed or erected within the kingdom of *England*, dominion of "*Wales*, or town of *Berwick* on *Tweed*; or to uſe, or put in uſe any "archiepiſcopal, or epiſcopal juriſdiction or authority, by force of any let-"ters patents from the crown, made, or to be made, or by any other "authority whatſoever, any law, ſtatute, uſage or cuſtom to the contra-"ry notwithſtanding."

Huſhand's *Collect.* p. 922.

And for ſale of their lands.

By the ordinance of *Nov.* 16. it is further ordained, "that all counties "palatine, honours, manors, lordſhips, ſtiles, circuits, precincts, caſtles, "granges, meſſuages, mills, lands, tenements, meadows, paſtures, par-"ſonages, appropriate tithes, oblations, obventions, penſions, portions "of tithes, vicarages, churches, chapels, advowſons, donations, nomi-"nations, rights of patronage and preſentations, parks, woods, rents, "reverſions, ſervices, annuities, franchiſes, liberties, privileges, immu-"nities, rights of action, and of entry, intereſts, titles of entry, condi-"tions, commons, court-leets, and court-barons, and all other poſſeſſi-"ons and hereditaments whatſoever, which now are, or within ten years "before the beginning of the preſent parliament, were belonging to the "ſaid archbiſhops and biſhops, archbiſhoprics or biſhoprics, or any of "them, together with all chattels, deeds, books, accompts, rolls, and "other writings and evidences whatſoever, concerning the premiſes, "which

Ruſhw. p. 377.

" which did belong to any the ſaid archbiſhops, biſhops, &c. are veſted " and ſettled, adjudged and deemed to be, in the real and actual poſſeſſion " and ſeizin of the twenty-four truſtees mentioned in the ordinance, " their heirs and aſſigns, upon truſt that they ſhall diſpoſe of the ſame, " and the rents and profits thereof, as both houſes of parliament ſhall or- " der and appoint, *i. e.* for payment of the public debts, and other neceſſa- " ry charges occaſioned by the war, promoted chiefly by, and in favour of " the ſaid hierarchy, ſaving and excepting all tithes appropriate, oblations, " obventions, and portions of tithes, &c. belonging to the ſaid archbi- " ſhops, biſhops, and others of the ſaid hierarchy; all which, together " with thirty thouſand pounds yearly rent belonging to the crown, they re- " ſerve for the maintenance of preaching miniſters. The truſtees are not to " avoid any leaſe made for three lives, or twenty-one years, provided the " ſaid leaſe or leaſes were not obtained ſince the month of *December* 1641. " They are empowered to appoint proper officers to ſurvey, and take a " particular eſtimate of all the biſhops lands, to receive the rents and pro- " fits of them, and to make a ſufficient title to ſuch as ſhall purchaſe " them, by order of parliament." By virtue of this ordinance the truſtees were empowered to pay, or cauſe to be paid to *the aſſembly of divines*, their conſtant ſalary allowed them by a former order of parliament, with all their arrears, out of the rents, revenues, and profits belonging to the late archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, till ſuch time as the ſaid lands and revenues ſhall happen to be ſold. Theſe church lands were at firſt mortgaged as a ſecurity for ſeveral large ſums of money, which the parliament borrowed at eight *per cent.* intereſt. Several members of parliament and officers of the army, afterwards purchaſed them at low rates, but the bargain proved dear enough in the end. And ſurely it was wrong to ſet them to ſale, the lands having been originally given for the ſervice of religion, ought to have been continued for ſuch uſes, and the *ſubſtance* of the *donor's* intentions purſued; unleſs it appeared that too great a proportion of the national property had been ſettled in *mortmain*. But herein they followed the ill examples of the kings and queens of *England* at the reformation.

K. Charles I. 1646.

Scobel, p. 40.

The *preſbyterians* were now in the height of their power, the hierarchy being deſtroyed, the king their priſoner, and the beſt, if not all the livings in the kingdom diſtributed among them; yet ſtill they were diſſatisfied for want of the *top-ſtone* to their new building, which was *church power*; the pulpits, and converſation of the city, were filled with invectives againſt the *men in power*, becauſe they would not leave the church independent on the ſtate; the preſbyterian miniſters were very troubleſome, the parliament being teized every week with church grievances of one kind or another; *Dec.* 19. the lord-mayor and his brethren went

Preſbyterians *petition againſt ſectaries.*

K. Charles I. 1646. went up to *Weſtminſter* with a repreſentation of ſome of them, and a petition for redreſs. Their grievances were,

1. "The *contempt that began to be put upon the covenant*, ſome refuſing to take it, and others declaiming loudly againſt it; they therefore pray, that it may be impoſed upon the whole nation, under ſuch penalties as the houſes ſhall think fit; and that ſuch as refuſe it be diſqualified from all places of profit and truſt.

2. "The *growth of hereſy and ſchiſm*; the pulpits having been often uſurped by preaching ſoldiers, who infected all places where they came with dangerous errors; they therefore pray, that all ſuch perſons may be forbid to preach as have not taken the covenant, and been regularly ordained, and that all ſeparate congregations, the very nurſeries of damnable hetetics, may be ſuppreſſed; that an ordinance be made for the examplary puniſhment of heretics and ſchiſmatics, and that all godly and orthodox miniſters may have a competent maintenance, many pulpits being vacant of a ſettled miniſter for want of it; and here (ſay they) we would lay the ſtreſs of our deſires, and the urgency of our affections." They complain further of the "*undue practices of country committees*, of the *threatening power of the army*, and of *ſome breaches in the conſtitution*; all which they deſire may be redreſſed, and that his majeſty's royal perſon and authority may be preſerved and defended, together with the liberties of the kingdom, according to the *covenant*."

Proceedings of parliament upon it. To ſatisfy the petitioners the houſe of commons publiſhed a declaration *Dec.* 31. "wherein they expreſs their diſlike of *lay preachers*, and their reſolutions to proceed againſt all ſuch as ſhall take upon them to preach, or expound the ſcriptures in any church or chapel, or any other public place, except they be ordained either here, or in ſome other reformed churches; likewiſe againſt all ſuch miniſters, and others, as ſhall publiſh, or maintain by preaching, writing, printing, or any other way, any thing againſt, or in derogation of the church government which is now eſtabliſhed by authority of parliament; and alſo againſt all and every perſon or perſons who ſhall willingly or purpoſely interrupt or diſturb a preacher in the public exerciſe of his function; and they command all officers of the peace, and officers of the army, to take notice of the declaration, and by all lawful means to prevent offences of this kind, and to apprehend offenders, that a courſe may be ſpeedily taken for a due puniſhment to be inflicted upon them." The houſe of lords publiſhed an order, bearing date *Dec.* 22. requiring the headboroughs and conſtables, in the ſeveral pariſhes of *England* and *Wales*, to arreſt the bodies of ſuch perſons, as ſhall diſturb any miniſter in holy orders, in the exerciſe of his public calling, by ſpeech or action, and carry them before ſome juſtice

juſtice of peace, who is required to put the laws in execution againſt them. *Feb.* 4. they publiſhed an ordinance to prevent the growth, and ſpreading of errors, hereſies, and blaſphemies; but theſe orders not coming up to their *covenant uniformity*, the *lord-mayor* and *common council* preſented another petition to the two houſes *March* 17. and appointed a committee to attend the parliament from day to day, till their grievances were redreſſed, of which we ſhall hear more under the next year. K. Charles I. 1646.

We have already accounted for the unhappy riſe of the *ſectarians* in the army when it was new modelled, who were now grown ſo extravagant as to call for ſome proper reſtraint, the miſchief being ſpread not only over the whole country, but into the city of *London* itſelf; it was firſt pleaded in excuſe for this practice, that a *gifted brother* had better preach and pray to the people than nobody; but now learning, good ſenſe, and the rational interpretation of ſcripture, began to be cried down, and every bold pretender to inſpiration was preferred to the moſt grave and ſober divines of the age; ſome advanced themſelves into the rank of prophets, and others uttered all ſuch crude and undigeſted abſurdities as came firſt into their minds, calling them the dictates of the *ſpirit* within them; by which the public peace was frequently diſturbed, and great numbers of ignorant people led into the belief of the moſt dangerous errors. The aſſembly of divines did what they could to ſtand in the gap, by writing againſt them, and publiſhing a *Deteſtation of the errors of the Times*. The parliament alſo appointed a faſt on that account, *Feb.* 4. 1645-6. and many books were publiſhed againſt the *antinomians*, *anabaptiſts*, *ſeekers*, &c. not forgetting the *independents*, whoſe inſiſting upon a *toleration* was reckoned the inlet to all the reſt. *Further account of their ſectaries.*

The moſt furious writer againſt the ſectaries was Mr. *Thomas Edwards*, miniſter of *Chriſt-Church London*, a zealous preſbyterian, who became remarkable by a book entitled *Gangræna*, or a catalogue of many of the errors, hereſies, blaſphemies, and pernicious practices of this time; in the epiſtle dedicatory he calls upon the *higher powers* to rain down all their vengeance upon theſe deluded people, in the following language; "You "have done worthily againſt papiſts, prelates, and ſcandalous miniſters, in "caſting down images, altars, crucifixes, throwing out ceremonies, &c. "but what have you done (ſays he) againſt hereſy, ſchiſm, diſorder, againſt "*ſeekers*, *anababtiſts*, *antinomians*, *browniſts*, *libertines*, and other ſects; "you have made a reformation, but with the reformation have we not "worſe things come upon us than we had before, as denying the ſcrip- "tures, pleading for toleration of all religions and worſhips; yea for "blaſphemy, and denying there is a God. You have put down the *com-* "*mon-prayer*, and there are many among us that are for putting down "the *ſcriptures*. You have broken down the images of the trinity, and we Edwards's Gangræna.

K. Charles I. 1646.

" have thoſe who oppoſe the *trinity*. You have caſt out biſhops and their " officers, and we have many that caſt down to the ground all miniſters. " You have caſt out ceremonies in the ſacraments, as the *croſs*, *kneeling* at " the Lord's ſupper, and many caſt out the ſacraments themſelves. You " have put down *ſaints days*, and many make nothing of the *Lord's day*. " You have taken away the ſuperfluous maintenance of biſhops and deans, " and we have many that cry down the neceſſary maintenance of miniſ- " ters. In the biſhops days we had ſinging of pſalms taken away in ſome " places, conceived prayer, preaching, and in their room anthems, ſtinted " forms, and reading brought in, and now *ſinging of pſalms is ſpoken a-* " *gainſt*, *public prayer queſtioned*, *and all miniſterial preaching denied.* In " the biſhops time popiſh innovations were introduced, as bowing at altars, " *&c.* and now we have anointing the ſick with oil; thenwe had biſhoping " of children, now we have biſhoping of men and women, by laying on " of hands. In the biſhops days we had the fourth commandment taken a- " way, and now *all ten* are taken away by the *antinomians*. The worſt " of the prelates held many ſound doctrines, and had many commend- " able practices, but many of our ſectaries deny all principles of religion, " are enemies to all holy duties, order, learning, overthrowing all, being " whirligig ſpirits, and the *great opinion of an univerſal toleration tends to the* " *laying all waſte*, *and diſſolution of all religion*, *and good manners.* Now " (ſays our author) a connivance and ſuffering without puniſhment, ſuch " falſe doctrines and diſorders, provokes God to ſend judgments. *A toleration* " doth eclipſe the glory of the moſt excellent reformation, and makes " theſe ſins to be the ſins of the legiſlature that countenances them. *A* " *magiſtrate ſhould uſe coercive power to puniſh and ſuppreſs evils*, as ap- " pears from the example of *Eli*. Now, right honourable, though you " don't own theſe hereſies, but have put out ſeveral orders againſt them, " yet there is a ſtrange unheard of ſuffering of them, ſuch an one as " there hardly ever was the like, under any orthodox chriſtian magiſtrate " and ſtate. Many ſectaries are countenanced, and employed in places " of truſt; there has not been any exemplary reſtraint of the ſectaries, by " virtue of any of your ordinances, but they are ſlighted and ſcorned; " preaching of lay-men was never more in requeſt than ſince your ordi- " nance againſt it; preſbyterial government never more preached and " printed againſt, than ſince it was eſtabliſhed. Our dear brethren of " *Scotland* ſtand amazed, and are aſtoniſhed at theſe things; the ortho- " dox miniſters and people both in city and country are grieved and diſ- " couraged, and the common enemy ſcorns and blaſphemes; it is high " time therefore for your honours to ſuffer no longer theſe ſects and ſchiſms, " but to do ſomething worthy of a parliament againſt them, and God " will be with you."

After

After this dedication there are one hundred and ſeventy-ſix erroneous paſſages collected from ſundry pamphlets printed about this time, and from the reports of friends in all parts of the kingdom, to whom he ſent for materials to fill up his book; however the heretics are at length reduced under ſixteen general heads. K. Charles I. 1646.

1. *Independents,*
2. *Browniſts,*
3. *Millenaries,*
4. *Antinomians,*
5. *Anabaptiſts,*
6. *Arminians,*
7. *Libertines,*
8. *Familiſts,*
9. *Enthuſiaſts,*
10. *Seekers,*
11. *Perfectiſts,*
12. *Socinians,*
13. *Arians,*
14. *Antitrinitarians,*
15. *Antiſcripturiſts,*
16. *Scepticks.*

The induſtrious writer might have enlarged his catalogue with *papiſts* and *prelates*, *deiſts*, *ranters*, *behemiſts*, &c. &c. or if he had pleaſed, a leſs number might have ſerved his turn, for very few of theſe ſectaries were collected into ſocieties; but his buſineſs was to blacken the adverſaries of preſbyterian uniformity, that the parliament might cruſh them by ſanguinary methods. Among his hereſies there are ſome which do not deſerve that name; and among his errors, ſome that never grew into a ſect, but fell occaſionally from the pen or lips of ſome wild enthuſiaſt, and died with the author. The *independents* are put at the head of the ſectaries, becauſe they were for *toleration of all chriſtians who agreed in the fundamentals of religion*; to prove this, which they never denied, he has collected ſeveral paſſages out of their public prayers; one *independent* mi- p. 40.
niſter (ſays he) prayed that presbytery might be removed, and the kingdom of Chriſt ſet up; another prayed two or three times, *that the parliament might give liberty to tender conſciences*; another thanked God *for the liberty of conſciences granted in* America; and ſaid, *why, Lord, not in* England? Another prayed, *ſince God had delivered both* presbyterians *and* independents *from prelatical bondage*, that *the former might not be guilty of bringing their brethren into bondage.* The reader will judge of the ſpirit of this writer, by the foregoing ſpecimen of his performance, which I ſhould not have thought worth remembring, if our church-writers had not reported the ſtate of religion from his writings. " I knew Mr. *Ed-* Appeal, p.
" *wards* very well (ſays *Fuller*) my cotemporary in *Queen's-College*, who 58.
" often was tranſported beyond due bounds with the keenneſs and eagerneſs
" of his ſpirit, and *therefore I have juſt cauſe in ſome things to ſuſpect*
" *him.*" He adds farther, " I am moſt credibly informed by ſuch, who I

K. Charles I. 1646.

" confident will not abuſe me and poſterity therein, that Mr. *Herbert* " *Palmer* (an *anti-independent* to the height) being convinced that Mr. " *Edwards* had printed ſome falſhoods in one ſheet of his *Gangræna*, pro- " ferred to have a ſheet reprinted at his own charge, but ſome accident " obſtructed it." However our author went on publiſhing a ſecond and third *Gangræna*, full of moſt bitter invectives and reproaches, till his own friends were nauſeated with his performances.

Mr. Baxter's *account of them.*

The reverend Mr. *Baxter*, who attended the victorious army, mentions the *independents*, *anabaptiſts* and *antinomians*, as the chief ſeparatiſts, to whom he adds ſome other names, as *ſeekers*, *ranters*, *behemeniſts*, *vaniſts*, all which died in their infancy, or united in the people afterwards known by the name of QUAKERS; but when he went into the army he found " almoſt one half of the religious party among them ortho-

Baxter's Life, p. 53.

" dox, or but very lightly touched with the above-mentioned miſtakes, and " almoſt another half honeſt men, that had ſtepped further into the con- " tending way than they ought, but with a little help might be recovered; " *a few fiery, ſelf-conceited men among them kindled the reſt, and made all* " *the noiſe and buſtle*; for the greateſt part of the common ſoldiers were " ignorant men, and of little religion; theſe would do any thing to pleaſe " their officers, and were inſtruments for the *ſeducers* in their great work, " which was to cry down the *covenant*, to vilify pariſh miniſters, and eſ- " pecially the *ſcots* and the *presbyterians*." Mr. *Baxter* obſerves, that " theſe fiery hot men were hatched among the *old ſeparatiſts*; that they " were fierce with pride and conceit, and uncharitableneſs, but many of " the honeſt ſoldiers, who were only tainted with ſome doubts about *liberty* " *of conſcience*, and *independency*, would diſcourſe of the points of ſanc- " tification and chriſtian experience very ſavourily; the *ſeducers* above- " mentioned were great preachers, and fierce diſputants, but of no " ſettled principles of religion; ſome were of levelling principles as " to the ſtate, but all were agreed, that the *civil magiſtrate had no-* " *thing to do in matters of religion, any further than to keep the peace,* " *and protect the churches liberties*." The ſame writer adds, " To " ſpeak impartially, ſome of the preſbyterian miniſters frightened the ſec- " taries into this fury, by the unpeaceableneſs and impatience of their " minds; they ran from libertiniſm into the other extream, and were ſo " little ſenſible of their own infirmity, that they would not have them

Lord Clarendon's.

" tolerated, who were not only tolerable, but worthy inſtruments and " members in the churches." Lord *Clarendon* ſays, that CROMWELL and his officers preached and prayed publicly with their troops, and admitted few or no chaplains in the army, except ſuch as bitterly inveighed againſt the preſbyterian government, as more tyrannical than epiſcopacy; and that the common ſoldiers as well as the officers, did not only pray and preach among themſelves, but went up into the pulpits in all churches,

churches, and preached to the people, who quickly became inſpired with the ſame ſpirit; women as well as men taking upon them to pray and preach; which made as great a noiſe and confuſion in all opinions concerning religion, as there was in the civil government of the ſtate. *K.* Charles *I.* 1646.

Biſhop *Bramhall* in one of his letters to archbiſhop *Uſher* writes, that "the papiſts took advantage of theſe confuſions, and ſent over above one "hundred of their clergy, that had been educated in *France*, *Italy*, and "*Spain*, by order from *Rome*. In theſe nurſeries the ſcholars were taught "ſeveral handicraft trades and callings, according to their ingenuities, be-"ſides their functions in the church; they have many yet at *Paris* (ſays "the biſhop) fitting up to be ſent over, who twice in the week oppoſe one "the other; one pretending preſbytery, the other independency, ſome ana-"baptiſm, and others contrary tenets. The hundred that went over this "year (according to the biſhop), were moſt of them ſoldiers in the parlia-"ment army." But Mr. *Baxter* after a moſt diligent enquiry declares, "that he could not find them out;" which renders the biſhop's account ſuſpected. "The moſt that I could ſuſpect for papiſts among *Cromwel's* "ſoldiers (ſays he), were but a few that began as ſtrangers among the "common ſoldiers, and by degrees roſe up to ſome inferior officers, but "none of the ſuperior officers ſeemed ſuch." The body of the army had a vaſt averſion to the papiſts, and the parliament took all occaſions of treating them with rigor; for *June* 30. *Morgan* a *prieſt* was drawn, hanged, and quartered, for going out of the kingdom to receive orders from *Rome*, and then returning again. However without all queſtion, both church and ſtate were in the utmoſt diſorder and confuſion at the cloſe of this year. *Bp.* Bramhal *of the papiſts.* Par's Life of Uſher, p. 611. Life, p. 78.

Among the illuſtrious men of the parliament's ſide who died about this time, was *Robert D'Evereux* earl of *Eſſex*, ſon of the famous favourite of queen *Elizabeth*; he was educated to arms in the *Netherlands*, and afterwards ſerved the king and queen of *Bohemia* for the recovery of the *palatinate*. King *Charles* I. made him lieutenant of his army in his expedition againſt the *Scots*, and lord chamberlain of the houſhold; but the earl being unwilling to go into the arbitrary meaſures of the court in favour of popery and ſlavery, engaged on the ſide of the parliament, and accepted of the commiſſion of captain-general of their forces, for which the king proclaimed him a traytor. He was a perſon of great honour, and ſerved the parliament with fidelity; but being of opinion, that the war ſhould be ended rather by treaty than conqueſt, did not always puſh his ſucceſſes as far as he might. Upon the new modelling of the army, the cautious general was diſmiſſed with an honourable penſion for his paſt ſer- *Death of E. of* Eſſex. Ludlow, p. 186.

K. Charles I. 1646. services; after which he retired to his house at *Eltham* in *Kent*, where he died of a lethargy, occasioned by over-heating himself in the chace of a stag in *Windsor-Forest*, *Sept.* 14. 1646. in the fifty-fifth year of his age. He was buried with great funeral solemnity in *Westminster-Abbey*, *Octob.* 22. at the public expence, both houses of parliament attending the procession. His effigies was afterwards erected in *Westminster-Hall*, but some of the king's party found means in the night to cut off the head, and break the sword, arms and escutcheons. Mr. *Vines* preached his funeral sermon, and gave him a very high encomium, though lord *Clarendon* has stained his character for taking part with the parliament, which he says was owing to his pride and vanity. The earl's countenance appeared stern and solemn, but to his familiar acquaintance his behaviour was mild and affable. Upon the whole, he was a truly great and excellent person; his death was an unspeakable loss to the king, for he was the only nobleman, perhaps in the kingdom, who had interest enough with both parties, to have put an end to the civil war, at the very time when providence called him out of the world.

Death of Mr Colman, Among the remarkable divines may be reckoned the reverend and learned Mr. *Thomas Colman*, rector of St. *Peter*'s church in *Cornhill*; he was born at *Oxford*, and entered in *Magdalen-College* in the seventeenth year of his age; he afterwards became so perfect a master of the *hebrew* language, that he was commonly called Rabbi *Colman*. In the beginning of the civil war he left his rectory of *Blyton* in *Lincolnshire*, being persecuted from thence by the cavaliers. Upon his coming to *London*, he was preferred to the rectory of St. *Peter's Cornhill*, and made one of the assembly of divines. Mr. *Wood* says, he behaved modestly and learnedly in the assembly; and Mr. *Fuller* gives him the character of a modest and learned divine; he was equally an enemy to presbytery and prelacy, being of *erastian* principles; he fell sick while the assembly was debating the *jus divinum* of presbytery; and when they sent some of their members to visit him, he desired they would not come to an absolute determination till they heard what he had to offer upon the question; but his distemper encreasing he died in a few days, and the whole assembly did him the honour to attend his funeral in a body *March* 30. 1646.

Death of Dr Twisse. Athen. Oxon. About the middle of *July* died the learned doctor *William Twisse*, vicar of *Newbury*, and prolocutor of the assembly of divines; he was born at *Speenham-Land*, near *Newbury* in *Berkshire*; his father was a substantial clothier in that town, and educated his son at *Winchester* school, from whence he was translated to *New-College* in *Oxford*, of which he was *fellow*; here he employed himself in the study of divinity with the closest application, for sixteen years together. In the year 1604. he proceeded

master

maſter of *arts*; about the ſame time he entered into holy orders, and became a diligent and frequent preacher; he was admired by the univerſity for his ſubtle wit, exact judgment, exemplary life and converſation, and many other valuable qualities which became a man of his function. In the year 1614. he proceeded doctor of divinity, after which he travelled into *Germany*, and became chaplain to the princeſs *palatine*, daughter of king *James* I. After his return to *England*, he was made vicar of *Newbury*, where he gained a vaſt reputation by his uſeful preaching and exemplary living. His moſt able adverſaries have confeſſed, that there was nothing then extant more accurate and full, touching the *arminian* controverſy, than what he publiſhed: and hardly any who have written upon this argument ſince the publiſhing Dr. *Twiſſe*'s works, but have made an honourable mention of him. The doctor was offered the prebend of *Winchester*, and ſeveral preferments in the church of *England*; the ſtates of *Frieſland* invited him to the profeſſorſhip of divinity in their univerſity of *Franeker*, but he refuſed all. In the beginning of the civil war, he was forced from his living at *Newbury* by the cavaliers, and upon convening the aſſembly of divines, was appointed by parliament their *prolucutor*, in which ſtation he continued to his death, which happened after a lingering indiſpoſition, about the 20th of *July* 1646. in the ſeventy-firſt year of his age. He died in very neceſſitous circumſtances, having loſt all his ſubſtance by the king's ſoldiers, inſomuch that when ſome of the aſſembly were deputed to viſit him in his ſickneſs, they reported, that *he was very ſick, and in great ſtraits.* He was allowed to be a perſon of extenſive knowledge in ſchool divinity; a ſubtle diſputant, and withal, a modeſt, humble, and religious perſon. He was buried, at the requeſt of the aſſembly, in the collegiate church of St. *Peter's Weſtminſter*, near the upper end of the poor folks table, next the veſtry, *July* 24. and was attended by the whole aſſembly of divines: There his body reſted till the reſtoration of king *Charles* II. when his bones were dug up by order of council *Sep.* 14. 1661. and thrown with ſeveral others, into a hole in the church-yard of St. *Margaret*'s, before the back-door of the lodgings of one of the prebenderies.

K. Charles I. 1646.

Towards the end of the year died the reverend and pious Mr. *Jeremiah Burroughs*; he was educated in *Cambridge*, but obliged to quit the univerſity and kingdom for non-conformity in the late times. Upon his leaving *England*, he was choſen miniſter of an *engliſh* congregation at *Rotterdam*, with which he continued till the year 1642. when he returned to *England*, and became preacher to two of the largeſt and moſt numerous congregations about *London*, viz. *Stepney* and *Cripplegate*. He was one of the diſſenting brethren in the aſſembly, but was a divine of great candor, modeſty and charity. He never gathered a ſeparate congregation, nor accepted of a parochial living,

Death of Mr Jer. Burroughs.

K. Charles I. 1647.

living, exhauſting his ſtrength in continual preaching, and other ſervices of the church. He was an excellent ſcholar, a good expoſitor, a popular preacher; he publiſhed ſeveral treatiſes while he lived, and his friends have publiſhed many others ſince his death, which have met with a general acceptance. It was ſaid, the diviſions of the times broke his heart, becauſe one of the laſt ſubjects he preached upon, and printed, was his *Irenicum*, or an attempt to heal diviſions among Chriſtians. Mr. *Baxter* uſed to ſay, if all the preſbyterians had been like Mr. *Marſhall*, and the independents like Mr. *Burroughs*, their differences might eaſily have been compromiſed. He died of a conſumptive illneſs *Nov* 14. 1646. about the forty-ſeventh year of his age.

CHAP. VIII.

Proceedings of the aſſembly upon their confeſſion of faith and catechiſms. Provincial aſſemblies of London. *The king taken out of the parliament's cuſtody and conveyed to the army. Controverſy between the parliament and army. His majeſty's conduct. He eſcapes from* Hampton-Court *and is confined in the* Iſle of Wight.

Proceedings of the aſſembly upon their confeſſion.

THE reverend Mr. *Charles Herle* ſucceeded to the prolocutor's chair by order of parliament *July* 22. 1646. in the room of the late Dr. *Twiſſe*, when the diſcipline of the church being pretty well ſettled, it was moved to finiſh their *confeſſion of faith*. The *engliſh* divines would have been content with reviſing and explaining the thirty-nine articles of the church of *England*, but the *ſcots* inſiſting on a ſyſtem of their own, a committee was appointed to prepare materials for this purpoſe *May* 9. 1645; their names were Dr. *Gouge*, Dr. *Hoyle*, Mr. *Herle*, *Gataker*, *Tuckney*, *Reynolds*, and *Vines*, with the *ſcots* divines, who having firſt ſettled the *titles* of the ſeveral chapters, as they now ſtand, in their confeſſion of faith, in number thirty-two, diſtributed them for greater expedition, among ſeveral *ſub-committees*, which ſat two days every week, and then reported what they had finiſhed to the *committee*, and ſo to the aſſembly, where it was debated paragraph by paragraph. The diſputes about

about *diſcipline* had occaſioned ſo many interruptions that it was a year and half before this work was finiſhed, but on *Nov.* 26. 1646. the *prolocutor* returned thanks to the ſeveral committees, in the name of the aſſembly, for their great pains in perfecting the work committed to them. At the ſame time Dr. *Burges* was appointed to get it tranſcribed, in order to its being preſented to parliament, which was done *Dec.* 11. by the whole aſſembly in a body, under the title of, *the humble advice of the aſſembly of divines and others, now by authority of parliament, ſitting at* Weſtminſter, *concerning a confeſſion of faith.* The houſe of commons having voted the aſſembly thanks, deſired them to inſert the *proofs* of the ſeveral articles in their proper places, and then to print ſix hundred copies, and no more, for the peruſal of the houſes. The reverend Mr. *Wilſon*, Mr. *Byfield*, and Mr. *Gower*, were appointed, *Jan.* 6. to be a committee to collect the ſcriptures for confirmation of the ſeveral articles; all which after examination by the aſſembly were inſerted in the margin. And then the whole *confeſſion* was committed once more to a review of the three committees, who made report to the aſſembly of ſuch further amendments as they thought neceſſary; which being agreed to by the houſe it was ſent to the preſs. *May* 11. 1647. Mr. *Byfield*, by order of the houſe of commons, delivered to the members the printed copies of their *confeſſion of faith* with *ſcripture notes*, ſigned

K. Charles *I.* 1647.

They preſent it to the parliament.

MS. penes me.

Ruſh. p. 473. *The firſt order mentions only* 500 *copies.* Grey's exam. appen. Ruſhw. part IV. Vol. I. p. 482.

CHARLES HERLE, *Prolocutor*,
CORN. BURGES, HERBERT PALMER, *Aſſeſſors*,
HENRY ROBOROUGH, ADONIRAM BYFIELD, *Scribes*.

And becauſe no more were to be given out at preſent, every member ſubſcribed his name to the receipt thereof.

The houſe of commons began their examination of this confeſſion *May* 19. when they conſidered the whole firſt chapter article by article, but the diſturbances which aroſe between the parliament and army interrupted their proceeding the whole ſummer; but when theſe were quieted they reſumed their work, and *October* 2. ordered a chapter of the confeſſion of faith at leaſt to be debated every *Wedneſday*, by which means they got through the whole before the end of *March* following; for at a conference with the houſe of lords *March* 22, 1647-8. the commons preſented them with the *confeſſion of faith* as paſſed by their houſe, with ſome alterations: they agreed with the aſſembly in the doctrinal part of the confeſſion, and ordered it to be publiſhed, *June* 20. 1648. for the

Debates of the commons upon it.

Ruſhw. p. 1035.

K. Charles I. 1647.

satisfaction of the foreign churches, under the title of, *articles of religion approved and paſſed by both houſes of parliament, after advice had with an aſſembly of divines called together by them for that purpoſe.* The parliament not thinking it proper to call it a *confeſſion of faith*, becauſe the ſections did not begin with the words I *confeſs*; nor to annex matters of church government, about which they were not agreed, to *doctrinal articles*; thoſe chapters therefore, which relate to diſcipline, as they now ſtand in the aſſembly's confeſſion, were not printed by order of the houſe but re-committed, and at laſt laid aſide; as the whole thirtieth chapter, *of church cenſures, and of the power of the keys*; the thirty-firſt chapter, *of ſynods and councils, by whom to be called, and of what force in their decrees and determinations*; a great part of the twenty-fourth chapter, *of marriage and divorce*, which they referred to the laws of the land; and the fourth paragraph of the twentieth chapter, which determines *what opinions and parties diſturb the peace of the church, and how ſuch diſturbers ought to be proceeded againſt by the cenſures of the church, and puniſhed by the civil magiſtrate.* Theſe propoſitions, in which the very life and ſoul of preſbytery conſiſts, never were approved by the *engliſh* parliament, nor had the force of a law in this country: But the whole confeſſion, as it came from the aſſembly, being ſent into *Scotland*, was immediately approved by the general aſſembly and parliament of that kingdom, as the eſtabliſhed doctrine and diſcipline of their kirk; and thus it has been publiſhed to the world ever ſince, though the chapter abovementioned, relating to *diſcipline*, received no parliamentary ſanction in *England*; nevertheleſs, as the *entire confeſſion* was agreed to by an aſſembly of *engliſh* divines, I have given it a place in the *appendix*.

Articles of diſcipline rejected. Savoy conf. pref. p. 18, 19.

But the whole received by the ſcots *aſſembly and parliament.* Savoy conf. pref. p. 20.

Appendix, N° II.

Nor is it to be ſuppoſed, that the *confeſſion of faith it ſelf*, which determines ſo many abſtruſe points of divinity, ſhould have the unanimous and hearty aſſent of the whole aſſembly or parliament: for though all the divines were in the anti-arminian ſcheme, yet ſome had a greater latitude than others. I find in my *MS.* the diſſent of ſeveral members againſt ſome expreſſions relating to *reprobation, to the imputation of the active as well as paſſive obedience of Chriſt*, and to ſeveral paſſages in the chapters of *liberty of conſcience and church diſcipline*; but the *confeſſion*, as far as it related to *articles of faith*, paſſed the aſſembly and parliament by a very great majority.

Cenſures of it.

Various cenſures have been paſſed by learned men upon this laboured performance: ſome have loaded it with undeſerved reproaches; and others, perhaps, have advanced its reputation too high. Mr. *Collier* condemns it, for determining in favour of the morality of the ſabbath; for pronouncing the pope to be antichriſt; and for maintaining the *calvinian* rigors of *abſolute predeſtination, irreſiſtible grace*, and the *impotency of man's will*;

E. hiſt. p. 842.

will; doctrines in his opinion, inconſiſtent with chriſtianity. But then he obſerves, very juſtly, that it falls very ſhort of the *Scots* claim in points of diſcipline; it yields the magiſtrate a power of convening church aſſemblies, and of ſuperintending their proceedings; it is ſilent as to the independency of the church, and the *divine right* of preſbytery, *&c.* Upon the whole, the aſſembly's confeſſion, with all its faults, has been ranked by very good judges among the moſt perfect ſyſtems of divinity, that have been publiſhed upon the *calviniſtic* or *anti-arminian* principles in the laſt age. K. Charles I. 1647.

Aſſembly's larger and ſhorter catechiſms. Ruſhw. p. 888, 1060.

While the *confeſſion* was carrying through the aſſembly, committees were appointed to reduce it into the form of catechiſms; *one longer*, for the ſervice of a public expoſition in the pulpit, according to the cuſtom of foreign churches; the *other ſmaller*, for the inſtruction of children; in both which the *articles relating to church diſcipline* are entirely omitted. The larger catechiſm is a comprehenſive ſyſtem of divinity, and the ſmaller, a very accurate ſummary, though it has been thought a little too long, and in ſome particulars too abſtruſe for the capacities of children. The *ſhorter catechiſm* was preſented to the houſe of commons, *Nov.* 5. but the *larger*, by reaſon of the marginal references to ſcripture, which the houſes deſired might be inſerted, was not ready till the 14th of *April*, 1648. when the houſe ordered ſix hundred copies to be printed for the ſervice of the members; and having examined and approved it, they allowed it to be printed *by authority*, for public uſe, *September* 15. 1648. The king, after many ſolicitations, at the treaty of the *iſle of Wight*, offered to licenſe the ſhorter catechiſm, with a ſuitable preface; but that treaty proving unſucceſsful it was not accompliſhed. Ruſhw. p. 1326.

Scots commiſſioners take leave of the aſſembly.

The chief affairs committed to the aſſembly being thus finiſhed, Mr. *Rutherford* one of the *ſcots* divines, moved *October* 24. 1647. that it might be recorded in the *ſcribes* books, that the aſſembly had enjoyed the aſſiſtance of the honourable reverend and learned commiſſioners of the church of *Scotland*, during all the time they had been debating and perfecting theſe four things mentioned in the *covenant* (viz.) *their compoſing a directory for public worſhip*; *an uniform confeſſion of faith*; *a form of church government and diſcipline*; *and a public catechiſm*; ſome of their number having been preſent during the whole of theſe tranſactions; which being done, about a week after, he and the reſt of the commiſſioners took their leave and returned home; upon which occaſion Mr. *Herle* the prolocutor roſe up, and in the name of the aſſembly, "thanked the honourable and reverend commiſſioners, for their aſſiſtance; he "excuſed in the beſt manner he could, the *directory's* not being ſo well "obſerved as it ought: and lamented that the *aſſembly* had not power "to call offenders to an account; he confeſſes, that their affairs were

K. Charles I. 1647.

" very much embarraſſed, and that they were ſtill in a chaos of confuſion; " [the king being now taken out of the hands of the parliament, and in " cuſtody of the army] he takes notice what diſtreſſes the parliament " were in, while the common enemy was high and ſtrong; and adds, " that their extraordinary ſucceſſes hitherto, were owing to the prayers of " their brethren of *Scotland*, and other proteſtants abroad, as well as " to their own. He then mentions with concern ſome other reſtraints " the aſſembly lay under, but that this was not a proper ſeaſon for " redreſs."

They appoint a faſt for the diſtractions of England.

The commiſſioners went home under a very heavy concern for the ſtorm that was gathering over *England*, and for the hardſhips the *preſbyterians* lay under with reſpect to their diſcipline; and having obtained the eſtabliſhment of the *directory*, *the confeſſion of faith and catechiſms*, *the preſbyterian diſcipline*, *and* Rouſe's *pſalms in metre*, for the ſervice of their kirk, they appointed a general faſt, to lament their own defection from the *ſolemn league and covenant*, and the diſtreſſed condition of their brethren in *England*, who were zealous for carrying on the work of God, but were now oppreſſed, under pretence of *liberty*, when no leſs was aimed at than tyranny and arbitrary power.

If the parliament had diſſolved the aſſembly at this time, as they ought to have done, they had broke up with honour and reputation, for after this they did little more than examine candidates for the miniſtry, and ſquabble about the *jus divinum* of preſbytery; the grand conſultations concerning public affairs, and practiſing upon the new eſtabliſhment, being tranſlated to the provincial aſſemblies, and weekly meetings of the *London* clergy at *Sion college* *.

Rapin, p. 311.

* That the reader may form a judgment of what was intended to be eſtabliſhed in *England*, it may not be improper to ſet before him in one view, the diſcipline that was then ſettled in the kirk of *Scotland*, and ſubſiſts at this time. " In *Scotland* there are eight " hundred and ninety pariſhes, each of which is divided, in proportion to its extent, into " particular diſtricts, and every diſtrict has its own ruling elders and deacons; the ruling " elders are men of the principal quality and intereſt in the pariſh, and the deacons are " perſons of a good character for manners and underſtanding. A conſiſtory of miniſters, " elders, and deacons, is called a kirk ſeſſion, the loweſt eccleſiaſtical judicatory, which " meets once a week, to conſider the affairs of the pariſh. The miniſter is always mode- " rator, but without a negative; appeals lie from hence to their own preſbyteries, which " are the next higher judicatories. *Scotland* is divided into ſixty-nine preſbyteries, each " conſiſting of from twelve to twenty-four contiguous pariſhes. The miniſters of theſe " pariſhes, with one ruling elder, choſen half yearly out of every kirk ſeſſion, compoſe " a preſbytery. They meet in the *head town* and chuſe their moderator, who muſt be a " miniſter, half yearly; from hence appeals lie to provincial ſynods, which are compoſed " of ſeveral adjacent preſbyteries. Two, three, four to eight; there are fifteen in all. " The members are a miniſter and and a ruling elder out of every pariſh. Theſe ſynods " meet twice a year, at the principal town of its bounds. They chuſe a moderator, " who is their prolocutor. The acts of the ſynods are ſubject to the review of the general " aſſembly, the dernier reſort of the kirk of *Scotland*. It conſiſts of commiſſioners from " preſbyteries,

Though the city and ſuburbs of *London* had been formed into a *province*, and divided into 12 claſſical preſbyteries (as has been remembered under the laſt year, new complaints were ſtill made to the parliament of certain obſtructions to their proceedings; upon which the houſes publiſhed their reſolutions of *April* 22. 1647. entitled, *remedies for removing ſome obſtructions in church government*; in which they ordered letters to be ſent from the ſpeakers of both houſes to the ſeveral counties of *England*, immediately to divide themſelves into diſtinct preſbyteries and claſſes; "They then appoint the elders and miniſters of the ſeveral claſſes of the "*province of London*, to hold their provincial aſſembly in the convocation "houſe of St. *Paul*'s in *London*, upon the firſt *Monday* in *May* next "enſuing, and to adjourn their meetings *de die in diem*, and conclude "them with adjournment to the next opportunity, according to the or-"dinance of parliament; but that no act ſhall paſs or be valid in the ſaid "province of *London*, except it be done by the number of thirty-ſix "preſent, or the major part of them, whereof twelve to be miniſters, "and twenty-four ruling elders. That in the claſſical meetings, that "which ſhall be done by the major part preſent, ſhall be eſteemed the act "of the whole; but no act done by any claſſes ſhall be valid, unleſs it be "done by the number of fifteen preſent, or the major part of them, "whereof five to be miniſters and ten ruling elders." So that the number of *lay-elders* in theſe aſſemblies was double to the number of *miniſters*.

K. Charles I. 1647.

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According to this appointment the firſt provincial aſſembly met at the convocation houſe of St. *Paul*'s, *May* 3. conſiſting of three miniſters and ſix ruling elders from the ſeveral claſſes, in all about one hundred and eight perſons; at their firſt ſeſſion they choſe the reverend Dr. *Gouge* prolocutor, who opened the aſſembly with a ſermon at his own church in *Black-friars*, the reverend Mr. *Thomas Manton*, Mr. *Ralph Robinſon*, and Mr. *Cardel*, being appointed ſcribes. After their return to the *convocation-houſe*, a committee of ſeven miniſters and fourteen ruling elders, were choſen to conſider of the bnſineſs of the province.

First provincial aſſembly.

The MINISTERS *were*,

The reverend Mr. Whitaker,
Dr. Seaman,
Mr. Edw. Calamy,
Mr. Spurſtow,
The reverend Mr. Tuckney,
Mr. Proffet.
Mr. Jackſon.

The

"preſbyteries, royal burghs, and univerſities. A preſbytery of twelve miniſters ſends "two miniſters and one ruling elder; a preſbytery of between twelve and eighteen ſends "three, and one ruling elder; of between eighteen and twenty-four ſends four, and two "ruling elders; of twenty-four ſends five, and two elders; every royal burgh ſends one "elder, and *Edinburgh* two; every univerſity ſends one commiſſioner, uſually a mi-"niſter. The general aſſembly meets once a year, in the month of *May*, and is open-"ed and adjourned, by the king's royal commiſſioner appointed for that purpoſe."

K. Charles I. 1647.

The RULING ELDERS *were,*

Sir Edw. Popham,	Mr. Houghton,
Dr. Clarke,	Mr. Eyres,
Dr. Baſtwicke,	Mr. Vaughan,
Dr. Brinley,	Mr. Webbe,
Mr. Bence,	Mr. Engliſh,
Mr. Ruſſel,	Col. Sowtonſtall.
Mr. Bains,	Mr. ———

Any ſix to be a quorum, provided there be two miniſters, and four ruling elders. Their next meeting to be at *Sion college*, *May* 6. at two in the afternoon.

At the ſecond ſeſſions it was moved, that application be made to parliament, for liberty to remove the aſſembly from the *convocation houſe* to ſome other place; and accordingly they were allowed to adjourn to any place within the city or liberties of *London*, upon which they agreed upon *Sion college*, where they continued to meet twice a week to the end of the year 1659. as appears by a manuſcript of the late Mr. *Grange*, now in *Sion college* library.

Before their adjournment from the *convocation houſe* at St. *Paul*'s, they came to the following reſolutions; *reſolved*,

Gen. rules for the provincial aſſem.

1. That the provincial aſſembly ſhall meet twice every week, *Mondays* and *Thurſdays*.

2. That the moderator for the time being ſhall begin and end every ſeſſion with prayer.

3. When a new moderator is to be choſen tbe ſenior miniſter ſhall preſide.

4. The moderator ſhall be ſubject to the cenſure of the majority of the aſſembly, in caſe of complaint, and ſhall leave the chair while the complaint is debating, and the ſenior miniſter ſhall preſide.

5. Every one that ſpeaks ſhall direct his ſpeech to the moderator, and be uncovered.

6. No man ſhall ſpeak above three times to the ſame queſtion at one ſeſſions.

7. When any buſineſs is before the aſſembly relating to any particular member, he ſhall withdraw, if deſired by the majority.

8. After the aſſembly is ſet, no member ſhall withdraw without leave.

9. The names of the members preſent ſhall be recorded by the ſcribes.

Every

K. Charles I. 1647.

Every *provincial aſſembly* was diſſolved in courſe at the end of ſix months, when notice was given to the ſeveral claſſes to return new repreſentatives; but it was an ill omen upon them, that their meetings were interrupted almoſt the whole ſummer, by reaſon of the diſtraction of the times.

2d provin. aſſembly. Their petition to parliament. MS. Sion coll.

The ſecond *provincial aſſembly* met *Nov.* 8. Dr. *Seaman* moderator, and preſented a petition to the parliament in a body, *Jan.* 11. in which they humbly pray,

1. "That the number of delegates to the *provincial aſſembly* may be "enlarged, becauſe they found it difficult ſometimes to make up the num- "ber of thirty-ſix.

2. "That the houſes would quicken the ſettlement of thoſe claſſes "[in *London*] that were not yet formed, which they ſay were four.

3. "That ſome more effectual encouragement may be provided for a "learned miniſtry.

4. "That effectual proviſion may be made againſt clandeſtine mar- "riages, for the puniſhment of fornication, adultery, and ſuch uncleanneſs as is not fit to be named.

5. "That church cenſures may be ſo eſtabliſhed, that ſcandalous per- "ſons may be effectually excluded from church communion."

The parliament received them with reſpect, and promiſed to take the matter of their petition into conſideration, which was all that was done in the affair.

But beſides the *provincial aſſembly*, it has been remembered, that the *London* clergy had their weekly meetings at *Sion college*, to conſult about church affairs, in one of which they agreed, *ſince they could do no more*, to bear their public teſtimony againſt the errors of the times; and accordingly they publiſhed a treatiſe entitled, *a teſtimony to the truth of Jeſus Chriſt, and to our ſolemn league and covenant; as alſo againſt the errors, hereſies, and blaſphemies of theſe times, and the toleration of them; to which is added, a catalogue of the ſaid errors*, &c. dated from *Sion college*, *Dec.* 14. 1647. and ſubſcribed by fifty-eight of the moſt eminent paſtors in *London*, of whom ſeventeen were of the aſſembly of divines. Some time after the miniſters of *Glouceſterſhire* publiſhed their concurrence with the *London* miniſters, ſubſcribed by ſixty-four names. The miniſters of the province of *Lancaſter* by eighty-four. The *Devonſhire* miniſters by eighty-three; and the *Somerſet* miniſters by ſeventy-one.

London miniſters teſtimony to truth, and againſt error.

The *London* miniſters, in their firſt article, "touching matters of doc- "trine, declare their aſſent to the *Weſtminſter* aſſembly's confeſſion of "faith, and heartily deſire it may receive the ſanction of authority, "as the joint confeſſion of faith of the three kingdoms, in purſuance of "the covenant."

Touching

K. Charles I. 1647. Touching hereſies and errors, they declare their deteſtation and abhorrence of theſe following, among others,

L. Clarkſon. Biddle. p. 6. 1. "That the holy ſcriptures are not of divine authority, and the only rule of faith.

Criſp, Eaton, Saltmarſh. 2. "That God hath a bodily ſhape; that *God* is the name of a perſon; and that God is the author of ſin, having a greater hand in it than men themſelves.

Paul Beſt. Biddle. p. 8. 3. "That there is not a trinity of perſons in the godhead; that the Son is not co-equal with the Father; and that the Holy Ghoſt is only a miniſtring ſpirit.

Fulneſs of God's love to mankind, by L. S. Hammond's *Pract. Cat.* J. Goodwin, p. 149. 4. "That God has not elected ſome to ſalvation from eternity, and rejected or reprobated others; and that no man ſhall periſh in hell for *Adam*'s ſin.

5. "That Chriſt died for the ſins of all mankind; that the benefits of his death were intended for all; and that natural men may do ſuch things as whereunto God has by way of promiſe annexed grace and acceptation.

J. Goodwin. 6. "That man hath a free-will and power in himſelf to repent, to believe, to obey the goſpel, and do every thing that God requires to ſalvation.

Ham. 7. "That faith is not a ſupernatural grace, and that faithful actions are the only things by which a man is juſtified.

Randal, John Simpſon. 8. "That the moral law is not the rule of life; that believers are as clean from ſin as Chriſt himſelf; that ſuch have no occaſion to pray for pardon of ſin; that God ſees no ſin in his people, nor does he ever chaſtiſe them for it.

p. 17. Saltmarſh, *Smoak in the temple.* 9. "That there is no church, nor ſacraments, nor ſabbath; the opinions of the *Seekers*, now called QUAKERS.

Tombes. 10. "That the children of believers ought not to be baptized, nor baptiſm continued among chriſtians; that the meaning of the third commandment is, *Thou ſhalt not forſwear thyſelf.*

Saltmarſh. Ham. Milton, p. 19. 11. "That perſons of the next kindred may marry; and that indiſpoſition, unfitneſs, or contrariety of mind ariſing from natural cauſes, are a juſt reaſon of divorce.

p. 20. *Man's mortality, by* R. O. 12. "That the ſoul of man is mortal; that it ſleeps with the body; and that there is neither heaven nor hell till the day of judgment.

Bloody Tenet. Five Holland *miniſters.* p. 22. The laſt error they witneſs againſt, and in which all agree, is called the "ERROR OF TOLERATION, patronizing and promoting all other errors, hereſies, and blaſphemies whatſoever, under the groſly abuſed notion of LIBERTY OF CONSCIENCE;" and here they complain, as a very great grievance, "that men ſhould have liberty to worſhip God in

" that way and manner as ſhall appear to them moſt agreeable to the " word of God; and no man be puniſhed or diſcountenanced by autho- " rity for the ſame; and that an inforced uniformity of religion through- " out a nation or ſtate confounds the civil and religious, and denies the " very principles of chriſtianity and civility." K. Charles I. 1647.

They then bear their teſtimony to the *covenant*, and to the *divine right of preſbytery*. They lament the imperfect ſettlement of their diſcipline by the parliament, and lay the foundation of all their calamities in the countenancing of a public and general toleration, and conclude thus; " Upon all theſe conſiderations, we the miniſters of Jeſus Chriſt do here- p. 33. " by teſtify to our flocks, to all the kingdom, and to the reformed " world, our great diſlike of *prelacy*, *eraſtianiſm*, *browniſm*, and *indepen-* " *dency*; and our utter abhorrency of *anti-ſcripturiſm*, *popery*, *arianiſm*, " *ſocinianiſm*, *arminianiſm*, *antinomianiſm*, *anabaptiſm*, *libertiniſm*, and " *familiſm*; and that we deteſt the fore-mentioned *toleration*, ſo much " purſued and endeavoured in this kingdom, accounting it unlawful " and pernicious." What ſad work would theſe divines have made, had the *ſword* of the magiſtrate been at their diſpoſal!

The principal authors from whom theſe errors were collected, are mentioned in the margin; two of whom determined to vindicate the citations out of their books: Dr. *Hammond* publiſhed a vindication of 3 paſſages in his practical catechiſm, from the cenſures of the *London* miniſters; in which he very juſtly complains of the hard names with which the miniſters load the opinions they reject, as *abominable errors, damnable here-* p. 4. *ſies, horrid blaſphemies, many of which are deſtructive of the fundamentals of chriſtianity, and all of them repugnant to the holy ſcriptures, the ſcandal and offence of the reformed churches abroad, and the unparallelled reproach of this church and nation; and, in a word, the dregs and ſpawn of thoſe old curſed hereſies which have been already condemned.* The doctor then recites his three paſſages; the firſt concerning *univerſal redemption*; the ſecond concerning *faith's being the condition of our juſtification*; and the third concerning the *interpretation of the third commandment*; and avers them all to be true, and agreeable to the doctrine of the church of *England*. In concluſion the doctor deſires this favour, that either the firſt ſubſcriber Mr. *J. Downham*, who licenſed his *catechiſm* for the preſs, or elſe Dr. *Gouge* or Mr. *Gataker*, who are foremoſt in the ſecond rank, or ſome other perſons of learning, chriſtianity, and candor, would afford him their patience, perſonally and by fair diſcourſe, or any other chriſtian way, to debate the truth of theſe aſſertions, for which he will wait their leiſure. Dated from *Oxford*, *Jan.* 24. $164\frac{7}{8}$. but no body thought fit to accept the challenge. *Dr.* Hammond's *Vindication.*

K. Charles I. 1647.

And Mr. John Goodwin's.

Mr. *John Goodwin* was a learned divine, and a ſmart diſputant, but of a peculiar mould, being a republican, an independent, and a thorough *arminian*; he had been vicar of *Coleman-ſtreet*, whence he was ejected in the year 1645. by the committee for plundered miniſters, becauſe he refuſed to baptize the children of his pariſhioners promiſcuouſly, and to adminiſter the ſacrament to his whole pariſh. He had publiſhed ſeveral large and learned books; as, *The divine authority of the ſcriptures. Redemption redeemed. A treatiſe of juſtification.* And *an expoſition on the ninth chapter to the* Romans; out of which the above-mentioned exceptions were taken. This divine taking it amiſs to be marked for a heretic, challenged any of the *London* clergy to a diſputation, as thinking it a very unrighteous method to condemn opinions before they had been confuted. Mr. *William Jenkins*, at that time a warm and zealous preſbyterian, though afterwards ſoftened into more catholic principles, entered the liſts with our author, in a pamphlet entitled, *The buſy biſhop.* To which the other replied, in a book entitled, *The novice preſbyter inſtructed.* By ſome paſſages in which, one may diſcover the angry ſpirit of the times.

Mr. J. Goodwin's *reply to the rev. Mr.* Jenkins.

Mr. *Jenkins* had complained, that the orthodox clergy had ſhort commons, and were under the croſs, whereas the ſectaries met with the greateſt encouragement. To which Mr. *Goodwin* replies, "If by *orthodox miniſters*, he means thoſe of the adored order of preſbytery, with "what face can he ſay they are under the croſs? Is not the whole *engliſh* "element of church-livings offered up by the ſtate to their ſervice? "Are not all the benefices of the kingdom appropriated to their order? "And all others thruſt out of doors to make room for them? Muſt they "feed with *hecatombs* every day, or elſe complain of ſhort commons? Or "is Mr. *Jenkins* of *M. Craſſus*'s mind, who would have no one accounted rich, unleſs he could maintain an army with his revenue? In "what ſenſe can he affirm the *preſbyterian clergy* to be under the croſs? "Are *they* under the croſs who are ſcarce under the crown? Who are "carried by authority upon eagles wings: Over whom the parliament "itſelf rejoices to do good; heaping ordinance upon ordinance to advance both them and their livings together. But certainly there is ſomething that Mr. *Jenkins* calls a *croſs* which few men know by that "name, but thoſe who are baptized into the ſpirit of high preſbytery; for the *croſs* he ſpeaks of is no other than this, that *his orthodox brethren have not the power to do all the evil that is in their hearts againſt a quiet, peaceable, harmleſs generation of men*, of whom they "are jealous, leſt they ſhould take their kingdom from them. How "can this writer ſay, that the independent preachers meet with encouragement, and are under worldly glory? Does he account it matter

"of

" of worldly glory, to be diſcountenanced by the ſtate, to be declared " uncapable of thoſe favours and privileges which other miniſters in the " land enjoy; to be ſequeſtered from their livings, and to be thruſt " into holes and corners; to be repreſented both to the magiſtrate and " people, as ſectaries, ſchiſmatics, erroneous, heretical, factious, trouble- " ſome, dangerous to the ſtate, and what not? If this be worldly glory, " then may the preachers, againſt whom Mr. *Jenkins* writes, be truly " ſaid to be under worldly glory." Old Mr. *Vicars* and ſome others, carried on the controverſy, but their writings are not worth remembring; eſpecially ſince the *engliſh* preſbyterians of the preſent age have openly renounced and diſavowed their principles. K. Charles I. 1647.

Views of the different parties concerned in the war.

To return to more public affairs; hitherto the army had acted in perfect ſubordination to the parliament; but the war being over, and the king a priſoner, the great difficulty was to ſettle the nation upon ſuch a foot as might content the ſeveral parties, or bring them at leaſt to acquieſce; this was the rock upon which they ſplit, and which in the end, proved the ruin of their cauſe. To give light to this affair it will be proper to conſider the ſeparate views of the king, the parliament, and the army.

Of the king.

The royal party being broken, and the king a priſoner, his majeſty had no proſpect of recovering his throne but by dividing his enemies, in order to the making the beſt terms with them he could; the *preſbyterians* being in league with the *ſcots* nation were moſt numerous and powerful; but that which rendered their agreement with the king impracticable, was his majeſty's zealous attachment to this point, that *epiſcopal government was eſſential to chriſtianity*, and that he was bound by his *coronation oath* to maintain it; whereas the others held themſelves equally bound by their *ſolemn league and covenant* to aboliſh epiſcopacy, and eſtabliſh preſbytery in its room. Both parties were immovable, and therefore irreconcileable. His majeſty's agreement with the *army* was more open and practicable, becauſe they would have ſet aſide the *covenant*, and obliged the parliament to tolerate epiſcopal government as well as the ſectaries; but the king could never forgive thoſe officers, who had deſtroyed his armies, and driven him out of the field: Though he dreaded their military valour, he had a very mean opinion of their politics, and therefore affected to play them againſt the parliament, hoping to take advantage of their diviſions, and eſtabliſh himſelf upon the ruins of both; for it was his majeſty's maxim, which he did not ſcruple to avow, that *neither party could ſubſiſt without him, and that thoſe muſt be ruined whom he abandoned.* By which unhappy principle he loſt his intereſt, both

K. Charles I. 1647. in the parliament and army, and (as biſhop *Kennet* obſerves) laid the foundation of his ruin.

Of the parliament and preſbyterians.

The *presbyterians* were no leſs unhappy in an imagination, that as the majority of the houſe of commons, with the city of *London*, and the whole *ſcots* nation were firmly attached to their intereſt, no oppoſition could ſtand before them, and therefore would abate nothing of their demands, nor hearken to any other terms of accommodation with the king, than thoſe of the *covenant*, which were *the entire aboliſhing of prelacy, and the eſtabliſhing* preſbyterian *uniformity throughout both kingdoms, with an abſolute extirpation of all ſectaries whatſoever.* This was not only an effectual bar to their union with the king (as has been obſerved), but awakened the jealouſy of the army, who were thoroughly convinced, that when the *presbyterians* were in the legal poſſeſſion of their demands, they would exerciſe equal tyranny over the conſciences of men with the biſhops; and indeed nothing leſs was to be expected, conſidering their ſteady adherence to the *covenant* in all their treaties, their efforts in parliament to get the *power of the keys* into their own hands, their frequent addreſſes for the ſuppreſſing all ſectaries by the civil authority, and their declarations both from the pulpit and preſs, againſt toleration and liberty of conſcience. In all their treaties with the king, even to that in the *Iſle of Wight* (except when the army was in poſſeſſion of the cities of *London* and *Weſtminſter*) this was one article of peace, *That an effectual courſe be taken by act of parliament, and all other ways needful* or expedient, for *ſuppreſſing the opinions of the* independents, *and all other ſectaries.* To which his majeſty had agreed in his private treaty with the *ſcots* in the *Iſle of Wight*, ſigned *December* 27. ſo that the army was left unſatisfied.

Of the army and independents.

For although there were ſome few preſbyterians in the army, the greateſt part conſiſted of *independents, anabaptiſts*, and men of *unſettled principles* in religion, who for want of regular chaplains to their regiments, had uſed their own talents among themſelves in religious exerciſes. The *ſcots* treaty of the *Iſle of Wight* ſays the army was made up of *anti-trinitarians, arians, ſocinians, anti-ſcripturiſts, anabaptiſts, antinomians, arminians, familiſts, browniſts, ſeparatiſts, independents, libertines, ſeekers*, &c.

Mr. *Rapin* contrary to the teſtimony of all other writers, calls them all *independents*, and repreſents the controverſy between the parliament and them as a diſpute, *Whether presbytery and independency ſhould be uppermoſt*; whereas the grand controverſy was, *presbytery with a toleration, or without one.* The army conſented that preſbytery ſhould be the national religion, but inſiſted upon a *toleration of all chriſtians* in the enjoyment of all their civil and religious rights. This (ſays Lord *Clarendon*) was their *great charter*, and till they had obtained it by a legal ſettle-

ſettlement, they agreed not to lay down their arms: They had fought the parliament's battles, and therefore thought it unreaſonable to be told openly, if they would not comply with the *presbyterian* ſettlement, they muſt expect to be puniſhed as *ſectaries*, and driven out of the land. To avoid this, they treated ſeparately with the king, both before and after they had him in their hands; and when they apprehended he did not deal ſincerely with them, they made propoſals to the parliament to eſtabliſh the preſbyterian diſcipline, with a toleration to all proteſtants, without him; but when they found the preſbyterians, even in their laſt treaty with the king, in the year 1648. inſiſting upon preſbyterian uniformity, without making the leaſt proviſion for that liberty of conſcience they had been contending for, they were exaſperated and grew outragious; they ſeized his majeſty's perſon a ſecond time, and having purged the houſe of commons, in a moſt arbitrary manner, of all who were not diſpoſed to their deſperate meaſures, they blew up the whole conſtitution, and buried king, parliament, and preſbytery, in its ruins. This was not in their original intention, nor the reſult of any ſet of religious principles they embraced (as *Rapin* inſinuates), but was a violence reſulting from *deſpair*, to which they had been driven by a ſeries of diſappointments, and a train of miſtaken conduct in the loyaliſts and preſbyterians. *K. Charles I. 1647.*

We left the king the beginning of the ſpring at his houſe at *Holmby*, where he continued under an eaſy reſtraint from the 16th of *February* to the 4th of *June* following. The war being ended, the houſes attempted to get rid of the army, by offering ſix months pay, and ſix weeks advance, to as many as would go over to *Ireland*; and by voting, that the remainder ſhould be diſbanded, with an act of indemnity for all hoſtities committed by them, in purſuance of the powers veſted in them by parliament; but the army being apprehenſive that the preſbyterians would make peace with the king, upon the foot of *covenant uniformity*, and without a *toleration*, reſolved to ſecure this as a kind of *preliminary* point; for which purpoſe they choſe a *council of officers*, and a *committee of agitators*, conſiſting of two inferior officers out of each regiment, to manage their affairs; theſe met in diſtinct bodies, like the two houſes of parliament, and came to the following reſolutions, which they ſent to *Weſtminſter* by three of their number, who delivered them in at the bar of the houſe, "That they would not diſband without their arrears, nor "without full proviſion for *liberty of conſcience*; that they did not look "upon themſelves as a band of *janizaries*, but as voluntiers, that had "been fighting for the liberties of the nation, of which they were a "part, and that they were reſolved to ſee thoſe ends ſecured." It was moved in the houſe, that the meſſengers might be committed to the *Tower*; *Controverſy between the parl. and army.* *Council of officers and agitators.* Ruſhw. Vol. VI. p. 485, 498. Rapin, p. 366.

K. Charles I. 1647.

Tower; but, after a long debate, they were diſmiſſed only with a reprimand for meddling in affairs of ſtate, and for preſuming to offer a petition to parliament without their *general*. Upon this the officers ſent their petition by the general himſelf, but the parliament inſtead of taking it into conſideration, ordered *May* 21. that all who would not liſt for the *iriſh* ſervice, ſhould be immediately paid off and diſbanded; upon which the officers ſeeing the ſnare that was laid for them, bound themſelves and the army by an engagement *May* 29. not to diſband till the grievances above-mentioned were redreſſed. Whereupon the two houſes ordered lieutenant-general *Cromwell*, who was then in town, and ſuſpected to be at the head of theſe counſels, to be ſeized; but being advertiſed of the deſign, he made his eſcape to the army. They then voted the petition ſeditious, and all thoſe traytors who had promoted it; and having ſent a meſſage to the *general*, to remove the army further from *London*, they raiſed the city trained bands, and determined to put an end to the power of the army by a ſpeedy concluſion of peace with the king.

King's anſwer to the propoſitions at Newcaſtle.

His majeſty's anſwer to the propoſitions at *Newcaſtle* were read in the houſe *May* 18, in which "he agrees to ſettle the preſbyterian government for three years —— to ratify the aſſembly of divines at *Weſtminſter*, propoſing a few of his own clergy to conſider what government to "ſettle afterwards —— he yields the militia for ten years —— deſires "miniſters of his own to ſatisfy him about the *covenant* —— conſents to "the act againſt papiſts —— and to an act of oblivion —— and deſires "to come to *London*, in order to give the parliament ſatisfaction upon the "other articles." Two days after the lords voted, that the king be removed to his houſe at *Oatlands*, and that it be immediately fitted for his reception.

The king ſeized and carried to the army. Ruſhw. p. 545, 549. Rapin, p. 371.

Things being come to this criſis, the *agitators* conſidered, that the KING being the prize contended for, whoever had him in their power muſt be maſters of the peace, and make their own terms; they therefore reſolved by the advice and direction of lieutenant-general *Cromwell*, to get poſſeſſion of his majeſty's perſon, which they accompliſhed by a bold ſtratagem, in the night of *June* 4. with very little oppoſition from his attendance or guards; cornet *Joyce* at the head of fifty reſolute horſe, having ſecured the avenues to *Holmby-Houſe*, entered with two or three of his company, and going to the king's chamber, acquainted him with his deſign, of carrying him to the army at *New-Market*; his majeſty being ſurprized at ſo unexpected a viſit, and ſo late at night, aſked for his commiſſion, who pointed to his troops drawn up before the gates; his majeſty anſwered, *it was very legible*; and finding it in vain to reſiſt, conſented to go with the *cornet* next morning, on promiſe of ſafety to his perſon,

and

and that he ſhould not be forced to any thing againſt his conſcience; the chief officers of the army met his majeſty at *Childerly*, four miles from *Cambridge*, and were admitted to kiſs his hand; from thence he was removed to *New-market*, where he took the diverſion of the *Heath*, had the liberty of four of his own chaplains to wait upon him, and was attended with all due ceremony and reſpect; *Cromwell* being heard to ſay among his friends, that *now he had got the king into his hands he had the parliament in his pocket.* *K.* Charles I. 1647.

Which ſtrikes the two houſes with ſurprize.

The two houſes received the news of the king's being carried off to the army with the utmoſt ſurprize and aſtoniſhment; the whole city was in conſuſion, and all perſons within the lines of communication ordered to arms; the *lobby* at *Weſtminſter* was thronged with the diſbanded officers of the earl of *Eſſex*'s army offering their ſervice to the parliament; for every one imagined the army would be at the gates of the city in a few hours; when their *pannick* was a little abated, commiſſioners were ſent to the *general*, not to advance within forty miles of *London*, but being already at St. *Alban*'s, the general promiſed not to march his army nearer without due notice; and aſſured the two houſes, that *they would not oppoſe the preſbyterial government, nor ſet up the independent*; but only inſiſted, that ſome effectual courſe might be taken, that ſuch who upon conſcientious grounds differed from the eſtabliſhment, might not be debarred from the common rights liberties or benefits belonging equally to all, while they lived ſoberly and inoffenſively towards others, and peaceably and faithfully towards the ſtate. *June* 10. another letter was ſent to the lord-mayor, aldermen, and common council of *London*, ſigned by *Fairfax*, *Cromwell*, and twelve other officers, aſſuring them, "they intended no alteration of the civil government; *nor to interrupt the ſettlement of preſbytery*; nor to introduce a licentious liberty, under colour of obtaining eaſe for tender conſciences, but that when the ſtate had made a ſettlement they would ſubmit or ſuffer. They wiſhed that every peaceable ſubject might have liberty and encouragement, for the obtaining which (ſay they) we are drawing near the city —— We ſeek the good of all, and ſhall wait for a time to ſee if theſe things may be ſettled without us, and then we will embark for *Ireland* ——" Ruſhw. p. 546, 561, 589, &c. Rapin, p. 375, 379. Ruſhw. p. 554.

Declaration of the army.

The commons took no notice of theſe remonſtrances, but declared in print, *that his majeſty was a priſoner, and barbarouſly uſed*, becauſe the commiſſioners could have no acceſs to him, but in preſence of ſome officers; the army replied, "that all ſuggeſtions of that nature were abſolutely falſe, and contrary to their principles, which are moſt clearly for a *general right, and juſt freedom to all men*, and therefore upon this Ruſhw. p. 589, 590.

K. Charles I. 1647.

" occaſion they declare to the world, that they deſire the ſame for the " king, and others of his party, ſo far as can conſiſt with common right " and freedom, and with the ſecurity of the ſame for the future. And *we do* " *clearly profeſs* (ſay they) *that we do not ſee how there can be any peace to* " *this kingdom firm or laſting, without a due proviſion for the rights, quiet,* " *and immunity of his majeſty, his royal family, and his late partakers*; and " herein we think, that tender and equitable dealing (as ſuppoſing their " caſes had been ours) and a ſpirit of common love and juſtice diffuſing " itſelf to the good and preſervation of all, will make the moſt glorious " conqueſt over their hearts, to make them and the whole people of the " land, laſting friends."

The preſbyterians *in parliament reſolve to oppoſe the army.*

The leading members of the preſbyterian party in the houſe of commons, could not contain themſelves within any reaſonable bounds, at theſe proceedings; they ſaid it was inſufferable that the parliament inſtead of treating with the king, ſhould be obliged to treat with their own ſervants, and therefore adviſed raiſing a new army, and oppoſing force with force, till thoſe who had the king in their cuſtody, ſhould ſubmit to their ſuperiors and deliver him back. On the other hand, the officers and agitators reſolved to get rid of theſe reſolute gentlemen, and therefore impeached eleven of the members of high-treaſon, *June* 16. for obſtructing the buſineſs of *Ireland*; for acting againſt the army and againſt the laws and liberties of the ſubject, *&c.* and deſired they might be ſuſpended from the houſe till they were legally acquitted: Their names were *Denzil Hollis* Eſq; Sir *Phil. Stapleton*, Sir *William Lewis*, Sir *John Clotworthy*, Sir *William Waller*, Sir *John Maynard*, Major General *Maſſey*, Mr. *Glyn* recorder, Colonel *Walter Long*, Colonel *Edward Harley*, *Antony Nichols* Eſq. The commons not only rejected their impeachment, but ordered the king to be brought to *Richmond*, and that four full companies of the militia ſhould guard the two houſes. This quickened the reſentments of the army, who ſent them the following propoſals, among others, *June* 23. "——That the " king's coming to *Richmond* be ſuſpended; —— that no place be ap- " pointed for his reſidence nearer *London* than the parliament will allow " the quarters of the army; —— that the impeached members be ſe- " queſtered the houſe; —— that the multitude of ſoldiess that flock to- " gether about the city be diſperſed, and that no new forces be raiſed, nor " any preparations made for a new war." If theſe particulars are not complied with in a week's time, they declare they will march to *London* and do themſelves juſtice. The houſes being terrified with the approach of the army agreed to content them for the preſent, in order to gain time; and the impeached members having deſired leave to withdraw, retired firſt into the city, and after ſome time left the kingdom. The other requeſts of the army were alſo complied with; whereupon after

Eleven of their members impeached.

Ruſhw. p. 570, 572. Rapin, p. 380.

Ruſhw. p. 585.

Whitl. p. 264. Rapin, p. 385, 388.

return-

returning thanks to the houſes, they retreated to *Wickham*, and appointed commiſſioners to ſettle all remaining differences with the parliament. K. Charles I. 1647.

But the city of *London*, by the influence of the impeached members, kindled into a flame; for the parliament by an ordinance of *May* 4. having put the nomination of the officers of the militia into the hands of the common-council; *theſe* had diſcharged the *old ones*, and put in ſuch as they could confide in for oppoſing the army, and eſtabliſhing uniformity according to the *covenant*; the *officers* in order to defeat their deſign inſiſted, that the ordinance of *May* 4. be repealed, and the militia put into the hands of thoſe who had conducted it during the courſe of the late war. The houſes with much reluctance, conſented to the repeal *July* 23. which alarmed the citizens, and occaſioned thoſe tumults which brought upon them the very miſchiefs they were afraid of. *Denzil Hollis* with the other impeached members who were retired into the city, prevailed with the common-council to oppoſe the repeal, and petition the houſe, that the ordinance of *May* 4. might remain in full force. At the ſame time ſome citizens met at *Skinners-Hall*, and ſubſcribed a ſolemn *engagement* to endeavour with the hazard of their lives to procure "a perſonal treaty with the king; —— that he might return "to his two houſes with honour and ſafety; —— that his majeſty's con- "ceſſions of *May* 11. might be confirmed, and the militia continue in "the hands of the preſent committee." How vain was all this buſtle, when they knew the king was in the cuſtody of thoſe who would pay no regard to their demands. The houſes indeed forbid the ſigning of the *engagement* by ſound of trumpet, but ſuch was the miſguided zeal of the citizens, that they held aſſemblies, liſted ſoldiers, and gave them orders to be ready on the firſt notice.

Commotions in the city.

Ib. p. 386.

Ruſhw. p. 637. Rapin, p. 392.

The parliament was now in great perplexity, conſidering the impoſſibility of contenting the preſbyterians and the army at the ſame time; while the citizens, reſolved to carry their point by one method or another, went up to *Weſtminſter July* 26. with ſuch a number of apprentices and young men, as terrified the houſes by their tumultuous and inſolent behaviour; for they would ſcarce ſuffer the door to be ſhut; ſome thruſt themſelves into the houſe with their hats on, crying out, *vote*, *vote*, and when the *ſpeaker* would have left the chair to put an end to the confuſion, they obliged him to return, till the *militia* was ſettled to their mind, and the king voted to come to *London*. This (ſays Mr. *Baxter*) looked like a force upon the parliament; and indeed both houſes were ſo terrified and preſſed between the city preſbyterians on one ſide, and the army on the other, that they adjourned immediately from *Monday* to *Friday*, in which interval

Tumults in the parliament houſe. Ruſhw. p. 642, Rapin, p. 404.

Which occaſions ſeveral of the members to retire to the army.

K. Charles I. 1647.

val the earl of *Manchester* ſpeaker of the houſe of lords, with eight peers, and the ſpeaker of the houſe of commons, with about a hundred members *, withdrew privately from the city, and joined the army; a ſurprizing event in their favour! the *officers* received them with the utmoſt ſatisfaction and tranſport, paying them all imaginable honours, and aſſuring them, that they would re-eſtabliſh them in their full power, or die in the attempt. There muſt ſurely have been ſome very preſſing reaſons for this conduct, otherwiſe ſo many zealous preſbyterians, as were moſt of the members who quitted the parliament houſe, would not have had recourſe to the protection of the army. Lord *Clarendon* believes, that they apprehended the army deſigned to reſtore the king to all his rights at this time, and that they were willing to avoid his majeſty's vengeance, by concurring with them in his reſtoration, which is not unlikely, if they could have brought him to their terms.

Proceedings of the remainder. Rapin, p. 399, 400. Ruſhw. p. 377.

However the preſbyterian members that remained in *London*, aſſembled on *Friday* according to adjournment, and having choſe a new ſpeaker, voted —— the king ſhould come to *London*; —— that the eleven impeached members ſhould be reſtored; —— that a committee of ſafety ſhould join the city militia; — and that forces ſhould be immediately raiſed under the command of *Waller*, *Maſſey*, and *Poyntz*; in all which they appeared ſo reſolute, that no man could imagine but either that they had the king at their diſpoſal, or intended a brave and valiant defence of the city. The common-council gave orders for the trained bands to repair to the works, and for all capable of bearing arms to appear at the places of rendezvous. *Maſſey*, *Waller*, and *Poyntz*, were alſo buſy in forming regiments and companies; and the committee of the militia were empowered to puniſh ſuch as did not repair to their colours. At the ſame time they writ to their brethren in *Scotland*, to return with their army immediately to their aſſiſtance; but alas! they were at too great a diſtance; however they publiſhed a declaration in the name of the kirk and whole kingdom *Aug.* 13. wherein they engage by a ſolemn oath, to eſtabliſh the preſbyterian government in *England*; —— to redeem his majeſty out of the hands of ſchiſmatics, and place him at the head of his parliament with honour; —— to vindicate the honour of the eleven impeached members, and to ſettle the privileges of parliament againſt the over-awing power of the army. A little after they declared againſt *toleration* and *liberty of conſcience*, reſolving to the laſt man to ſtand by the *covenant* whatever the *engliſh* parliament might ſubmit to.

Army reſolve to march to London. Ruſhw. p. 745, 756.

Purſuant to the order of the two houſes, the general had removed his head quarters above forty miles from the city, till upon the repreſentation of

* Dr. *Zach. Grey* ſays there were but 59, but I don't know his authority.

of the members, who fled to them for protection from the outragious violence of the city mob, they resolved to push their advantage, and bring the mutineers to justice; accordingly they resolved to march to *London*, and rendezvous'd the whole army on *Hounslow-Heath*, *August* 3. to the number of twenty thousand men, with a suitable train of artillery, accompanied with fourteen peers, and about one hundred members of the house of commons. The citizens were no sooner informed of this, than their courage sunk at once, and instead of defending the city, they ordered the militia to retire from the lines, and sent their submission to the *general*, promising to open their passes, and give all assistance to the replacing of those members who had withdrawn to the army. *Aug.* 6. being appointed for this service, the mayor and aldermen met the general at *Hyde-Park* with a present of a gold cup, beseeching him to excuse what had been amiss; but his *excellency* refused the *present*, and having dismissed them with very little ceremony, conducted the members to their seats in parliament, who immediately voted all proceedings in their absence void, and gave thanks to the army for their safe-conduct. Next day the army marched through the city without any disorder, and constituted colonel *Titchburn* lieutenant of the *Tower*, contrary to the request of the lord-mayor and citizens; the militia was changed, and put into the hands of the old officers who had conducted it before; the fortifications and lines of circumvallation about the city were levelled, and sundry peers who had been at the head of the late tumults, were impeached of high-treason, as the earl of *Suffolk*, *Middlesex*, *Lincoln*, lord *Willoughby* of *Parham*, *Hundson*, &c. the lord-mayor, and some of the principal citizens were sent to the *Tower*; and it was resolved to purge the house of all who had been active in the late unhappy riot; which put a full period to the presbyterian power for the present; and the army being quartered near the city all the next winter, there was a council of officers at their head quarters at *Putney*, whose debates and resolutions had, no doubt, a very powerful influence upon the resolutions of the two houses.

K. Charles I. 1647.

City submits. Rushw. p. 751. 750.

The odium of this grand revolution, by which the army became masters of the city of *London*, and of the parliament itself, fell chiefly on the *presbyterians* themselves, whose intemperate zeal for *covenant* uniformity carried them to very impolitic excesses. The sermons of their ministers were filled with invective against the army while at a distance; in their public prayers they intreated the *Almighty* to incline the hearts of the *Scots* to return to their relief; and the conversation of their people was riotous and disorderly; however least the weight of this revolution should fall too heavily on the *London* ministers, as the chief incendiaries of the people, they wisely prepared a vindication of themselves, and published it four

Presbyterian *ministers vindication of themselves.*

K. Charles I. 1647. days before the army entered the city; it was dated from *Sion-College Auguſt* 2. 1647. and is to this purpoſe;

"WE the miniſters of *London*, whoſe names are ſubſcribed, do "profeſs in the preſence of the ſearcher of all hearts,

1. "That we have never done any thing purpoſely and willingly to "engage the city againſt the army, or the army againſt the city, but have "ſincerely and faithfully endeavoured to prevent it.

2. "That ſeeing both the parliament and city have declared the neceſſi- "ty of putting the city into a preſent poſture of defence, yet proteſting "againſt any deſires of a new war, and thereupon have called upon us to "ſtir up the people to prepare for their defence: we accordingly have done, "and ſhall do our duty therein, that the people may be encouraged to "their own juſt and neceſſary preſervation.

3. "But withal, we profeſs our abhorence of the ſhedding any "blood on either ſide; and we humbly pray all whom it may con- "cern, that they will be very careful in preventing it by a ſeaſonable "treaty."

Signed by about twenty of the *London* miniſters, and preſented to a committee of both houſes, ſitting at *Guild-hall.*

Remarks. Let the reader now pauſe a little, and judge of the authors of this grand revolution, which brought the parliament under the power of the army, and how far the preſbyterian miniſters were concerned in it. Mr. *Baxter* in a very angry ſtile lays all the blame at the door of the *independents.* "A few diſſenting members of the *Weſtminſter* ſynod (ſays he) "began all this, and carried it far on. Afterwards they encreaſed, and "others joined them, who partly by ſtiffneſs, and partly by policy, en- "creaſed our flames, and kept open our wounds, as if there had been "none but they conſiderable in the world, and having an army and *city-* "*agents* fit to ſecond them, effectually hindered all remedy, till they had "daſhed all into pieces as a broken glaſs. One would have thought, "that if all their opinions had been certainly true, and their church-order "good, yet the intereſt of Chriſt and the ſouls of men, and of greater "truths, ſhould have been ſo regarded by the dividers in *England*, as "that the ſafety of all theſe ſhould have been preferred, and not all ruined, "rather than their way ſhould want its carnal arm and *liberty*; and that "they ſhould not tear the government of Chriſt all to pieces rather that it "ſhould want their *lace.*" I am far from clearing the *independents* from all manner of blame in their conduct; their principles might be too narrow and miſtaken in ſome points, and their zeal for chriſtian liberty betray them into

Mr. Baxter's *opinion.* Abridg. p. 97.

into ſome imprudencies. But on which ſide was the ſtiffneſs? on theirs who only deſired a peaceable toleration; or on theirs who were determined to make the whole nation ſtoop to preſbyterian uniformity? were not theſe the men who kept open the churches wounds? had their diſcipline been ever ſo good, yet certainly they might have had ſome regard to men of piety and virtue, who had not equal diſcernment with themſelves; could they not be content with being the eſtabliſhed religion, and having moſt of the livings of the kingdom divided among them, without trampling on the religious rights of mankind, by enforcing an abſolute uniformity, which can never be maintained but on the ruins of a good conſcience, and therefore is no means of promoting the true intereſt of Chriſt and ſalvation of ſouls? Mr. *Baxter* had milder ſentiments in his latter days; and 'tis for the honour of the preſent generation of thoſe commonly called *preſbyterians*, that they have not only abandoned and renounced theſe ſervile doctrines, but have appeared in defence of the civil and religious liberties of mankind, upon the moſt ſolid and generous principles. *K. Charles I. 1647.*

His majeſty was obliged all this time to attend the removes of the army; from *New-market* he came to *Royſton*, *June* 24. from thence to *Hatfield*; from thence to *Windſor*, and two days after to *Caveſham*, where he had the pleaſure of converſing with his children. But when the city of *London* threatened a new war, his majeſty was removed to a greater diſtance; about the middle of *July* he was at *Maidenhead*; and towards the end of the month at *Latimer*'s in *Buckinghamſhire*; when the army had got poſſeſſion of the city they brought his majeſty back to *Oatlands*, *Aug.* 14. and two days after to *Hampton-court*, where he appeared in ſtate and ſplendor about three months, being attended by the proper officers of the court, and a vaſt reſort of people both from city and country. *The king's motions with the army.*

While the king was with the army, lieutenant-general *Cromwell* and *Ireton* took ſundry opportunities to confer with his majeſty privately about his reſtoration. They offered to ſet him upon the throne with the freedom of his conſcience in point of epiſcopacy, or loſe their lives in the attempt, if he would conſent to their propoſals to the parliament, and beſtow ſome particular preferments on themſelves, and a few of their friends, wiſhing that God would deal with them and their families according to their ſincerity. Nay they engaged to indemnify his *whole party*, if they would be quiet. Sir *J. Berkley* the king's agent, entreated his majeſty in the moſt importunate and ſubmiſſive manner, conſidering the ſtate of his affairs, to accept of the ſaid propoſals, but the king treated them with a haughty reſerve, and ſaid if they intended an accommodation they would not impoſe ſuch conditions upon him. Sir *J. Berkley* ſaid, *L. G.* Cromwell *and* Ireton's *conf. with the king.* Dugdale's *troubles of* England, p. 264. *His majeſty's miſtaken conduct.*

K. Charles I. 1647. ſaid, he ſhould ſuſpect they deſigned to abuſe him if they had demanded leſs; and that a crown ſo near loſt was never recovered on eaſier terms. But Mr. *Aſhburnham*, who came with inſtructions from *France*, fell in with the king's humour, and encouraged him to ſtand his ground, relying upon an ill judged maxim which his majeſty had imbibed, and which his beſt friends could not make him depart from (*viz.*) that *it was in his power to turn the ſcale, and that the party muſt ſink which he abandoned.* This ſealed his ruin, and made him play between both, till neither would truſt him. When the *parliament* brought their propoſitions he put them in mind of the offers of the army; and when the propoſals of the latter were tendered in the moſt reſpectful manner, he put on a frown and ſaid, "I ſhall ſee you glad, e'er long, to accept more equal terms; you cannot be "without me; you will fall to ruin if I do not ſuſtain you; no man "ſhall ſuffer for my ſake; the church muſt be eſtabliſhed according to "law—" The officers were confounded at this language. "Sir (ſays "Sir *J. Berkley*) you ſpeak as if you had ſome ſecret ſtrength, which "ſince you have concealed from me, I wiſh you had concealed from "theſe men." After divers conferences of this kind to no purpoſe, *Cromwell* told him plainly, Sir *we perceive you have a deſign to be arbitrator between the parliament and us; but we now deſign to be the ſame between your majeſty and the parliament.* This fluctuating temper (ſays biſhop *Kennet*) was the king's ruin, which he repented of when it was too late. Mr. *Whitlock* ſays, the king's biſhops perſuaded him againſt what he was enclined to in his own judgment, and thereby ruined him and themſelves.

Ruſhw. p. 807, 810.

Hiſt. Stuarts, p. 330.

Which proves his ruin.

p. 271.

Reaſons of the army's deſerting the king.

When the officers found they could make no impreſſion on the king, and had diſcovered his ſecret correſpondence with the queen, they withdrew from court, which raiſed ſuſpicions in his majeſty's mind of a ſecret deſign upon his life, and put him on attempting to eſcape out of their hands. It is very certain that *Cromwell* withdrew his *parole of honour* for the king's ſafety, and ſent him word a few days before he left *Hampton-court*, that he would not be anſwerable any longer for what might befal him, which was owing to a diſcovery he had made of the king's inſincerity in treating with him. Mr. *Coke* ſays, there was a report at that time, and he is confident that in time it will appear, that in the army's treaty with the king, *Cromwell* had made a private article of advantage for himſelf, but his majeſty not allowing himſelf to conclude any thing without the queen, writ her word, "that if he conſented to thoſe *propoſals* it "would be eaſier to take off *Cromwell* afterwards, than now he was at the "head of the army." Which letter *Cromwell* intercepted. Biſhop *Kennet* ſays, "that it was reported, that *Cromwell* was to have ten thouſand "pounds and a garter; and that the bargain had certainly taken effect, if "the

Detect. p. 323.

Compl. hiſt. p. 270.

" the king had not made an apology to the queen, and ſufficiently implied, " that he did it by conſtraint, and that when he was at liberty, and in power, " he ſhould think himſelf diſcharged from the obligation. This letter was " ſewed up in the ſkirt of a ſaddle to be ſent to *France*; but *Cromwell* and *Ire-* " *ton* having information of it, went to an inn in *Holborn* and ſeized the let- " ter——" Dr. *Lane* of the commons frequently declared, " that he " had ſeen this original letter, that he knew it to be the king's own hand, " and that the contents were as above." Another writer ſays, that the letter mentioned his majeſty's being courted by the *ſcots* preſbyterians as well as the army, and that they that bid faireſt for him ſhould have him. Upon the diſcovery of this letter, *Cromwell* went to Mr. *Aſhburnham* who attended the king's perſon, and told him, that *he was now ſatisfied the king could not be truſted; that he had no confidence in the army, but was jealous of them and their officers—that he had treaties with the city presbyterians, and with the* ſcots *commiſſioners, to engage the nation again in blood, and that therefore he could not be anſwerable if any thing fell out contrary to expectation.* Sir *Richard Baker*, Mr. *Coke*, and others, are of opinion, that till this time *Cromwell* and *Ireton* were hearty and zealous for reſtoring the king, and oppoſing the levellers who began to ariſe in the army, but that after this diſcovery they forſook him, as did the reſt of the chief officers, who ſeldom came to court: the *guards* alſo changed their language, and ſaid that *God had hardened the king's heart, and blinded his eyes.*

K. Charles I. 1647.

Hiſt. Stuarts, p. 390.

Under theſe circumſtances the infatuated king left *Hampton-court*, *Nov.* 11. at night, and having croſſed the *Thames*, took horſe in company with Sir *J. Berkeley*, Mr. *Leg*, and Mr. *Aſhburnham*, and next morning arrived at *Titchfield-houſe*, where he ſtay'd while *Leg* went over to the *Iſle of Wight*, to treat with colonel *Hammond* the governor, about the ſafety of his perſon, who without any treaty, brought the governor to the houſe where his majeſty was, upon which the king ſaid, *he was betrayed*; as indeed he was in all his affairs. *Hammond* carried him over to the *Iſle Nov.* 13. and after ſome time ſhut him up in *Carisbrook caſtle*, where his majeſty remained almoſt a year with one or two ſervants only, having little converſation with the world, and time ſufficient to contemplate on the uncertainty of all human affairs, and on the miſerable circumſtances to which divine providence had ſuffered his own imprudent conduct to reduce him.

King eſcapes from Hampton-court. Ruſhw. p. 920, 960.

And is confined in the Iſle of Wight.

Let us now attend to the projects of the ſeveral parties for reſtoring the public tranquility: as ſoon as the army had got poſſeſſion of the city of *London*, they made the following propoſals to the two houſes. With regard to religion; " that an act be paſſed to take away all coercive power and juriſdiction

Propoſals of the army. Ruſhw. p. 736. Rapin, p. 416, 418.

K. Charles I. 1647. "jurisdiction of bishops extending to any civil penalties upon any.—That there be a repeal of all acts, or clauses of acts, enjoining the use of the "common prayer, and imposing any penalty for neglect thereof, and for "not coming to church, or for meeting elsewhere.——That the taking "of the covenant be not enforced upon any, but that all orders and ordinances tending to that purpose be repealed." With regard to the state, "——that the militia and great officers be disposed of by parliament for "ten years, and after that the houses to nominate three, out of which the "king to choose one.—That there be acts of indemnity and revocation "of all declarations against the proceedings of parliament.—That the present unequal and troublesome and contentious way of ministers "maintenance by *tithes* be considered of, and some remedy applied.—"That none may be obliged to accuse themselves or relations in criminal "causes; and no man's life taken away under two witnesses.—That "consideration be had of all statutes, laws, or customs of corporations, "imposing any oaths tending to molest or ensnare religious and peaceable people meerly for non-conformity in religion.——That the "arbitrary power given to committees, and deputy-lieutenants, be "recalled."

Agreement of the lords. Rushw. p. 840. After several debates upon these *proposals* with regard to religion, the lords agreed *October* 13. "that the king be desired to give his consent "to the settling the presbyterial government for three years, with a provision, that no person shall be liable to any penalty for non-conformity "to the said government, or form of divine service; but such persons "shall have liberty to meet for the service and worship of God, and for "exercise of religious duties and ordinances in any fit and convenient "places, so as nothing be done by them to the disturbance of the peace "of the kingdom. Provided this shall not be construed to extend to a "toleration of the popish religion, nor to exempt popish recusants from "any penalties imposed upon them for the exercise of the same. Nor "shall it extend to the toleration of any thing contrary to the principles "of the christian religion, contained in the *apostles creed*, as it is expounded in the fifteen first articles of the church of *England*, as they had "been cleared and vindicated by the assembly of divines now sitting at "*Westminster*; nor of any thing contrary to such points of faith, for "the ignorance whereof men are to be kept from the sacrament, according to the ordinance of *Oct.* 20. 1645. Nor shall it extend "to excuse any persons from the penalties of 1 *Elizabeth cap.* "2. for not coming to hear the word of God on the lord's day "in any parish church or chapel, unless he can shew a reasonble cause for

" for his abſence, or that he was preſent to hear the word of God " preached or expounded elſewhere." K. Charles I. 1647.

The *commons* likewiſe agreed, " That preſbytery be eſtabliſhed till the " end of the next ſeſſions of parliament, or till the ſecond ſeſſions; that " the tenths, and all other maintenance belonging to any church or cha- " pel, ſhall be only for the uſe of them who can ſubmit to the preſby- " terial government, and none other. The liberty of conſcience ſhall " extend to none who ſhall print, preach, or publiſh, contrary to the " firſt fifteen articles of the thirty-nine, *except the eighth, relating to the* " *three creeds*. That nothing contained in this ordinance ſhall extend to " popiſh recuſants." *Oct.* 14. they agreed further, " That ſuch tender " conſciences ſhould be freed, by way of indulgence, from the penalty of " the ſtatute for the preſbyterian government, for their non-conformity, " who do meet in ſome other congregation for the worſhip of God on " the Lord'-day, and do nothing againſt the laws and peace of the king- " dom, and that none others ſhall be freed from the penalty of the ſta- " tute of 1 *Eliz. cap.* 2." *October* 16. the *commons* voted, " That the " indulgence granted to tender conſciences ſhould not extend to tolerate " the uſe of *common prayer* in any part of the kingdom." Which was againſt the ſenſe of the army, who were for a general indulgence, as appears from the declaration of the agitators, dated *November* 1. in which they ſay, that " matters of religion, and the ways of God's worſhip, are " not at all intruſted by us to any human power, becauſe therein we " cannot omit, or exceed a tittle of what our conſcience dictate to be the " mind of God, without wilful ſin; nevertheleſs the public way of in- " ſtructing the nation, ſo it be not compulſive, is left to their diſcretion." Here was a fair plan of accommodation, but no ordinance was brought into the houſe to confirm theſe reſolutions. *November* 8. both houſes agreed to the addition of ſome new propoſitions. As,

And of the *commons*.

Ruſhw. p. 841.

Ibid. p. 842.

Ibid. p. 160.

1. " For the due obſervation of the Lord's day.
2. " Againſt innovations in religion.
3. " A new oath for the conviction of papiſts.
4. " For the education of the children of papiſts in the proteſtant " religion.
5. " Againſt pluralities."

The propoſals of the *presbyterians* were the ſame with thoſe of *Newcaſtle* already mentioned; but whereas the king declined to accept them without a perſonal treaty, they determined in the houſe of commons, to reduce them into four bills, which if his majeſty refuſed to ſign as preliminaries, they reſolved to ſettle the nation without him; but before they were perfected, the king withdrew from *Hampton Court*, and

Propoſals of the Preſbyterians.

K. Charles I. 1647. was ſecured in the *Iſle of Wight*, where the commiſſioners from the two houſes waited on him, and tendered him the following bills, *Decemb.* 24. the *firſt* was for ſettling the militia, as has been related; the *ſecond* for calling in all his majeſty's declarations and proclamations againſt the two houſes, and thoſe that adhered to them; the *third* to diſqualify thoſe peers from ſitting in the houſe, that had been created after the great ſeal had been conveyed to *Oxford*; the *fourth* to impower the two houſes to adjourn, as they ſhould think fit. In matters of religion they inſiſted peremptorily on the eſtabliſhment of the *presbyterian* church-goverment upon the ruins of the *prelatical*; upon the extirpation of all *ſectaries*; and upon *covenant uniformity* in both nations, as will appear more fully hereafter. But the king inſtead of ſigning the preliminaries, inſiſted ſtrenuouſly on a perſonal treaty, which it was hardly reaſonable for him to expect, when he had ſo lately attempted to eſcape out of their hands, and now refuſed to yield any thing in a way of condeſcenſion.

Motive of the king's eſcape from H. Court.

It had not been poſſible to unriddle the myſtery of this eſcape, if it had not appeared ſoon after, that the king was at that very time, throwing himſelf into the hands of the *ſcots*, who being offended with the parliament (now under the influence of the army) for not acting in concert with them in the preſent treaty, according to their *covenant*, determined on a *ſeparate* negotiation for themſelves; and accordingly, by the mediation of ſome of their own nation, they concluded a ſecret treaty with the king, which was begun before his majeſty left *Hampton Court*, but not ſigned till the 27th of *December* following, three days after his majeſty's refuſal of the parliament's four bills. "This alliance (ſays "Lord *Clarendon*) was moſt ſcandalous, and derogatory to the honour and "intereſt of the *engliſh* nation, and would have been abominated if known "and underſtood by all men." But *Rapin* thinks it not ſo criminal on the part of the *ſcots* as his lordſhip repreſents, ſince they yielded to the eſtabliſhment of their beloved preſbytery in *England* only for three years; however it laid the foundation of the king's ruin with the army.

Vol. III. p. 104, 105.

Private treaty with the Scots. Rapin. p. 442.

In the preamble his majeſty gives "a favourable teſtimony to the "*ſolemn league and covenant*, and to the good intentions of thoſe that en-"tered into it." In the treaty "he obliges himſelf to confirm the *cove-*"*nant* by act of parliament as ſoon as he can do it with honour and free-"dom in both kingdoms; with a proviſo, that none that were unwil-"ling ſhould be obliged to take it for the future. He engages further, to "confirm by act of parliament the preſbyterial government in *England*, "the directory for public worſhip, and the aſſembly of divines for three "years only, with liberty for himſelf and his houſhold to uſe that form "of divine ſervice they had formerly practiſed; and that during the "three years there ſhould be a conſultation with the aſſembly of divines,

to

" to whom twenty of the king's nomination ſhould be added, and ſome " from the church of *Scotland*, to determine what form of church go- " vernment ſhould be eſtabliſhed afterwards —" Then follows a ſcourge for the army; " — *That an effectual courſe ſhould be taken to ſuppreſs the* " *opinions of the anti-trinitarians, arians, ſocinians, arminians, indepen-* " *dents, browniſts, antinomians, anabaptiſts, ſeparatiſts, ſeekers; and in* " *general, all blaſphemy, hereſy, ſchiſm, and other doctrines contrary to the* " *known principles of chriſtianity, whether concerning faith, worſhip, con-* " *verſation, or the power of godlineſs, or which may be deſtructive to order* " *and government, or to the peace of the church and kingdom.*" K. Charles I. 1647.

In return for theſe conceſſions " the *ſcots* engaged to raiſe an army to " deliver his majeſty out of captivity, to aſſert his right to the militia, " the great ſeal, the negative voice in parliament; and in a word, to re- " ſtore him to his throne with honour and freedom;" which occaſioned a ſecond civil war the next year.

King's conceſſions from the Iſle of Wight. Ruſhw. p. 880. Rapin, p. 430.

As ſoon as his majeſty arrived in the *Iſle of Wight* from *Hampton Court*, he ſent a letter to the ſpeaker of the houſe of lords, to be communicated to the commons, with the following conceſſions on his part, very inconſiſtent with the treaty laſt mentioned. — " For the " aboliſhing archbiſhops, biſhops, &c. his majeſty clearly profeſſeth, that " he cannot conſent to it either as a *chriſtian* or a *king*; for the *firſt* he " avows, that he is ſatisfied in his judgment, that this order was placed in " the church by the apoſtles themſelves, and ever ſince their time has " continued in all chriſtian churches throughout the world till this laſt " century; and in this church, in all times of change and reformation, " it has been upheld, by the wiſdom of his anceſtors, as the great preſerver " of doctrine, diſcipline, and order in the ſervice of God. As a *king*, " at his coronation he not only ſwore to maintain this order, but his " majeſty and his predeceſſors, in their confirmations of the *great charter*, " have inſeparably woven the rights of the church into the liberty of the " ſubject; and yet he is willing that it be provided, that particular biſhops " perform the ſeveral duties of their callings, both by their perſonal re- " ſidence, and frequent preaching; that in their perſonal exerciſe no " act of juriſdiction, or ordination, be without conſent of their preſby- " ters; and will conſent, that in all things their powers be ſo limited, that " they may not be grievous to the tender conſciences of others; his ma- " jeſty ſees no reaſon why he alone, and thoſe of his judgment, ſhould be " preſſed to a violation of theirs.

" Nor can his majeſty conſent to the alienation of church-lands, be- " cauſe it cannot be denied to be the ſin of *ſacrilege*; as alſo, that it ſub- " verts the intentions of ſo many pious donors, who have laid a heavy " curſe upon all ſuch profane violations. And beſides, his majeſty be-

K. Charles I. 1647. "lieves it to be a prejudice to the public good; many of his ſubjects having the benefit of renewing leaſes at much eaſier rates, than if thoſe "poſſeſſions were in the hands of private men; not omitting the diſ-"courgement it will be to learning and induſtry, when ſuch eminent re-"wards ſhall be taken away; yet conſidering the preſent diſtempers con-"cerning church-diſcipline, and that the preſbyterian government is now "in practice, his majeſty to avoid confuſion as much as may be, and "for the ſatisfaction of his two houſes, is content, that the ſame govern-"ment be legally permitted to ſtand in the ſame condition it now is for "*three years*, provided that his majeſty, and thoſe of his judgment, or "any others who cannot in conſcience ſubmit thereunto, be not obliged "to comply with the preſbyterial government, but have free practice of "our own poſeſſion, without any prejudice thereby; and that free con-"ſultation be had with the divines at *Weſtminſter*, twenty of his majeſty's "nomination being added to them, to conſider how to ſettle the church "afterwards, with full liberty to all thoſe who ſhall differ upon con-"ſcientious grounds from that ſettlement; always provided, that nothing "aforeſaid be underſtood to tolerate thoſe of the popiſh profeſſion, or "exempt them from penal laws, or to tolerate the public profeſſion of "atheiſm, or blaſphemy, contrary to the doctrine of the apoſtles, the "*nicene* and *athanaſian* creed; they having been received by, and had in "reverence of all chriſtian churches, and more eſpecially the church of "*England* ſince the reformation." This was inſerted to cajole the army, and was entirely reverſed by the *ſcots* treaty five weeks after.

Remarks. From theſe inconſiſtent views of the contending parties, we may eaſily diſcern the precarious ſituation of the public tranquility, eſpecially as there was a general diſtruſt on all ſides, and each party reſolved to carry their point without any abatements: The king was held by ties of conſcience and honour (as he ſaid) to preſerve *epiſcopacy*; the *ſcots* and *engliſh* preſbyterians, though divided at preſent, thought themſelves equally bound to ſtand by their *ſolemn league and covenant*; and the army was under a ſolemn *engagement* to agree with neither without a *toleration*. If the king could have ſubmitted to *covenant uniformity*, he might have been reſtored by the preſbyterians; or if either king or parliament would have declared heartily for a toleration, they might have eſtabliſhed themſelves by the aſſiſtance of the military power; but his majeſty ſeems to have been playing an unſteady, if not a double game. The reader will judge of the equity of the ſeveral propoſals, and of the prudential conduct of each party, from the reſpective circumſtances in which they ſtood; the king was a priſoner; the parliament in poſſeſſion of the whole legiſlative authority; but the *ſword* was in the hands of the army, who were determined not to ſheath it till they had ſecured to themſelves

ſelves that liberty for which they had been fighting: This they had in vain ſollicited from the king, and were next determined to try their intereſt with the parliament. K. Charles I. 1647.

The houſes being informed of the king's deſign to make his eſcape out of the *Iſle of Wight*, ordered the governor to put away his ſervants, and confine him a cloſe priſoner in the caſtle, ſo that no perſon might be admitted to ſpeak to him without leave. His majeſty having alſo declared, when he rejected the parliament's four bills, that nothing which could befal him could ever prevail with him to conſent to any one act, till the conditions of the whole peace were concluded, they began to deſpair of an accommodation. In this juncture the officers of the army ſent a meſſage to the houſes, aſſuring them, that they would live and die with them in ſettling the nation either with or without the king, and leave all tranſactions of ſtate for the future to them alone. *The army unite with the parliament.* Ruſhw. p. 951, 953, 962. Rapin, p. 453, 467.

However after the ſecluſion of the eleven impeached members, and the quartering the *army* in the neighbourhood of the city, the parliament either from intereſt or fear, had a great regard to the opinion of thoſe officers who were members of the houſe. Upon a motion that no more addreſſes be made to the king from the parliament, nor any meſſages received from him, IRETON and CROMWELL opened themſelves very freely: *Ireton* ſaid, "ſubjection to the king was but in lieu of "protection from him, which being denied, we may ſettle the king-"dom without him.—Let us then ſhow our reſolution (ſays he), and not "deſert thoſe valiant men who have engaged for us beyond all poſſibili-"ty of retreat." *Cromwell* ſaid, "That the parliament ſhould govern "by their own power, and not teach the people any longer to expect "ſafety from an obſtinate man, whoſe heart God had hardened —— "The army will defend you againſt all oppoſition. Teach them not, "by neglecting your's and the kingdom's ſafety, in which their own is "involved, to think themſelves betrayed, and left hereafter to the rage "and malice of an irreconcileable enemy, whom they have ſubdued "for your ſake, leſt deſpair teach them to ſeek their ſafety by ſome "other means than adhering to you; [here he put his hand to his "ſword] and how deſtructive ſuch a reſolution will be (ſays he) I "tremble to think, and leave you to judge!" The queſtion being then put, it was carried by a majority of fifty voices; *yea's* one hundred forty-one, *no's* ninety-one. *January* 17. the lords concurred with the commons in their votes of *non-addreſſes*. To this very time, ſays lord *Clarendon*, no man mentioned the king's perſon without duty and reſpect. But now a new ſcene was opened, and ſome of the officers at their meetings at *Windſor*, began to talk of depoſing the king, or proſecuting him *Votes of non-addreſſes.* Vol. III. p. 93.

K. Charles I. 1647. him as a criminal, of which his majesty was advertised by *Watson* the quarter-master, but it made no impression upon him.

Parliament's remonstrance. The two houses having concurred in their votes for non-addresses, the army agreed to stand by the parliament in settling the nation without the king; and that the people might be satisfied with the reasons of their proceedings, a remonstrance was published by order of parliament *Feb.* 15. in which they recapitulate all the errors of his majesty's government; his insincerity in the several treaties of peace he had entered into with them; and that though they had applied to him seven times with propositions, in all which the *scots* had concurred except the last, yet he had never complied with any; from whence they conclude, either that the nation must continue under the present distractions, or they must settle it without him. In the posthumous works of lord *Clarendon*, there is a large reply to this *remonstrance*, in which his lordship endeavours to vindicate the king, and throw all the blame upon the parliament; but though there were ill instruments on both sides, and there might be no real occasion to rip up the misdemeanors of the king's government from the beginning, yet 'tis hardly possible for the art of man to justify his majesty's conduct before the war, or to vindicate his prudence and sincerity in his treaties afterwards; the design of commencing a new war being evidently at this time concerted and agreed upon, with his majesty's allowance, in pursuance of the *scots* treaty, while he was amusing both the parliament and army with overtures of peace.

Ordinance for abolishing the observation of Christmas, *and other saints days.* Scobel, p. 128. Among the ordinances that passed this year for reformation of the church, none occasioned so much noise and disturbance as that of *June* 8. for abolishing the observation of *saints days*, and the three grand festivals of *Christmas*, *Easter*, and *Whitsuntide*; the ordinance says, "Forasmuch as "the *feast of the* nativity of Christ, Easter, Whitsuntide, *and other festi-* "*vals*, commonly called *holy-days*, have been heretofore superstitiously "used and observed; be it ordained, that the said feasts, and all other fes- "tivals, commonly called *holy-days*, be no longer observed as festivals; "any law, statute, custom, constitution, or canon to the contrary, in "any wise notwithstanding.

Time allotted for servants recreation. "And that there may be a convenient time allotted for scholars, ap- "prentices, and other servants, for their recreation, be it ordained, that "all scholars, apprentices, and other servants, shall with the leave of "their masters, have such convenient reasonable recreation, and relaxa- "tion from labour, every second *Tuesday* in the month throughout the "year, as formerly they used to have upon the *festivals*; and masters of "scholars, apprentices, and servants, shall grant to them respectively such "time for their recreation, on the aforesaid second *Tuesday* in the month, "as they may conveniently spare from their extraordinary necessary ser-

"vice

" vice and occaſions; and if any difference ariſe between maſters and ſer- K. Charles I.
" vants concerning the liberty hereby granted, the next juſtice of peace 1647.
" ſhall reconcile it."

King diſapproves of it. Relig. Car. p. 370.

The king was highly diſpleaſed with this ordinance; and therefore while the affair was under debate he put this query to the parliament commiſſioners at *Holmby-Houſe*, *April* 23. 1647. I deſire to be reſolved of this queſtion, *why the new reformers diſcharge the keeping of* Eaſter? My reaſon for this query is, " I conceive the celebration of this feaſt was " inſtituted by the ſame authority which changed the *jewiſh* ſabbath into " the Lord's day or ſunday, for it will not be found in ſcripture where " *Saturday* is diſcharged to be kept, or turned into the *Sunday*; where- " fore it muſt be the churches authority that changed the one and inſtitu- " ted the other; therefore my opinion is, that thoſe who will not " keep *this feaſt* may as well return to the obſervation of *Saturday*, and " refuſe the weekly *Sunday*. When any body can ſhew me that herein I " am in an error, I ſhall not be aſhamed to confeſs and amend it, 'till " when you know my mind."

C. R.

Sir *James Harrington* preſented his majeſty with an anſwer to this query, in which he denies, that the change of the ſabbath was from the authority of the church, but derives it from the authority and example of our Saviour and his apoſtles in the new teſtament; he admits, that if there was the like mention of the obſervation of *Eaſter*, it would be of divine or apoſtolical authority; but as the caſe ſtands, he apprehends with great reaſon, that the obſervation of the chriſtian ſabbath, and of eaſter, ſtand upon a very different foot.

It occaſions tumults.

The changing the feſtival of *Chriſtmas* into a *faſt* laſt winter, was not ſo much taken notice of, becauſe all parties were employed in acts of devotion; but when it returned this year there appeared a ſtrong propenſity in the people to obſerve it, the ſhops were generally ſhut, many preſbyterian miniſters preached; in ſome places the *common-prayer* was read, and one or two of the ſequeſtered clergy getting into pulpits prayed publicly for the *biſhops*; ſeveral of the citizens of *London*, who opened their ſhops, were abuſed; in ſome places there were riots and inſurrections, eſpecially Ruſhw. p. in *Canterbury*, where the mayor endeavouring to keep the peace, had 948. his head broke by the populace, and was dragged about the ſtreets; the mob broke into divers houſes of the moſt religious in the town, broke their windows, abuſed their perſons, and threw their goods into the ſtreets, becauſe they expoſed them to ſale on *Chriſtmas day*. At length their numbers being encreaſed to above two thouſand, they put themſelves into

K. Charles I. 1647. into a poſture of defence againſt the magiſtrates, kept guard, ſtopt paſſes, examined paſſengers, and ſeized the magazine and arms in the town-hall, and were not diſperſed without difficulty. The like diſorders were at *Ealing* in *Middleſex*, and in ſeveral other counties. The parliament was alarmed at theſe diſorders, and therefore commanded all papiſts and deliquent clergymen to retire without the lines of communication, and puniſhed ſome of the principal rioters as a terror to the reſt, it being apparent that the king's party took advantage of the holy days to try the temper of the people in favour of his releaſe, for during the ſpace of the following twelve years, wherein the feſtivals were laid aſide, there was not the leaſt tumult on account of the *holidays*, the obſervation of *Chriſtmas* being left as a matter of indifference.

King's clergy petition to be reſtored to their livings. The war being thought to be at an end, many of the clergy who had followed the camp returned home, and endeavoured to repoſſeſs themſelves of their ſequeſtered livings, to the prejudice of thoſe whom the parliament had put into their places; they petitioned the king while he was with the army, and in a ſtate of honour and dignity, to take their poor diſtreſſed condition into his gracious conſideration. His majeſty recommended them to the *general*, at the very time when the difference between the parliament and army was ſubſiſting, upon which they repreſented their grievances to him in a petition, ſhewing that "whereas for divers Suff. Cler. p. 145. "years they had been outed of their livings, contrary to the fundamental "laws of the land, by the arbitrary power of *committees*, whoſe proceed-"ings have uſually been by no rule of law, but by their own wills; moſt "of them having been turned out for refuſing the *covenant*, or adhering "to the king, and the religion eſtabliſhed, and of thoſe, divers never cal-"led to anſwer, and ſcarce one had articles proved by oath, or other le-"gal proceſs, by which means *your petitioners* are reduced to extream "want and miſery; and whereas thoſe who are put into our places labour "to ſtir up the people to involve the kingdom in a new war, and are ge-"nerally men ignorant and unable to inſtruct the people; and many of "them ſcandalous in their practices, if impartially examined, and divers "of them hold three or four of the beſt benefices, whilſt divers other "churches are void, and without any conſtant preacher. And foraſ-"much as the main profit of our benefices conſiſts in the harveſt which is "now at hand, which many of the preſent poſſeſſors, if they could "receive, would preſently be gone, whereby the burthen of the cure "will lie upon your petitioners, having nothing to live upon the next "year. Your petitioners therefore pray, that your excellency would "make ſtay of the profits of the harveſt, that thoſe of us that are "charged with any legal ſcandal may come to a juſt trial, and if we are found

" found innocent may enjoy our rights, according to the known laws of " the land." *K.* Charles *I.* 1647.

By this bold petition, 'tis evident theſe gentlemen were encouraged to hope, that the army would carry their reſentments ſo far as to unravel all they had been doing for five years; that they would not only renounce the *covenant*, but diſclaim the proceedings of their *committees*, and even countenance the clergy's adhering to the king; and no doubt, if his majeſty had at this time complied with the propoſals of the army, he might have made good terms for them; for the *general* received them with reſpect, and having debated their addreſs in council, propoſed it to the parliament, that the eſtates of all ſequeſtered perſons, including the clergy, ſhould remain in the hands of the tenants till a general peace. Upon which the old incumbents grew very troubleſome, forbidding the pariſhioners to pay their tithes, and threatening the preſent poſſeſſors of their livings with legal proſecutions. *G.* Fairfax's *anſwer.*

On the other hand the preſbyterian clergy addreſſed the *general Aug.* 12. a few days after the parliament and army were united, with a complaint, " that divers delinquent miniſters, who had been put out of their livings, " did now trouble and ſeek to turn *out* thoſe miniſters, whom the par- " liament had put in; and particularly, that Dr. *Layfield*, by a counter- " feit warrant from the *general*, had endeavoured to remove a miniſter " from his benefice in *Surrey*." The general and his council declared their diſlike of theſe proceedings, and promiſed to write to the parliament, that ſuch offenders might be brought to puniſhment, which he did accordingly. The difference between the parliament and army being now in a manner compromiſed, which cut off the expectations of the clergy. *Aug.* 19. the lords and commons acquainted the general, that they would take care for the puniſhment of thoſe delinquent miniſters and others, by whoſe practices miniſters put into livings by the parliament had been diſquieted and turned out; and on the 23d of the ſame month they paſſed an ordinance, ſetting forth " that whereas divers mi- " niſters in the ſeveral counties had been diſplaced by authority of par- " liament, for notorious ſcandals and delinquency, and godly, learned, " and orthodox miniſters, had been placed in their room; and whereas " the ſaid ſcandalous and delinquent miniſters by force, or otherwiſe, had " entered upon the churches, and gained poſſeſſion of the tithes, *&c.* the " lords and commons did therefore ordain, that all ſheriffs, mayors, com- " mittees, *&c.* do forthwith apprehend ſuch miniſters, and all ſuch per- " ſons as have been aiding, and abetting to them, and commit them to " priſon, there to remain, till thoſe they had thus diſpoſſeſſed, and moleſt- " ed, ſhould receive ſatisfaction for their damages; and that the ſaid ſhe- " riffs, *&c.* do reſtore thoſe moleſted miniſters to the quiet poſſeſſion of " their reſpective places, and do in caſe of need raiſe the trained bands " to

Counter petition of the preſbyterians

Ordinance in their favour.

K. Charles I. 1647. "to put this ordinance in execution; and do alſo take effectual courſe that "the tithes, profits, &c. be for the future duly paid to thoſe miniſters "put in by parliament, &c. And if any ſuch diſturbance ſhould here- "after be given, the offender was to ſuffer for every ſuch diſturbance one "month's impriſonment."

However ſome ſmall favour was ſhewn, about this time, to thoſe *biſhops* and others, who had lived peaceably, and been little more than ſpectators of the diſtracting miſeries of their country; the committee was ordered to make payment of the hundred pounds *per* year granted to the biſhop of *Durham*; the real eſtate of the pious biſhop *Hall*, who had lately publiſhed his *hard meaſure*, was diſcharged; archbiſhop *Uſher* had an allowance of four hundred pounds *per annum*, till he could be otherwiſe provided for; and was ſoon after allowed to be preacher at *Lincoln's-Inn*, only upon taking the *negative oath*. But the biſhops were not much conſidered in theſe donations. The commiſſioners of the *great ſeal* were ordered to fill up the vacant livings in the gift of the crown, without obliging the incumbents to take the *covenant*; but the new diſturbances which aroſe in favour of the captive king, brought down new ſeverities upen the epiſcopal clergy, before the end of the following year.

Ruſhw. p. 831, 937. 948, 958.

CHAP. IX.

The viſitation of the univerſity of OXFORD. *State of religion at the end of the year.*

Condition of the univerſity of Oxford.

SAD and deplorable was the condition of the univerſity of *Oxford* when it fell into the hands of the parliament; the *colleges* and *halls* were gone to ruin; five of them perfectly deſerted, and the reſt in a very ſhattered condition. The public acts had been diſcontinued for ſome years, the ſchools were turned into magazines for the king's army, and the chambers filled with officers and ſoldiers, or let out to townſmen; there was little or no inſtruction for youth, nor hardly the face of an univerſity; poverty, deſolation, and plunder, the ſad effects of war, were to be ſeen in every corner; the *burſaries* were emptied of the public money, the plate melted down for the king's ſervice, and the colleges involved in debts

debts which they were not able to ſatisfy; there were few heads of colleges or ſcholars remaining, except ſuch as were ſtrongly prejudiced againſt the parliament, having employed their wits, during the courſe of the war, in writing *weekly mercuries*, and ſatyrical pamphlets, in which they aſperſed the proceedings of the two houſes, and treated their divines as the moſt infamous, ignorant, and hypocritical traitors; nor were their tempers in the leaſt ſoftened, though their lives and fortunes were in the hands of their adverſaries. It was thought neceſſary therefore to put the education of youth into ſuch hands, as the parliament could confide in, a power being reſerved for that purpoſe in the articles of ſurrender. *K.* Charles I. 1647.

Parliament ſend miniſters to reform it. Suff. Cler. p. 125.

But before they proceeded to extreams, the two houſes about the beginning of *September* 1646. appointed ſeven of their moſt popular divines to repair to *Oxford*, with authority to preach in any pulpits of the univerſity for ſix months, in order to ſoften the ſpirits of the people, and give them a better opinion of their cauſe, *viz.* the reverend Mr. *Robert Harris* of *Hanwell Oxfordſhire*; Mr. *Edward Reynolds*, afterwards biſhop of *Norwich*; Mr. *Henry Wilkinſon* of *Magdalen-College*; Mr. *Francis Cheynel*, Mr. *Edward Corbet* of *Merton-College*; Mr. *Henry Corniſh* of *New-Inn*; and Mr. *Henry Langley* of *Pembroke-College*; men of reputation and character, ſober divines, and popular preachers, though *A. Wood* the *Oxford* hiſtorian is pleaſed to ſay, "their ſermons were the contempt "and ſcorn of the univerſity, becauſe they were too long, and had too "little learning; becauſe they prayed very coldly for the king, but were "very earneſt for a bleſſing upon the counſels and arms of the parliament, "and did not always conclude with the *Lord's prayer*; becauſe they re-"flected on ſome of the heads of the univerſity, calling them dumb dogs, "having a form of religion without the power; and becauſe their man-"ner of delivery was rather theatrical than ſerious; nevertheleſs their au-"ditories were crowded, though none of the heads of colleges, or ſenior "ſcholars, attended them."

Their conduct and ſucceſs. Suff. Cler. p. 125. Minſt. account, p. 5. Vol. Pamp. N° 82.

The miniſters were very diligent in the diſcharge of their truſt, preaching twice every Lord's day; and that they might gain the affections of the people, ſet up a weekly conference every *Thurſday*, in which they propoſed to ſolve ſuch objections as ſhould be raiſed againſt their new *confeſſion of faith and diſcipline*, and to anſwer any other important caſes in divinity: The *queſtion* or *caſe*, was to be propounded the week before, that it might be well conſidered; a *moderator* alſo was appointed to keep order, who began and concluded with a ſhort prayer, and the whole was conducted with decency and gravity. But ſeveral of the ſcholars ridiculed their proceedings, and by way of contempt called their place of meeting, THE SCRUPLE SHOP; however it was frequented by great num-

K. Charles I. 1647. bers of people, ſome of whom were prevailed with to renounce the *Oxford oath*, and others to take the *ſolemn league and covenant*. They met with ſome little diſturbance from one *Erbury*, a turbulent *antinomian*, and chaplain in the garriſon; but upon the whole, when the miniſters returned to *London* they declared, that the citizens ſhowed them a great deal of reſpect, although the univerſity poured all the contempt upon them imaginable, ſo that they apprehended themſelves to have the ſame lot as St. *Paul* had at *Athens*, Acts xvii. 32, 34. *Some mocked them, others ſlighted them, but certain clave to them, and believed.*

Minſt. account, p. 52.

Parliament reſolves upon a viſitation. Ruſhw. p. 283.

There being no proſpect of reforming the univerſity by theſe methods, the two houſes reſolved to proceed upou a *viſitation*, which they apprehended they might undertake without the king, by virtue of the fourteenth article of their recapitulation, which ſays, "that the chancellor, maſters "and ſcholars of the univerſity, and all heads, governors, maſters, fel- "lows, and ſcholars of the colleges, halls, bodies corporate, and ſocieties "of the ſaid univerſity, and the public profeſſors, readers, and orators "thereof, and all other perſons belonging to the ſaid univerſity, ſhall and "may, according to their ſtatutes, charters, and cuſtoms, enjoy their an- "cient form of government, SUBORDINATE TO THE IMMEDIATE "AUTHORITY AND POWER OF PARLIAMENT, and that all the rights, "privileges, franchiſes, lands, tenements, houſes, rents, revenues, li- "braries, debts, goods and chattles, *&c.* belonging to the ſaid univerſi- "ty, ſhall be enjoyed by them reſpectively as aforeſaid, free from ſequeſt- "rations, fines, taxes, and all other moleſtations whatſoever, under co- "lour of any thing relating to the preſent war. *And if any removal ſhall be "made by the parliament of any head, or other members of the univerſity, that "they ſhall enjoy their profits for ſix months after the ſurrendering of* Oxon, "*and ſhall have convenient time allowed them for the removal of themſelves "and their goods; provided that this ſhall not extend to retard any re- "formation there intended by the parliament, or give them any liberty to "intermeddle with the government.*" But the heads of colleges did not think themſelves obliged by this capitulation, nor any thing contained in it, becauſe they were not made parties, nor called upon to give their ſeparate conſent to the articles, though they took advantage of every thing that was ſtipulated in their favour.

Fuller's Appeal, p. 70.

Ordinance for that purpoſe. Scobel's Collect. part I. p. 116. Suff. Cler. p. 126.

May 1. 1647. an *ordinance* paſſed both houſes for viſiting the univerſity, and nominating the following gentlemen, lawyers, and divines, for that ſervice, *viz.*

Sir Nath. Brent,	William Prynne *of* Lincoln's-Inn *Eſq*;
Sir William Cobb,	

John Pulliſton *of* Lincoln's-Inn *Eſq*;
Barth. Hall *of the* Middle-Temple *Eſq*;
Tho. Knight *of* Lincoln's-Inn *Eſq*;
William Draper *of* Lincoln's-Inn *Eſq*;
Gabriel Beck *of* Lincoln's-Inn *Eſq*;
John Cartwright *Eſq*;
Samuel Dunch *Eſq*;
Mr. William Tipping,
Mr. George Greenwood,
Mr. John Packer,
Mr. William Cope.

The Rev. Dr. John Wilkinſon,
Mr. Henry Wilkinſon,
Mr. Edward Reynolds,
Mr. Robert Harris,
Mr. Edward Corbet,
Mr. Fran. Cheynell,
The Rev. Mr. John Wilkinſon,
Mr. John Mills,
Mr. Chriſtopher Rogers,
Mr. John Heyling *of* Gray's-Inn.

The ordinance empowers the viſitors, or any five of them, "to hear "and determine all crimes, offences, abuſes, and diſorders, which by "the laws and ſtatutes of this realm, or by the cuſtoms and ſtatutes, right-"ly eſtabliſhed, of that univerſity, or by the ſeveral ſtatutes of the reſ-"pective colleges or halls, may lawfully be enquired of, heard, or deter-"mined, in the courſe and way of viſitation of the univerſity, or of the "colleges, halls, maſters, ſcholars, fellows, members, and officers, or "any of them, reſpectively. They are more particularly to enquire by "oath concerning thoſe that neglect to take the *ſolemn league and cove-*"*nant*, and the *negative oath*, being tendered to them by ſuch as are au-"thorized by parliament; and concerning thoſe who oppoſe the execu-"tion of the ordinance of parliament, concerning the diſcipline and direc-"tory; and thoſe who ſhall teach or write againſt any point of doctrine, "the ignorance whereof doth exclude from the Lord's ſupper. They are "likewiſe to enquire upon oath, concerning all ſuch who have taken up "arms againſt the parliament, or who have been aſſiſting to the forces rai-"ſed againſt the parliament. And they are to certify to a committee of "the houſe of lords and commons mentioned in the ordinance, what maſ-"ters, ſcholars, fellows, members, or officers, have committed any of "the offences abovementioned, and the quality and condition of the "offenders, that ſuch further proceedings may be had thereupon, as the "committee of lords and commons ſhall think fit. The *viſitors* are fur-"ther empowered, to examine and conſider of all ſuch oaths as are en-"joined by the ſtatutes of the univerſity, or of any of the halls and col-

"leges,

K. Charles I. 1647.

" leges, as are not fit to be taken, and preſent their opinion to the com-
" mittee abovementioned; provided always, that if any of the maſters,
" ſcholars, fellows, *&c.* ſhall find themſelves grieved by any ſentence gi-
" ven by the viſitors, it ſhall be lawful for them to appeal to the committee
" of lords and commons, who are authorized finally to hear and determine
" every ſuch caſe brought before them."

Abſtract of the univerſity's reaſons againſt the covenant, &c. *Bp.* Sanderſon's life, Appendix, p. 169.

Before the viſitation could take place, the vice-chancellor Dr. *Fell* ſummoned a convocation [*June* 1.] wherein it was agreed not to ſubmit to the *parliament viſitors*; a paper of reaſons againſt the *covenant*, the *negative oath*, and the *directory*, drawn up chiefly by Dr. *Sanderſon*, was alſo conſented to, and ordered to be publiſhed to the world both in *latin* and *engliſh*, againſt the time the viſitors were to come down, under the title of *reaſons of the preſent judgment of the univerſity of* Oxford, *concerning the* ſolemn league and covenant, *the* negative oath, *and the* ordinances *concerning* diſcipline *and* worſhip, *approved by general conſent in a full convocation*, June 1. 1647. an abſtract of which I ſhall now ſet before the reader.

TO THE PREFACE OF THE COVENANT [tranſcribed under the year 1643.]

Exceptions againſt the preface.

They declare, " We cannot ſay *the rage, power, and preſumption of*
" *the enemies of God* (in the ſenſe there intended) *is encreaſed.* Nor
" that we have conſented to any *ſupplication* or *remonſtrance* to the pur-
" poſes therein expreſſed. We do not think the taking the *covenant*
" to be a lawful and probable means to *preſerve ourſelves and our reli-*
" *gion from ruin*; nor do we believe it to be *according to the commend-*
" *able practice of theſe kingdoms, or the examples of God's people in other*
" *nations.*"

TO THE COVENANT IN GENERAL.

Againſt the covenant in general.

" We are of opinion, that a *covenant* ought to be a *voluntary contract*,
" and not impoſed. Now we can't voluntarily conſent to this *covenant* with-
" out betraying our liberties, one of which is, *not to be obliged to take any*
" *oath but what is eſtabliſhed by act of parliament*; and without acknow-
" ledging in the impoſers, a greater power than has been challenged in for-
" mer time, or can ſubſiſt without our former *proteſtation.* But if the *co-*
" *venant* were not impoſed, but only recommended, we apprehend the
" taking

" taking it to be inconſiſtent with our loyalty to the king, eſpecially ſince K. Charles I. 1647.
" he has by proclamation forbid it."

OBJECTIONS TO THE SEVERAL ARTICLES OF THE COVENANT.

To the firſt article.

" We cannot ſwear to preſerve the religion of *another kingdom* (Scot- *Againſt the firſt article.*
" land) whereof we have very little underſtanding, which as far as we
" are acquainted with it, is much worſe than our own in worſhip, diſcip-
" line, and government, and in doctrine not at all better; wherein there
" are ſome things ſo far tending to ſuperſtition and ſchiſm, that it ſeems
" reaſonable to us that we ſhould call upon them to reform, rather than we
" be bound to preſerve it entire.

" Neither are we ſatisfied in the preſent reformation of religion in *our*
" *own kingdom, in doctrine, worſhip, and diſcipline*, becauſe, (1.) It gives
" a manifeſt ſcandal to the *papiſt* and *ſeparatiſt*, by giving up the cauſe
" for which the martyrs and biſhops have contended ſince the reformation;
" by juſtifying the papiſts in their recuſancy, who reproach us, by ſaying,
" we know not what religion we are of; nor where to ſtop, ſince we
" have left them; and that ours is a *parliamentary religion.* Beſides *this* lb. p. 179.
" *would be a tacit acknowledgment, that there has been ſomething in the*
" *church of* England *not agreeable to the word of God, and ſo juſtify the*
" *ſeparation, and condemn all the penal laws that have been made to oblige*
" *people to conform.* (2.) By the intended reformation we ſhould wrong our
" ſelves, by ſwearing to reform that which we have formerly by our ſub-
" ſcriptions approved, and which we do ſtill believe to be more agreeable
" to the word of God than that which by *this covenant* we muſt ſwear
" to preſerve; and to which, by the laws ſtill in being, every *clerk* at
" his admiſſion to a benefice, is bound to give his conſent. (3.) Beſides
" we ſhould be in danger of perjury, becauſe 'tis contrary to our former
" proteſtation, which obliges us *to maintain the doctrine of the church of*
" *England*, which may take in the whole eſtabliſhment; and it is con-
" trary to the oath of *ſupremacy*, which gives the ſole power to the king in
" matters eccleſiaſtical."

OBJECTIONS *to the ſecond article.*

" We are very much grieved to ſee the prelacy of the church of *Eng-* *Againſt the*
" *land* ranked with popery, ſuperſtition, hereſy, ſchiſm, and profaneneſs, *ſecond article*
" with an intimation, that it is contrary to ſound doctrine, or the power lb. p. 184.
" of.

K. Charles I. 1647. "of godlineſs. Nor can we ſwear to the extirpation of it, becauſe, (1.) "We believe it to be of apoſtolical inſtitution. Or, (2.) At leaſt that "epiſcopal ariſtocracy hath a fairer claim to a divine inſtitution than any "other form of church government. (3.) That epiſcopal government "has continued in the church without interruption for fifteen hundred "years, therefore to extirpate it would give advantage to the papiſts, who "are wont to charge us with a contempt of antiquity, and love of novel-"ty, and it would diminiſh the juſt authority due to the conſent and prac-"tice of the catholic church. (4.) Beſides we can't ſwear to the extir-"pating this government, becauſe we have ſubſcribed the thirty-nine ar-"ticles, one of which ſays, the book containing the form of *conſecration* "has nothing in it contrary to the word of God. We have been ordain-"ed by biſhops; we have petitioned the parliament for the continuance of "them; and ſome of us hold our livelyhoods, by the titles of deans, "deans and chapters, *&c.* (5.) We are not ſatisfied that the inconve-"niences of the *new government* will be leſs than the *old*, the houſe of "commons having remonſtrated [*Dec.* 15. 1641.] that it was far from "their purpoſe to aboliſh this government, but only to regulate it, and "that it was a ſign of *malignancy* to infuſe into the people that they had "any other meaning. *Laſtly*, In reſpect of our obligation to his majeſty, "having acknowledged him to be ſupreme governor in all cauſes eccleſi-"aſtical, we cannot endeavour to extirpate this government without the
Ib. p. 197. "royal aſſent, which we are ſo far from deſiring, that *we are continually* "*praying, that the king may not be prevailed with to do an act ſo prejudi-*"*cial to his conſcience and honour, and which, by his coronation oath, he* "*is bound to preſerve.* By the laws of the land there are ſundry privile-"ges and emoluments ariſing to the crown from the eccleſiaſtical eſtate, "which are a conſiderable part of the revenue, which by the extirpation "of prelacy will be cut off; whereas we are bound by the oath of alle-"giance to maintain the king's honour and eſtate. And after all, the "prelatical government is beſt ſuited to monarchy, in ſomuch that king "*James* uſed to ſay, *no biſhop, no king.*"

OBJECTIONS *to the third article.*

Againſt the third article. Ib. p. 201. "We are diſſatisfied with the limitation of our loyalty in theſe words, "*in the preſervation and defence of the true religion, and liberties of the* "*kingdom*; becauſe no ſuch limitation is to be found in the oath of alle-"giance nor in the word of God; becauſe it leaves the duty of the ſub-"ject looſe, and the ſafety of the king uncertain. The conſcience of

a papiſt

" a papiſt, or ſectary, may ſwallow an oath with ſuch a limitation, but " the conſcience of a good proteſtant cannot but ſtrain at it." K. Charles I. 1647.

To the fourth article.

They reply, " that the impoſing the covenant in this article may lay a " neceſſity upon the ſon to accuſe the father, in caſe he be a *malignant*, " which is contrary to religion, nature, and humanity; or it may open " a way for children that are ſick of their fathers, to effect their unlawful " intentions, by accuſing them of malignancy: beſides the ſubjecting " ourſelves to an arbitrary puniſhment, at the ſole pleaſure of ſuch uncer- " tain judges as may be deputed for that effect, is betraying the liberty " of the ſubject." *Againſt the fourth article* Ib. p. 203.

OBJECTIONS *to the fifth article.*

" We can't acknowledge the happineſs of ſuch a peace, as in the article " is mentioned, for no peace can be firm and well grounded, unleſs the " reſpective authority, power, and liberty of king, parliament, and " ſubject, be preſerved full and entire, according to the known laws, " and reſpective cuſtoms of the kingdom, before the beginning of theſe " diſtractions." *Againſt the fifth article.* Ib. p. 206.

OBJECTIONS *to the ſixth article.*

They ſay, " We are not ſatisfied that the *cauſe of our joining in covenant* " *for the proſecution of the late war, was the cauſe of religion, liberty, and* " *peace of the kingdom, or that the glory of God, and the honour of the* " *king, was concerned in it.* And if it was, we are not ſatisfied that it " ought to be ſupported and carried on by ſuch means as are deſti- " tute of all warrant from the word of God, or the laws of the " realm." *Againſt the ſixth article.* Ib. p. 207.

In concluſion ſay they, " Our hearts tremble to think that we ſhould " be required to pray, that *other chriſtian churches may be encouraged by* " *our example to join in the like covenant to free themſelves from the antichriſ-* " *tian yoke*, for we do not know any antichriſtian yoke we were under; " nor do we yet ſee ſuch good fruits of this *covenant* among ourſelves, as " to invite us to pray, that other churches ſhould follow our example; " 'tis as if we ſhould pray, that the God of love and peace would take " away all love and peace, and ſet the chriſtian world in a combuſtion; " that he would render the reformed religion odious to the world; that *The concluſion.*

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" chriſtian princes might be provoked to uſe more ſeverity towards thoſe " of the reformed religion, if not to root it out of their dominions; for " the yoke of antichriſt, if laid upon ſubjects by their lawful ſovereigns, " is to be thrown off by chriſtian boldneſs in confeſſing the truth, and " ſuffering for it, not by taking up arms, or violent reſiſting of the higher " powers."

After theſe remarks upon the ſeveral articles they take notice,

Contradictions in the covenant. Ib. p. 211.

(1.) Of the following ſeeming contradictions iin the *covenant*, as " the " preſerving, and yet reforming one and the ſame reformed religion. The " reforming church government according to the word of God, and yet " extirpating that government which we apprehend agreeable to it. The " extirpating hereſy and ſchiſm, and yet diſſolving that government of " the church, the want of the due exerciſe of which has been the occa- " ſion of the growth of theſe evils. The preſerving the liberties of the " kingdom, and yet ſubmitting to a *covenant* and *oath* not eſtabliſhed by " law."

Doubtful expreſſions in the covenant. Ib. p. 213.

(2.) They obſerve ſome dark and doubtful expreſſions which they don't well underſtand; as, " who are the *common enemies?* Which are the *beſt* " *reformed churches?* Who are *malignants?* How far the *bindring reſor-* " *mation* may be extended, *&c.*"

Abſurdities.

(3.) By the uſe that has been made of the *covenant* they apprehend, " the conduct of the parliament to be contrary to the meaning of it, for " inſtead of reforming the worſhip and ſervice of the church they have " quite aboliſhed it; inſtead of reforming the diſcipline of the church it is " quite deſtroyed, or put upon ſuch a foot as is not agreeable to the word " of God, or the example of any church ſince the creation. Inſtead of ex- " tirpating hereſy and profaneneſs, little or nothing has been done towards " it but only the extirpation of prelacy, and ſomething elſe that looks like " ſacrilege (ſay they) that we dare not venture upon it. And as for *the* " preſervation of the *king's honour and eſtate in defence of the true religion,* " *and liberties of the kingdom*, though we apprehend all other things ſhould " be ſubordinate to it, yet by ſome bold ſpeeches that have been made, we " are afraid nothing leſs is intended."

Of the SALVOES FOR TAKING THE COVENANT.

Salvoes for taking the covenant. Ib. p. 221, &c.

(1.) " It has been ſaid, that *we may take it in our own ſenſe.* But this " we apprehend contrary to the nature and end of an oath; contrary to " the end of ſpeech; contrary to the deſign of the covenant; and contrary

Salvo I.

" to

" to the ſolemn profeſſion at the concluſion of it (*viz.*) *that we ſhall take* K. Charles I.
" *it with a true intention to perform the ſame, as we ſhall anſwer it to the* 1647.
" *ſearcher of all hearts at the great day.* Beſides this would be *jeſui-*
" *tical*; it would be taking the name of God in vain; and it would
" ſtrengthen the objection of thoſe who ſay, there is no faith to be given
" to proteſtants.

(2.) " It has been ſaid, we may take the covenant with the ſalvoes ex- *Salvo* II.
" preſſed, *ſo far as lawfully I may, ſo far as it is agreeable to the word of*
" *God, and the laws of the land, ſaving all oaths by me formerly taken*, &c.
" which is no better than vile hypocriſy; for by the ſame rule one might
" ſubſcribe to the *council of* Trent, *or the* turkiſh *alcoran.*

(3.) " It is ſaid, that *we may take the covenant in our preſent circumſtan-* *Salvo* III.
" *ces, notwithſtanding our allegiance to the king, becauſe protection and ſub-*
" *jection are relatives, and the king being unable to protect us any longer, we*
" *are free from ſubjection to him.* But we anſwer, that the king's inabi-
" lity to perform *his* duty does not diſcharge the ſubject from his, as long
" as he is able; much leſs when the *non-protection* on the king's part, is
" not from want of will, but of power.

(4.) " It is ſaid, *the parliament being the ſupream judicatory of the king-* *Salvo* IV.
" *dom, whereſoever the king is in perſon he is always preſent with his parlia-*
" *ment in power*; *as what is done in courts of juſtice is not done without the*
" *king, but by him though not perſonally preſent.* But we deny the king to
" be always preſent with his parliament in *power*, for then his actual royal
" aſſent would not be neceſſary to the making of laws, but only a virtual
" aſſent included in the votes of both houſes: The houſes need not then
" deſire the royal aſſent, nor can the king be ſuppoſed to have a *negative*
" *voice.* Beſides the ſtatute which provides, that the king's aſſent to any
" bill ſignified under his great ſeal, ſhall be as valid as if he were perſo-
" nally preſent, imports that the *king's power* is not preſent with his two
" houſes, otherwiſe than it appears in his *perſon*, or under his *great*
" *ſeal.* As to the analogy of other courts we conceive it of no conſe-
" quence; in other courts the judges are the king's ſervants, and do all
" in his name, and by his authority; they ſit there not by any proper
" intereſt of their own, but in right of the king, whoſe judges they are;
" but the parliament is the king's council, and have their ſeveral proper
" rights and intereſts diſtinct from the king's, by virtue of which they are
" diſtinct orders and conſervators of their ſeveral intereſts. Beſides judges
" of other courts are bounded by the laws in being, and therefore the
" king's perſonal preſence is not neceſſary; but the caſe is quite different
" in making new laws, for the making of new laws is the exerciſe of a
" *legiſlative* rather than a *judicial power*; now no act of legiſlative pow-
" er can be valid, unleſs it be confirmed by ſuch perſon or perſons as the

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" ſovereignty of that community reſideth in. Upon the whole, ſince " all *judicial power* is radically in the king, who is therefore called the " *fountain of juſtice*, it ſeems to us, that neither the judges in inferior " courts, nor the lords and commons aſſembled in parliament, may ex- " erciſe any other power over the ſubjects of this realm, than ſuch as by " their reſpective patents and writs iſſued from the king, or by the eſtab- " liſhed laws of the land, formerly aſſented to by the kings of this " realm, does appear to be derived from them; by which writs, patents, " and laws, it does not appear that the two houſes of parliament have any " power without the king, to order, command, or tranſact; but only " with him to treat, conſult, and adviſe, concerning the great affairs of " the kingdom."

Concerning the NEGATIVE OATH.

Objections to the negative oath. Ib. p. 243.

They ſay, " We cannot take it without giving up our liberties, with- " out abuſing our natural allegiance, and without diminution of his ma- " jeſty's juſt power and greatneſs."

Concerning the DISCIPLINE AND DIRECTORY.

And directory. Ib. p. 244.

" We are not ſatisfied to ſubmit to the ordinance for eſtabliſhing the *di-* " *rectory*, becauſe it has not the royal aſſent, and yet abrogates acts of " parliament made by the joint conſent of the king lords and commons, " eſpecially one, which annexes the whole power of ordering all eccle- " ſiaſtical matters for ever to the imperial crown of this realm; now we " are not ſatisfied that a leſs power can have a juſt right to abrogate a " greater.

" If under the title of *diſcipline* be comprehended the *government* of " the church alſo, we declare, we cannot conſent to the eradication of " a government of ſuch reverend antiquity, which has from time to time " been confirmed by the laws of the kingdom, and which the kings at " their ſucceſſive coronations have ſworn to preſerve. If the word *diſ-* " *cipline* be diſtinguiſhed from *government*, as in the firſt article of the " *covenant*, yet are we not ſatisfied to place ſo much power in the hands " of perſons (many of whom may be of mean quality) for the keeping " back thouſands of well meaning chriſtians from the bleſſed ſacrament, " when ſaint *Paul*, in a church abounding with ſundry errors and cor- " ruptions in faith and manners, ſatisfies himſelf with a general declaration " of the danger of unworthy communicating, and enjoins every parti- " cular perſon a *ſelf-examination*, without empowering either miniſters

" or

" or lay-elders to exclude any from the communion upon their exa- K. Charles I. 1647.
" mination.

" As to the *directory* itſelf, we cannot, without regret of conſcience, " and during the continuance of the preſent laws, conſent to the taking " away the *book of the common prayer*, which we have ſubſcribed, and " ſolemnly promiſed to uſe no other, which we believe contains in it no- " thing but what is juſtly defenſible; and which we think ourſelves able " to juſtify againſt all papiſts and ſectaries. Beſides, we look upon the " ſtatute enjoining the uſe of the *common prayer* to be ſtill in force, and " will always remain ſo, 'till it ſhall be repealed by the ſame good and full " authority by which it was made; that is, by the free conſent of king, " lords and commons."

By comparing theſe reaſons with thoſe of the parliament divines for *Remarks.* taking the *covenant*, the reader will be capable of judging how far they are concluſive. Many of them are unqueſtionably good; and had the conſtitution remained entire, and the laws had their free and ordinary courſe, as in times of peace, moſt of them would have been concluſive; but how far the neceſſity of the war, and the right of ſelf defence, will vindicate the extraordinary proceedings of parliament, I ſhall not take upon me to determine for others. I am no advocate for the particulars of the *covenant* any more than for the high and arbitrary principles of *government*, contained in the *univerſity's reaſons*. The *conſciences* of men are not under the direction of their *wills* but of their *judgments*, and therefore ought not to be conſtrained by *oaths*, *proteſtations*, or *covenants*, to attempt thoſe things in matters of religion, which their *own hearts* muſt condemn. Religion and civil government ſtand on a diſtinct foundation, and are deſigned for very different ends; the magiſtrate may demand ſecurity for men's peaceable ſubmiſſion to the civil government, but ought not to force them to be active againſt the light of their conſciences in matters of religion. The univerſity's reaſons are not built upon theſe principles; for thoſe gentlemen were as much for the coercive power of the magiſtrate in caſes of conſcience as the puritans; and whereas they ſay, *the allegiance of the ſubject, and the protection of the king, are not relatives; and that the king's inability to diſcharge his duty does not abſolve the ſubject from his*, I ſhall only obſerve that upon theſe principles the crown can never be forfeited; a coronation oath is of very little ſignificance; nor may a nation ſubmit to a conqueror even when they can reſiſt no longer. Inability alone in the prince I grant may not in all caſes abſolve us from our allegiance, but tyranny, oppreſſion, and open attempts to ſubvert the whole conſtitution and laws of the country, certainly may: upon what other ground can we juſtify the late revolution, and the preſent happy eſtabliſhment of the proteſtant ſucceſſion? When the *Oxford* divines at the period of the *re-*

volution

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volution had taken the oath of allegiance to king *James* II. and the corporation oath, which ſays *it is not lawful to reſiſt, or take up arms againſt the king upon any pretence whatſoever*; what could abſolve them from theſe engagements, or juſtify their joining the *prince of Orange* with a foreign force againſt a king upon the throne? however the ſtand now made by the univerſity was a bold and adventurous attempt, for which they received the applauſe of the *Oxford* parliament in the year 1665. when it was reſolved, "that the thanks of the houſe of commons be re-"turned to the chancellor, maſters, and ſcholars, of the univerſity of "*Oxford*, for their bold oppoſition to the rebellious viſitors; for refuſing "to ſubmit to their *league and covenant*; and *laſtly*, for the illuſtrious "performance they printed, entitled *the judgment of the univerſity*, &c. "in which they have learnedly maintained the king's cauſe." This was the faſhionable doctrine of king *Charles* the ſecond's reign, when the laws were ſuſpended and infringed, and arbitrary power in the prince roſe to ſuch a height as in the next reign iſſued in a revolution of government. The univerſity of *Oxford* did all they could to countenance the triumphs of the prerogative, for in the year 1663. they paſſed a *decree* in full convocation, affirming the neceſſity of paſſive obedience and non-reſiſtance in the ſtrongeſt terms; but how ſoon were the tables turned, when within five years theſe very gentlemen thought fit to enter into an aſſociation to adhere to the prince of *Orange* againſt the king upon the throne, and have ſince had the mortification to ſee that ſame *decree* burnt by the hands of the common hangman?

Viſitation opened. Suff. cler. p. 127.

To return to the viſitation, *May* 15. a citation was iſſued in the names of ten of the viſitors then in *London*, to the proctors, and heads of houſes, or their vice-principals, requiring them and all the officers, ſcholars, *&c.* to appear in the convocation-houſe, on *Friday June* 4. between the hours of nine and eleven in the morning, and to bring with them a liſt of the ſeveral names of thoſe who were abſent, and of the colleges to which they belonged. At the time appointed the reverend Mr. *Harris*, Mr. *Reynolds*, Mr. *Rogers*, Mr. *Henry Wilkinſon*, Mr. *Cheynèl*, Mr. *John Wilkinſon*, Mr. *Dunce*, and Mr. *Draper*, &c. opened the viſitation with prayers and a ſermon at St. *Mary*'s *church*, from whence they proceeded to the convocation houſe, where the vice-chancellor [Dr. *Fell*] and a few of the ſcholars, had been waiting a conſiderable time; but perceiving the viſitors were like to out-ſtay the preciſe hour of ſummons he ordered the ſexton to ſet the clock exactly with the ſun, and as ſoon as it ſtruck eleven he diſmiſſed the ſcholars, marching away with the *beadles* before him; the viſitors met them in their return at the *proſcholium*, where the paſſage being narrow, the *beadle* cried out, *make way for Mr. vice-chancellor*, which the viſitors did. And the vice-chancellor having moved his hat,

hat as he paſſed by ſaid, *how do ye, gentlemen, 'tis paſt eleven o'clock.* But the viſitors went forward, and having conſulted about an hour upon the vice-chancellor's behaviour reſolved to adjourn till *Michaelmas*, and return to *London*, in order to obtain further powers from the parliament. In the mean time Dr. *Fell* ſummoned a *committee of the heads of the ſeveral colleges*, who came to the following reſolutions. K. Charles I. 1647. *Univerſity uſe the viſitors ill, and will not ſubmit.*

1. That no man ſhould appear before the viſitors unleſs the ſummons had five names.

2. That no one ſhould appear upon an *holy day*.

3. That he ſhould demand by what authority, he was ſummoned; and if denied an anſwer ſhould preſently depart.

4. That if they declared their authority, he ſhould anſwer with a *ſalvis juribus regni, academiae & collegii*, &c.

5. That he ſhould demand his accuſation in writing, as alſo time to put in his anſwer, and ſhould return it in writing, and no otherwiſe.

Laſtly, that he ſhould utterly refuſe to anſwer on oath, becauſe that would be to accuſe himſelf, and would plainly revive the oath *ex officio*.

Such was the ſtout behaviour of theſe few academics, "who (accord- "ing to Dr. *Walker*) poured upon the viſitors all manner of contempt "and ſcorn, though they knew their very lives and fortunes were at their "diſpoſal. The univerſity (ſays he) held out a ſiege of more than a "year and half; the convocation houſe proved a citadel, and each "ſingle college a fort not eaſy to be reduced;" a clear evidence of the humanity of the viſitors, and an unanſwerable demonſtration of the neceſſity of the parliament's acting with greater vigor. Suff. cler. p. 122, 123, 128, &c.

The two houſes having reſolved to ſupport their viſitors, and enable them to go through their work; paſſed an ordinance *Auguſt* 26. empowering them "to adminiſter the *covenant*, and the *negative oath*; to "demand the peruſal of the *ſtatutes*, *regiſters*, *accompts*, &c. and of all "other papers of the univerſity, and of the reſpective colleges and halls; "and to ſeize and detain in cuſtody any perſon, who after a perſonal ci- "tation refuſed to appear, and produce their books and papers after a "ſecond citation; a jury was alſo to be impanelled, of members of the "univerſity, above the age of twenty-one, to enquire by oath on the ar- "ticles contained in the ordinance of viſitation;" and a new commiſſion was drawn up by Mr. attorney general *St. John*, with the great ſeal affixed to it (*Septemb.* 27.) authoriſing the perſons above-named, to viſit the univerſity without any further warrant; the commiſſion began in the uſual form, *Charles, by the grace of God*, &c. *to our truſty and well-beloved Sir* Nath. Brent, *&c. know ye, that we intending the regulation and* *Parliament reſolve to ſupport their viſitors.* Ib. p. 128.

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reformation of our univerſity of Oxford, *&c.* which was a very ſtrange ſtile conſidering the king was never conſulted about the *viſitation*, much leſs gave any conſent; but the houſes affected this form, from a miſtaken ſuppoſition, that the king was always preſent with his parliament in his legiſlative capacity; tho' it ſerved no other purpoſe than giving the adverſary an opportunity to expoſe their proceedings, and charge them with aſſuming and acting under a *forged* authority.

The viſitation revived. Wood's antiq. Oxon. p. 388.

Furniſhed with theſe new *powers*, the viſitors returned to *Oxford* the latter end of *September*, the mayor, ſheriffs, and other magiſtrates, being commanded to aid and aſſiſt them as there ſhould be occaſion. On *Michaelmas* day a paper was fixed to the door of *univerſity church*, giving notice, that the viſitation would now proceed *de die in diem*. Next day a *citation* was iſſued to all the heads of houſes, requiring them to bring in their ſtatutes, regiſters, accompts, and all their public writings, to the wardens lodgings at *Merton-college*. The *vice-chancellor* was ordered to appear at the ſame time, to anſwer to ſuch queſtions, as ſhould be demanded of him, and to ſend by the hands of the perſons who ſerved thoſe orders, all the books and acts belonging to the univerſity. The *proctors* were likewiſe enjoined to bring in their books, keys, and other public things in their cuſtody. But it is not enough to ſay (ſays the *Oxford* antiquary) that *every one of theſe orders were diſobeyed; they were alſo deſpiſed and contemned*. However the vice-chancellor and heads of colleges condeſcended to appear at the ſecond ſummons, *October* 6. when inſtead of bringing their books and papers, they demanded to know, by *what authority they were ſummoned?* upon which the viſitors produced their commiſſion under the *broad ſeal*, at the ſame time ſerving them with a third citation, to appear four days after with their books and papers, or with their reaſons in writing why they refuſed ſo to do. Next day they ſent for the keys of the *convocation houſe* and *ſchool*, and for the *beadles ſtaves*, but they were denied. The day following the *proctors* appeared, and delivered a proteſtation, atteſted by a public notary, in the name of the vice-chancellor, delegates, and all the ſcholars, to this purpoſe, that "they could not own any viſitor but the *king*, and that "having ſworn to maintain his right, they could not without perjury, "ſubmit themſelves to this viſitation, wherewith they deſire them to "acquaint the parliament." Hereupon Dr. *Fell* the vice-chancellor, the very ſame day, was deprived of his vice-chancellorſhip, and public notice was given to the proctors, and other officers of the univerſity, not to obey him any longer under that character; but the doctor without regard to his deprivation, or to the prorogation of the term, which the viſitors had adjourned from the 10th to the 15th inſtant, proceeding on the 11th to hold a congregation, and open the term as uſual, was taken into

The univerſity will not ſubmit.

Ib. p. 389, 390.

into cuſtody, and ſome time after, by order of parliament brought to *London*; immediately upon which, Dr. *Potter* preſident of *Trinity-college*, ordered the *beadles* with their ſtaves to attend him as *pro-vice-chancellor*. *November* 2d and 4th the ſeveral heads of colleges then preſent appeared before the viſitors, but *without their ſtatute-books and papers*, and being called in ſeverally, were aſked in their turns, Whether they approved of the *judicium univerſitatis*; or the *reaſons of the univerſity above-mentioned? Whether they owned the power of the viſitors?* Or whether they *approved of the anſwer of the proctors in the name of the whole univerſity?* And refuſing to give a direct anſwer, were ſerved with a citation to appear before the *committee for reformation of the univerſity at* Weſtminſter the 11th inſtant, which they did accordingly; and having owned their approbation of the anſwer of the *proctors* in the name of the univerſity, they tendered a paper to the *committee* in the name of all who had been cited, ſetting forth "that what they had done was "not out of obſtinacy, but conſcience; and praying that in an affair "of ſo much conſequence they might be allowed time to adviſe with "council." Their requeſt being readily granted, two gentlemen of the long robe of their own nomination, (*viz.*) Mr. HALE and Mr. CHUTE, were appointed their council. The day of hearing was *December* 9. the poſition they offered to maintain was, that *it was one of the privileges of the univerſity to be ſubject* ONLY *to a royal viſitation*; the council for the univerſity made a learned argument upon this head; but as Mr. *Collier* obſerves, this queſtion had been debated before the king in council in the year 1637. when archbiſhop *Laud* claimed a right of viſiting the two univerſities *jure metropolitico*. It was then admitted, that the king might viſit when he pleaſed; yet after a full hearing, his majeſty with the advice of his council, declared and adjudged the right of viſiting both univerſities, as univerſities, to belong to the archbiſhop and metropolitical church of *Canterbury*, by themſelves or commiſſaries, and that the univerſities ſhould from time to time be obedient thereunto. Which determination of his majeſty, the archbiſhop moved might be drawn up by council learned in the law, and put under the *broad ſeal*, to prevent diſputes for the future. And the ſame was accordingly done; the univerſity therefore loſt their queſtion in the committee. The council for the viſitors were further of opinion, that the *kingly power was always virtually preſent with his great council of parliament*, and that therefore they might viſit; but ſuppoſing this to be a miſtake, they affirmed, that the parliament had an undoubted right to reform the univerſity *by the articles of capitulation*, in which they had expreſly reſerved this power to themſelves. After a full hearing on both ſides,

K. Charles *I.* 1647.

Suff. Cler. p. 130.

They are heard by their council.

Eccl. Hiſt. p. 766.

But are caſt.

K. Charles I. 1647. the committee voted, that *the anſwer of the ſeveral heads of houſes, and of others of the univerſity, was derogatory to the authority of parliament.*

Let. to Mr. Selden. Suff. Cler. p. 130. The *Oxford* divines not ſatisfied with this determination, appealed ſoon after to the public, in a letter to the learned Mr. *Selden* repreſentative for the univerſity, entitled *The caſe of the univerſity of* Oxford; or the ſad dilemma that all the members thereof are put to, to be perjured or deſtroyed. The letter ſays, "that the only queſtion propoſed by the

Vol. pamp. N° 34. "viſitors to every ſingle perſon in the univerſity is, *Whether he will ſubmit to the power of the parliament in this viſitation?* To which they "reply, that unleſs they have the perſonal conſent of the king, they cannot ſubmit to any viſitation without danger of perjury, as appears "by the words of the oath, which are, *You ſhall ſwear to obſerve all "the ſtatutes, liberties, privileges, and cuſtoms of the univerſity*; to "which the ſcholar anſwers, *I ſwear.* Now it being one of our privileges to be viſited by none but the king, or by the archbiſhop of "*Canterbury*; the archbiſhop being dead, it follows we can be viſited "by none but the king; to ſubmit therefore to another viſitation, muſt "be a breach of our liberties, and conſequently downright perjury. "They urged further, the ſtatutes of their ſeveral colleges, which bind "them to certain rules in their electing of proctors, in the calling and "meeting of convocations, in the choice of ſeveral officers in caſe of a "vacancy, all which, inſtead of being referred to the members of the "univerſity, is now done by the arbitrary power of the viſitors. Nothing (ſay they) can be alledged in anſwer to this, but the pretended "ſovereign power of the two houſes to make and aboliſh laws, which "we abſolutely diſbelieve. Upon the whole, they appeal to *any divine*, "whether they ought to ſubmit to the viſitation as long as they believe "their oaths to be in full force, and are confident, that the two houſes "cannot diſpenſe with them? And conſequently whether they ought "to be turned out of their freeholds on this account?"

Suff. Cler. p. 131. The COMMITTEE at *London* having waited till the end of the month of *December*, to ſee if any of the heads of colleges would ſubmit, voted Dr. *Fell* out of his deanry of *Chriſt-church* for contumacy; and paſſed the ſame ſentence upon

Dr. *Oliver*, preſident of *Magdalen college*,
Dr. *Potter*, —— —— *Trinity*,
Dr. *Bayly* —— —— St. *John's*,
Dr. *Radcliffe*, principal of *Brazen Noſe*,
Dr. *Gardner*, Dr. *Iles*, Dr. *Morley*, } Canons of *Chriſt church.*

When

When theſe reſolutions were ſent to *Oxford*, the proper officers refuſed to publiſh them, and when they were paſted upon the walls of the colleges, they were torn down, and trampled under foot; upon which the *Pro-vice-chancellor*, and the two proctors were ordered into cuſtody; but they abſconded, and Dr. *Oliver* aſſumed the office of pro-vice-chancellor. The parliament provoked with this uſage, paſſed an ordinance *Jan.* 22. 1647-8. conſtituting the earl of *Pembroke* chancellor of *Oxford*, and *March* 8. they ordered him to repair thither in perſon, to ſupport the viſitors, and place the ſeveral perſons whom the committee had choſen, in the reſpective chairs of thoſe they had ejected.

K. Charles I. 1647. *Their ſtubborn behaviour.* Whitlock, p. 290.

April 11. the chancellor made his public entrance into the city, attended with a great number of clergy, and gentlemen of the country, and about one hundred horſe out of *Oxford* itſelf; the mayor welcomed him at his entrance into the city with a congratulatory ſpeech; and when he came to his lodgings, Mr. *Button* one of the new proctors, made a ſpeech to him in *latin*, but not one of the *heads of colleges* came near him; the *inſignia* of the univerſity were not to be found, and the ſcholars treated the *chancellor* and his retinue with all that rudeneſs, they had been taught to expreſs towards all who adhered to the parliament.

E. of Pembroke *chancellor viſits in perſon.*

Next morning the *earl*, attended with a guard of ſoldiers, went to *Chriſt-church*, and having in vain deſired Mrs. *Fell* the dean's wife, to quit the lodgings peaceably, he commanded the ſoldiers to break open the doors, and carry her out in a chair into the middle of the quadrangle; he then put the new-elected dean Mr. *Reynolds*, afterwards biſhop of *Norwich*, into poſſeſſion; from thence his lordſhip, with the viſitors, went to the hall, and having got the *buttery-book*, ſtruck out Dr. *Fell*'s name, and inſerted that of Mr. *Reynolds*; the like they did by Dr. *Hammond*, ſub-dean, and public orator; by Dr. *Gardner*, Dr. *Rayne*, Dr. *Iles*, and Dr. *Morley*, placing in their ſtead Mr. *Corbet*, who was made public orator; Mr. *Rogers*, Mr. *Mills*, Mr. *Corniſh*, Mr. *Henry Wilkinſon*, ſen. and Mr. *Langley*; Dr. *Sanderſon* being ſpared, becauſe he was out of town when the laſt ſummons was iſſued.

His proceedings. Suff. Cler. p. 133.

In the afternoon they held a convocation, which was opened with an elegant *latin* oration, pronounced by Mr. *Corbet* their new orator. When the *chancellor* had taken the chair in the convocation-houſe, he declared Mr. *Reynolds* vice-chancellor, to whom an oath was adminiſtered that he would obſerve the ſtatutes and privileges of the univerſity, ſubject to the authority of parliament. Mr. *Button* and Mr. *Croſs* were declared proctors, and all three returned their thanks to the chancellor in *latin* ſpeeches. On this occaſion degrees were conferred upon divers learned men. Mr. *Chambers*, Mr. *Callicott*, and Mr. *Harris*, were made doctors of divinity; Mr. *Palmer* doctor of phyſic; Mr. *J. Wilkins*, [afterwards

Ruſhw. p. 1064. Suff. Cler. p. 133, 134.

K. Charles I. 1647. wards, biſhop] Mr. *Langley*, Mr. *Corniſh*, and Mr. *Cheynell*, batchelors of divinity; the young earl of *Carnarvan*, the chancellor's two youngeſt ſons, and ſeveral other gentlemen, maſters of arts.

Next morning, *April* 13. the chancellor and viſitors, with a guard of muſquetiers, went to *Magdalen-college*, and having broke open the doors of the preſident's lodgings [Dr. *Oliver*], who was out of the way, they gave Dr. *Wilkinſon* poſſeſſion. In the afternoon they went to *All-Souls*, where Dr. *Sheldon* the warden appearing, and refuſing to ſubmit, returned to his lodgings, and locked the doors; which being broke open, the doctor was taken into cuſtody for contempt, and Dr. *Palmer* put in his place; from thence they went to *Trinity-college*, and having broke open the lodgings, Dr. *Harris* was put into poſſeſſion in the room of Dr. *Potter*. In like manner Dr. *Cheynel* had poſſeſſion given him of St. *John*'s in the room of Dr. *Bayly*; Mr. *Wilkins* was appointed preſident of *Wadham college* in the room of Dr. *Pit*; and Mr. *Greenwood* was put into poſſeſſion of *Brazen-noſe college* in the room of Dr. *Radcliffe*, allowing thoſe they diſplaced a month's time to remove their effects. But ſome of the ſtudents of *Chriſt's church* having got the *butt*-

Suff. Cler. p. 134. *tery-book*, impudently cut out the names of thoſe whom the *viſitors* had inſerted; ſo that they were forced to return the next day, and write over again the names of their new dean and canons. The heads of colleges being thus fixed in their ſeveral ſtations, the chancellor took leave of the univerſity, and departed for *London*; and having reported his conduct *April* 21. received the thanks of the two houſes.

Reports the behaviour of the univerſity to the parliament. But Dr. *Wilkinſon* ſen. and Mr. *Cheynel*, who returned with the chancellor, having repreſented to the parliament, that the fellows, ſcholars, and under-officers, ſtill refuſed to ſubmit to their orders, it was reſolved, "that the viſitors ſhould cite all the officers, fellows, and ſcho-
"lars before them, and that ſuch as refuſed to appear, or upon ap-
"pearance did not ſubmit, ſhould be ſuſpended from their places, and
"their names returned to the committee, who were authorized to ex-
Ib. p. 134. "pel them the univerſity; and the *new heads* (on ſignification of ſuch
"ſentence from the committee) in conjunction with the viſitors, were
"empowered to put others in their places. They reſolved further, that
"the *burſars* ſhould make no dividend of money till they had orders
"from the committee; and that the tenants ſhould pay their rents to
"none but the *heads* appointed by the authority of parliament." But the *burſars* abſconded, and were not to be found.

Numbers ejected. By virtue of theſe orders the viſitors cited the fellows, ſcholars of houſes, gentlemen commoners, and ſervitors, to appear before them at ſeveral times; the only queſtion demanded of them was, *Will you ſubmit to the power of the parliament in this viſitation?* To which they were

to give their anſwer in writing, and according to it were confirmed or diſplaced. Great numbers were abſent from the univerſity, and did not appear; others who diſowned the power of the parliament at firſt, afterwards ſubmitted, but the main body ſtood it out to the laſt: Dr. *Walker* ſays, that one hundred and eighty withdrew; that of about ſix hundred ſeventy-ſix who appeared, five hundred forty-eight refuſed at firſt to own the authority of the viſitation, but that afterwards many ſubmitted and made their peace. In another place he ſuppoſes *one fourth* ſubmitted; and makes the whole number of fellows and ſcholars deprived three hundred ſeventy-five; and then by a liſt of new elections in ſome following years, reduces them to three hundred fifty-ſix; but conſidering that ſome may have been omitted, he gueſſes the whole to be about four hundred. The *Oxford* hiſtorian Mr. *Wood* ſays, the number of them who refuſed to ſubmit was about three hundred thirty-four, but that they were not preſently expelled; for though the viſitors were obliged to return their names to the committee, and were empowered to expel them, yet they deferred the execution of their power, in hopes that time might bring them to a compliance; which it is very likely it did, becauſe it appears by the regiſter, that in the eight ſucceeding years, *i. e.* between the years 1648 and 1656. there were no more than three hundred ninety-ſix new elections, which allowing for deaths and removals, muſt infer the *deprivations* at this time could not be very conſiderable; however had their numbers been much greater than they really were, the parliament were obliged in their own defence, to diſpoſſeſs them.

K. Charles I. 1647. Life of *Mr.* Phil. Henry. Suff. Cler. Part I. p. 135. Ib. Part II. p. 138, 139.

Inſolence of the ſcholars.

The few ſcholars that remained in the univerſity treated the viſitors with inſufferable rudeneſs, ſcurrilous and invective ſatyrs, equal if not ſuperior in raillery and ill language to *Martin-Mar-Prelate*, and the reſt of the *browniſtical* pamphlets in the reign of queen *Elizabeth*, were diſperſed in the moſt public places of the city every week; as *Mercurius Academicus*; *Pegaſus*, or the *flying horſe from* Oxon; *Pegaſus taught to dance the tune of* Lachrymæ; *News from* Pembroke *and* Montgomery; *or* Oxford Mancheſtered. *The owl at* Athens; *or the entrance of the earl of* Pembroke *into* Oxford, April 11. *The* Oxford *Tragi-comedy*, in heroic *latin* verſe. *Lord have mercy upon us*; which is the inſcription put upon houſes that have the plague; and many others; which the viſitors took no further notice of, than to forbid the bookſellers to print or ſell the like for the future. If the puritans had publiſhed ſuch pamphlets againſt the exorbitances of the high-commiſſion court in the late times, the authors or publiſhers muſt have loſt their ears, as the *browniſts* did their lives towards the latter end of queen *Elizabeth*; and ſurely the univerſity might have evinced their loyalty without offering ſuch unmannerly

Ib. p. 135.

K. Charles I. 1647.

nerly provocations to gentlemen, who were diſpoſed to behave towards them with all gentleneſs and moderation.

Garriſon ſearch the colleges for arms.

The viſitors being informed that an inſurrection was deſigned among the ſcholars in favour of the king, and in concert with the loyaliſts in other parts of the kingdom, acquainted the commanding officers of the garriſon, who gave immediate orders to ſearch the colleges for arms; and on the 26th of *May* 1648. the viſitors ordered all the members of the univerſity to deliver a peremptory anſwer in writing within ſeven days, *Whether they would ſubmit to the authority of the parliament in this viſitation or no?* And that none ſhould depart the univerſity without leave from the *pro-vice-chancellor*. The day following both houſes of parliament paſſed an order, "that for as much as many doctors, "and other members of the univerſity, notwithſtanding the example "that had been made of ſome of them, did ſtill perſiſt in their con- "tempt of the authority of parliament, which might be of dangerous "conſequence; therefore the committee for reforming the univerſity "ſhould have power to ſend for them under the cuſtody of a guard, "and commit them to priſon." When this order came to *Oxford*, the viſitors declared, that whoſoever ſhould not plainly, and without reſerve, declare his ſubmiſſion to the viſitation, ſhould be deemed as flatly denying its authority, and be taken into cuſtody; and that whoſoever laid claim to any place in the univerſity, ſhould within fifteen days declare his ſubmiſſion, or be deprived; accordingly at the expiration of the time, ſuch as did not appear were deprived of their fellowſhips, and expelled the univerſity: But ſtill the ſcholars would not remove, being too ſtubborn to be evicted by votes at *London*, or papers and *programma's* at *Oxford*. The viſitors therefore, after having waited above ſix months, were obliged to proceed to the laſt extremity; and *July* 5, 1649. ordered a ſerjeant, attended with ſome files of muſquetiers, to publiſh by beat of drum before the gates of the ſeveral colleges, that "if any of thoſe who had "been expelled by the viſitors, ſhould preſume to continue any longer "in the univerſity, they ſhould be taken into cuſtody, and be made pri- "ſoners by the governor." This not anſwering the propoſed end, the *Oxford* hiſtorian adds, that four days after they publiſhed a further order by beat of drum before the gate of every college, "that if any one who "had been expelled, did preſume to tarry in the town, or was taken "within five miles of it, he ſhould be deemed as a ſpy, and puniſhed "with death." And to enforce this order, general *Fairfax* who was then in the field, gave public notice, that he would proceed accordingly with ſuch as did not depart in four days, unleſs they obtained leave from the vice-chancellor and viſitors to continue longer. At length their courage cooled, and the young gentlemen were prevailed on to retire. Thus

Suff. Cler. p. 137.

Scholars expelled.

the

the univerſity of *Oxford* was cleared of the royaliſts, and the viſitors at liberty to fill up their vacancies in the beſt manner they could; in all which one cannot tell which moſt to admire, the unparallelled patience and forbearance of a victorious parliament for almoſt two years, or the ſtubborn perverſneſs and provoking behaviour of a few academics, againſt a power that could have battered their colleges about their ears, and buried them in their ruins in a few days. *K.* Charles *I.* 1647.

About ten of the old heads of colleges, and profeſſors of ſciences, ſubmitted to the viſitors, and kept their places, and about nineteen or twenty were expelled. Thoſe who ſubmitted were, *Heads of colleges that ſubmitted and kept their places.*

Dr. Langbain *provoſt of* Queen's
Dr. Hood *rector of* Lincoln
Dr. Saunders *provoſt of* Oriel
Dr. Hakewell *rector of* Exeter } College.
Sir Nath. Brent *warden of* Merton
Dr. Zouch *principal of* Alban-Hall
Dr. Lawrence *maſter of* Baliol.

Dr. Pocock *arabick profeſſor*,
Dr. Clayton *anatomy profeſſor*,
Mr. Philips *muſic profeſſor*.

The following characters of theſe gentlemen, with thoſe of their predeceſſors and ſucceſſors, I have taken for the moſt part from writers not to be ſuſpected of partiality in favour of the puritans. *Their characters.*

Dr. *Gerard Langbain* provoſt of *Queen's-College*, was a great ornament to his college; he was elected keeper of the archives or records of the univerſity, being in general eſteem for his great learning and honeſty. He was an excellent linguiſt, an able philoſopher and divine, a good common lawyer, a public ſpirited man, a lover of learning and learned men, beloved of archbiſhop *Uſher*, *Selden*, and the great *Goliahs* of literature. He was alſo an excellent antiquary, indefatigable in his ſtudies, and of immenſe undertakings. He died *Feb.* 10. 1657-8. and was buried in the inner chapel of *Queen's-College*. *Dr.* Langbain. Wood's Athen. Vol. II. p. 220.

Dr. *Paul Hood* rector of *Lincoln-College*, had been many years governor of this houſe, and continued in it through all changes till his death; he was vice-chancellor of the univerſity in the year 1660. when he conformed to the eſtabliſhed church, and died in the year 1668. *Dr.* Hood. Wood's Faſti. p. 127.

Dr. *John Saunders* provoſt of *Oriel College*, diſowned the authority of the viſitors at firſt, but afterwards complied; for as Dr. *Walker* obſerves, *Dr.* Saunders. Walker, p. 131.

K. Charles I. 1647.

ſerves, there was no other provoſt till after his death, which was in the year 1652.

Dr. Hakewell. Walker, p. 114.

Dr. *Geoage Hakewell* rector of *Exeter-College*, had been chaplain to prince *Charles* and archdeacon of *Surry*; upon the promotion of Dr. *Prideaux* to the ſee of *Worceſter* he was choſen rector of this college, but reſided little there, retiring during the war to his rectory of *Heanton* in *Devon*, where he led a recluſe life, and died in *April* 1649. He was (according to Dr. *Walker*) a great divine, a very good philoſopher, and a noted preacher.

Sir Nath. Brent. Athen. Oxon. p. 167.

Sir *Nathaniel Brent* warden of *Merton-College*, was probationer fellow in the year 1594. and proctor of the univerſity in 1607. he afterwards traelled into ſeveral parts of the learned world, and underwent dangerous adventures in *Italy* to procure the hiſtory of the council of *Trent*, which he tranſlated into *engliſh*, and therefore ſays Mr. *Wood*, deſerves an honourable mention. By the favour of archbiſhop *Abbot* he was made commiſſary of the dioceſe of *Canterbury*, and vicar-general to the archbiſhop, being doctor of laws, and at length judge of the prerogative. In 1629. he was knighted at *Woodſtock*, and at the commencement of the civil war took part with the parliament, for which reaſon he was ejected his wardenſhip of this college, but reſtored again when it came into the parliament's hands in 1646. He was one of the viſitors of the univerſity, and eſteemed a very learned and judicious civilian. He reſigned his wardenſhip in the year 1650. and died at *London* in 1652. after he had lived ſeventy-nine years.

Dr. Zouch. Athen. Oxon. p. 255.

Richard Zouch L. L. D. principal of *Alban-Hall*, was of noble birth, and ſerved in parliament for the borough of *Hyth* in *Kent*. He was chancellor of the dioceſe of *Oxon*, principal of St. *Alban-Hall*, 1625. and at length judge of the high court of admiralty; he was very able and eminent in his own profeſſion, a ſubtle logician, an expert hiſtorian, and for the knowledge and practice of the civil law the chief perſon of his time. As his birth was noble (ſays Mr. *Wood*) ſo was his behaviour and diſcourſe; and as he was perſonable and handſome, ſo naturally ſweet, pleaſing and affable; he kept his principalſhip and profeſſorſhip till his death, which happened *March* 1. 1660-1.

Dr. Lawrence. Athen. Oxon. p. 214.

Dr. *Tho. Lawrence* maſter of *Baliol-College*, and *margaret-profeſſor* of *divinity*, had been chaplain to king *Charles* I. and prebendary of *Litchfield*, and by the intereſt of archbiſhop *Laud* preferred to the maſterſhip of this college in 1637. He ſubmitted to the authority of the viſitors, and had a certificate under their hands, dated *Auguſt* 3. 1648. wherein they atteſt, *that he had engaged to obſerve the directory in all eccleſiaſtical adminiſtrations, to preach practical divinity to the people, and to forbear preaching any of thoſe opinions that the reformed church had condemned.*

Dr.

Dr. *Walker* ſays, he reſigned all his preferments in the univerſity in the year 1650. but does not ſay upon what occaſion; only that he grew careleſs, and did much degenerate in his life and manners; that he died in the year 1657. but that if he had lived three years longer, he would notwithſtanding have been conſecrated an *iriſh* biſhop. *K.* Charles I. 1647. Suff. Cler. p. 100.

The *profeſſors of ſciences* who ſubmitted to the viſitors, and were continued, were *Characters of the profeſſors that ſubmitted.*

Dr. *Edward Pocock* profeſſor of the *hebrew* and *arabick* languages; one of the moſt learned men of his age, and juſtly celebrated at home and abroad for his great ſkill in the oriental languages, and for many works that he publiſhed. He was afterwards ejected from his canonry of *Chriſt-church* for refuſing the *engagement* 1651. but was ſuffered to enjoy his profeſſorſhip of *arabick* and *hebrew*; he conformed in the year 1660. and lived in great reputation till the year 1691. *Dr.* Pocock. Athen. Ox. p. 868.

Thomas Clayton M. D. *king's profeſſor* of *anatomy*; which profeſſorſhip he reſigned to Dr. *William Petty* in *Jan.* 1650. He was made warden of *Merton-College* upon the reſignation of Dr. *Reynolds*, *March* 26. 1661. and the next day was knighted by the intereſt of his brother-in-law Sir *Charles Cotterel.* *Dr.* Clayton Hiſt. Prof. Greſh. Col. p. 211.

Mr. *Arthur Philips profeſſor* of *muſick*, of whom I have met with no account. *Mr.* Philips.

The heads of colleges ejected by the viſitors, with their ſucceſſors, may be ſeen in the following table.

Heads of colleges turned out.	Colleges.	*Succeeded by*	*Heads of colleges ejected.*
Dr. Fell *vice chancellor from*	*Deanry of Chriſt-Church,*	Dr. Reynolds, *after-bp. of* Norwich,	
Dr. Pit *warden of*	*Wadham College*	Dr. J. Wilkins, *after-bp. of* Cheſter,	
Dr. Walker,	*Univerſity Coll.*	Dr. Joſhua Hoyle,	
Dr. Radcliffe,	*Brazen-Noſe Coll.*	Dr. D. Greenwood,	
Dr. Sheldon,	*All Souls Coll.*	Dr. Palmer *M. D.*	
Dr. Newlin,	*Corp. Chriſti Coll.*	Dr. Ed. Staunton,	
Dr. Bayly,	*St. John's Coll.*	Dr. Cheynel,	
Dr. Oliver,	*Magdalen Coll.*	Dr. John Wilkinſon,	
Dr. Han. Potter,	*Trinity Coll.*	Dr. Robert Harris,	

K. Charles I. 1647.

Heads of colleges turned out.	Colleges.	*Succeeded by*
Dr. Manſell,	*Jeſus Col.*	Dr. Mic. Roberts,
Mr. Wightwick, *B.D.*	*Pembroke Col.*	Dr. H. Langley,
Dr. Stringer, *Prof. Gr. Lang.*	*New Col.*	Mr. Geo. Marſhall, Mr. Harmar, *Prof. Gr. Lang.*

Profeſſors of ſciences turned out.	Profeſſorſhips.	*Succeeded by*
Dr. Rb. Sanderſon,	*Reg. Pr.* of *Div.*	Dr. Croſſe,
Mr. Birkenhead *A. M.*	*M. Philoſ. Prof.*	Dr. Hen. Wilkinſon *jun.*
Mr. Rob. Warin,	Camb. *Hiſt. Prof.*	Dr. L. du Moulin,
Dr. Jn. Edwards,	*Nat. Phil. Prof.*	Dr. Joſhua Croſſe,
Dr. Turner *M. D.*	Savil *Prof. Geo.*	Dr. John Wallis,
Mr. Greaves *A.M.*	*Profeſſ. Aſtron.*	Dr. Ward, *afterwards bp.* Saliſbury,
Dr. Hen. Hammond,	*Univerſity orator.*	Mr. Burton *A M.* Mr. Corbet, *who quitted.*

Their characters. *Dr.* Sheldon. Walker's Suff. Cler. p. 98.

Dr. *Gilbert Sheldon* warden of *All-Souls College*, was ejected *April* 3. 1648. and lived retired with his friends in *Staffordſhire* till 1659. when he was reſtored to his wardenſhip upon the death of Dr. *Palmer*. After the reſtoration he was ſucceſſively biſhop of *London*, chancellor of *Oxford*, and archbiſhop of *Canterbury*; he built the noble theatre at *Oxford*, and did a great many other works of charity, but never gave any great ſpecimens of his piety or learning to the world.

Dr. Fell. Walker, p. 102.

Dr. *Samuel Fell* vice-chancellor of the univerſity, and dean of *Chriſt-Church*, diſpoſſeſſed of his deanry *April* 12. 1648. He gave the viſitors all the diſturbance he could, and was therefore taken into cuſtody for a time, but being quickly releaſed he retired to his rectory of *Sunningwell* in *Berkſhire*, where he died *Feb.* 1. 1648-9. He had been a *calviniſt*, but changed his ſentiments, and after great creepings and cringings to archbiſhop *Laud* (ſays Mr. *Wood*) he became his creature, and if the rebellion had not broke out, would no doubt have been made a biſhop. He left no remarkable traces of his learning behind him.

Ath. Ox.

Dr. Radcliffe. Walker, p. 101.

Dr. *Samuel Radcliffe*, principal of *Brazen-Noſe College*, was elected to this headſhip 1614. and was in an infirm condition when he was ejected for

for diſowning the authority of the viſitors, *April* 13. 1648. and died the *June* following. Neither Mr. *Wood* nor *Walker* ſay any thing of his learning, nor are any of his works extant. *K.* Charles I. 1647.

Dr. *Robert Newlin* preſident of *Corpus-Chriſti College*, and pro-vice-chancellor in the year 1648. He was reſtored to his preſidentſhip again in the year 1660. and died in it 1687. But neither *Wood* nor *Walker* have given him any character. *Dr.* Newlin, Walker, p. 111.

Dr. *Richard Bayly* preſident of St. *John's-College*, a kinſman of archbiſhop *Laud*, and one of his executors; he had been preſident of this college twenty years when he was ejected; but was reſtored in 1660. and died at *Saliſbury* 1667. He was hoſpitable and charitable, but very faulty (ſays Mr. *Wood*) in uſing ſome kind of oaths in common converſation. I don't know that he publiſhed any thing. *Dr.* Bayly. Walker, p. 116.

Dr. *John Oliver* preſident of *Magdalen-College*, had been domeſtic chaplain to archbiſhop *Laud*, and was a man (ſays Dr. *Walker*) of great learning and ſound principles in religion (that is of the principles of the archbiſhop) he was reſtored to his preferments 1660. but died ſoon after *Octob.* 27. 1661. *Dr.* Oliver. Walker, p. 122.

Dr. *Hannibal Potter* preſident of *Trinity-College*, elected 1643. and turned out with the reſt who diſowned the authority of the viſitors, *April* 13. 1648. He afterwards accepted of a curacy in *Somerſetſhire*, and was ejected for inſufficiency; but Dr. *Walker* ſays, it was becauſe he uſed part of the church ſervice. He was reſtored in 1660. and died in 1664. *Dr.* Potter. Walker, p. 133.

Dr. *John Pitt* warden of *Wadham-College*, elected *April* 16. 1644. after that city was garriſoned for the king; he behaved very refractorily towards the viſitors, and died ſoon after his ejectment. *Dr.* Pitt. Walker, p. 136.

Dr. *Francis Manſel* principal of *Jeſus-College*, elected to this principalſhip in the year 1630. and ejected *May* 22. 1648. He was reſtored again in 1660. and died in 1665. having been an eminent benefactor to his college. *Dr.* Manſel.

Dr. *Thomas Walker* maſter of *Univerſity College*, elected 1632. and diſpoſſeſſed by the viſitors *July* 10. 1648. He was reſtored in the year 1660. and died in 1665. He was related to archbiſhop *Laud*, and was one of his executors, and (according to *Lloyd*) a deſerving modeſt man, and a great ſufferer. *Dr.* Walker. Walker, p. 114.

Mr. *Henry Wightwick* B.D. elected to the maſterſhip of *Pembroke College* in direct oppoſition to the order of parliament *July* 13. 1647. for which reaſon he was ſoon after removed. In the year 1660. he was reſtored, but turned out again in 1664. for what reaſons Dr. *Walker* ſays he does not know. He died in *Lincolnſhire* 1671. *Mr.* Wightwick. Walker, p. 132.

K. Charles I. 1647.

Dr. *Henry Stringer* elected to the wardenſhip of *New College*, after the ſame manner, in direct oppoſition to the viſitors, *Nov.* 18. 1647. for which reaſon he was deprived *Aug.* 1. 1648. He was profeſſor of the *greek* language, but reſigned, and died at *London* 1657.

Dr. Stringer. Walker, p. 127.

The profeſſors ejected by the viſitors were,

Profeſſors ejected.

Dr. Sanderſon. Life of Sanderſon *by* Walton.

Dr. *Robert Sanderſon* regius profeſſor of *divinity*; a very learned man, and an excellent caſuiſt; he was nominated one of the *aſſembly of divines*, but did not ſit among them. He had a very conſiderable hand in drawing up *the reaſons of the univerſity againſt the covenant, and the negative oath.* After his ejectment he retired to his living at *Boothby*, where he continued preaching, though not without ſome difficulties, till the reſtoration, when he was preferred to the biſhopric of *Lincoln*, and died 1662-3.

Mr. Birkenhead. Athen. Ox. p. 639.

Mr. *John Birkenhead* A. M. *moral philoſophy* reader; he was employed by the court to write the *Mercurius Aulicus*, a paper filled with moſt bitter invectives againſt the parliament, for which he was rewarded with this lectureſhip. After his ejectment he lived privately till the reſtoration, when he was knighted, and choſe burgeſs in parliament for the borough of *Wilton*. He was alſo created *L. L. D.* and maſter of the faculties, and died in 1679. leaving behind him (according to *Wood*) a very ſorry character.

Mr Waring. Walker, p. 106. Ath. Ox. p. 143.

Mr. *Robert Waring Cambden hiſtory* profeſſor; he bore arms for the king in the garriſon at *Oxford*, and was not elected to this profeſſorſhip till after the viſitation began. He was reckoned (ſays *Wood*) among the wits of the univerſity, and was a good poet and orator. He died 1658.

Dr Edwards. Walker, p. 118.

John Edwards M. D. *natural philoſophy* lecturer; who behaved rudely towards the viſitors, and was therefore not only diſpoſſeſſed of his preferment, but expelled the univerſity; but neither *Wood* nor *Walker* give any character of him.

Dr. Turner. Wood, p. 125.

Peter Turner M. D. *Savillian* profeſſor of *geometry*; he ſerved his majeſty as a voluntier under the command of Sir *J. Byron*, and being a zealous loyaliſt was expelled the univerſity by the viſitors, after which he retired to *London*, and died 1650. He was a good mathematician, well read in the fathers, an excellent linguiſt, and highly eſteemed by archbiſhop *Laud*.

Mr Greaves. Walker, p. 125.

John Greaves A. M. profeſſor of *aſtronomy*, was ſent by archbiſhop *Laud* to travel into the eaſtern parts of the world to make a collection of books in thoſe languages. After his return he was preferred to this profeſſorſhip, but was ejected by the viſitors, and *Nov.* 9. 1648. expelled the univerſity, for ſending the college treaſure to the king, and other

other offences of the like nature. He died at *London* 1652. with the reputation of a good ſcholar, having been well reſpected by Mr. *Selden* and others. *K.* Charles I. 1647.

Dr. *Henry Hammond* univerſity *orator*, was a very learned man, and a great divine, highly eſteemed by king *Charles* I. He aſſiſted at the treaty of *Uxbridge*, and attended the king as his chaplain when he was permitted. After his ejectment he retired to the houſe of Sir *J. Packington* of *Worceſterſhire*, where he employed his time in writing ſeveral valuable and learned treatiſes in defence of the hierarchy of the church of *England*, and in the ſtudy of the new teſtament. He died *April* 25. 1660. *Dr.* Hammond. Vide *his life.*

The heads of colleges who ſucceeded thoſe that were ejected by authority of parliament, were

Dr. *Edward Reynolds* vice-chancellor of the univerſity, and dean of *Chriſt-Church* in the place of Dr. *Fell*; he was probationer-fellow of *Merton-College* in the year 1620. which he obtained by his uncommon ſkill in the *greek* tongue; he was a good diſputant and orator, a popular divine, and in great eſteem in the city of *London*, being preacher to the honourable ſociety of *Lincoln's-Inn*. Mr. *Wood* confeſſes, he was a perſon of excellent parts and endowments, of a very good wit fancy and judgment, and much eſteemed by all parties for his florid ſtile. Sir *Tho. Brown* adds, that he was a divine of ſingular affability, meekneſs, and humility; of great learning, a frequent preacher, and a conſtant reſident. He conformed at the the reſtoration and was made biſhop of *Norwich*, and died 1676. *New heads of colleges that ſucceeded.* *Dr.* Reynolds, *aft. biſhop.* Ath. Ox. p. 568.

Dr. *John Wilkins* promoted to the wardenſhip of *Wadham College* in the place of Dr. *Pit*. He was educated in *Magdalen Hall*, and was chaplain to *Charles* count *Palatine* of the *Rhine*. A little before the reſtoration he came to *London*, and was miniſter of St. *Lawrence-Jury*, and preacher to the ſociety at *Lincoln's-Inn*. Mr. *Wood* admits, that he was a perſon of rare gifts, a noted theologiſt and preacher, a curious critic, an excellent mathematician, and as well ſeen in mechaniſm, and the new philoſophy, as any in his time. In the year 1656. he married the ſiſter of *O. Cromwell*, then lord protector of *England*, and had the headſhip of *Trinity College* in *Cambridge* conferred upon him, which is the beſt preferment in that univerſity. He was afterwards a member of the *royal ſociety*, to which he was a conſiderable benefactor. Dr. *Burnet* ſays, that biſhop *Wilkins* was a man of as great a mind, as true a judgment, of as eminent virtue, and as good a ſoul, as any he ever knew. Archbiſhop *Tillotſon* gives him an equal character; and ſeveral members of the *royal ſociety* acknowledge him to have been an ornament to the univerſity, and *engliſh.* *Dr.* Wilkins *aft. biſhop.* Ath. Ox. p. 505.

K. Charles I. 1647.

engliſh nation. He was created biſhop of *Cheſter* in the year 1668. and died of the ſtone in the houſe of Dr. *Tillotſon* 1672.

Dr. Hoyle. Athen. Ox. p. 185.

Dr. *Joſhua Hoyle*, preferred to the headſhip of *Univerſity College* in the room of Dr. *Walker*; he was educated at *Magdalen Hall Oxford*, but being invited into *Ireland* became fellow of *Trinity College*, and profeſſor of *divinity* in the univerſity of *Dublin*. In the beginning of the *iriſh* rebellion he came over to *England*, and was made *vicar* of *Stepney*, a member of the aſſembly of divines, and at length maſter of this college, and king's profeſſor of *divinity* in the room of Dr. *Sanderſon*. Mr. *Wood* ſays, he was a perſon of great reading and memory, but of leſs judgment. He was exactly acquainted with all the *ſchoolmen*, and ſo much devoted to his book, that he was in a manner a ſtranger to the world; he was indefatigably induſtrious, and as well qualified for an academic as any perſon of his time. He died 1654.

Dr. Greenwood. Wood's Faſti. p. 91.

Dr. *Daniel Greenwood*, principal of *Brazen-Noſe College* in the room of Dr. *Radcliffe*; he had been fellow of the college for a conſiderable time, and had the reputation of a profound ſcholar and divine. Mr. *Wood* ſays, he was a ſevere and good governor, as well in his vice-chancellorſhip as in his principalſhip; he continued in his college with an unſpotted character till the reſtoration, when he was ejected by the king's commiſſioners, after which he lived privately till 1673. when he died.

Dr. John Wilkinſon.

Dr. *John Wilkinſon* had been principal of *Magdalen Hall* before the civil wars, but when that univerſity was garriſoned by the king, he fled into the parliament's quarters, and was ſucceeded by Dr. *Thomas Read* who was admitted by the king's mandate, *October* 16. 1643. but in 1646. Dr. *Wilkinſon* was reſtored. The year following (1647) he was made preſident of *Magdalen College* in the room of Dr. *Oliver*; he was a learned and pious man, died *Jan.* 2. 1649. and was buried in the church of *Great Milton Oxfordſhire*.

Dr. Henry Wilkinſon. Athen Ox. p. 543.

Dr. *Henry Wilkinſon*, jun. commonly called *Dean Harry*, principal of *Magdalen Hall*; he was a noted tutor, and moderator in his college before the commencemet of the civil wars, upon the breaking out of which he left *Oxford* and came to *London*, but when that city was ſurrendered to the parliament he returned to the univerſity, and was created *D. D.* made *principal* of his hall, and *moral philoſophy* profeſſor in the room of Mr. *Birkenhead*. Mr. *Wood* ſays, that he took all ways imaginable to make his houſe flouriſh with young ſtudents; that he was a frequent and active preacher, and a good diſciplinarian; for which reaſon the heads of the univerſity perſuaded him earneſtly to conform at the reſtoration, that they might keep him among them, but he refuſed. After his ejectment he ſuffered for his non-conformity, by impriſonments, mulcts, and the loſs of his goods and books; though according to the

ſame author, he was very courteous in ſpeech and carriage, communicative of his knowledge, generous, charitable to the poor, and ſo public-ſpirited, that he always regarded the common good more than his own private concerns. He publiſhed ſeveral learned works. and died 1690. *Æt.* 74. *K.* Charles I. 1647.

Dr. *Robert Harris*, preſident of *Trinity College* in the room of Dr. *Potter*, was educated in *Magdalen-Hall*, and had been a famous preacher in *Oxfordſhire* for about forty years; upon the breaking out of the war he came to *London*, where he continued till appointed one of the viſitors of the univerſity, and *head* of this college, over which he preſided ten years, though he was now ſeventy. He was a perſon of great piety and gravity, an exact maſter of the *Hebrew* language, and well verſed in chronology, church hiſtory, the councils and fathers. He governed his college with great prudence, and gained the affections of all the ſtudents, who reverenced him as a father, though he has been ſtigmatized by the royaliſts as a notorious pluraliſt. To which the writer of his life replies, that whatever benefices he might have been nominated to, he declared he did not receive the profits of them. The inſcription upon his tomb-ſtone ſays, that he was *præſes æternum celebrandus*; *perſpicaciſſimus indolum ſcrutator*, *poteſtatis arbiter mitiſſimus*, *merentium fautor integerrimus*, &c. He died 1658. *Dr.* Harris. Clark's lives, p. 314.

Dr. *Henry Langley*, maſter of *Pembroke college* in the room of Mr. *Wightwick*, was original fellow of his college, and made maſter of it in 1647. he kept his place till the reſtoration, after which he ſet up a private academy among the diſſenters; having the character of a ſolid and judicious divine, and being a frequent preacher. He died 1679. *Dr.* Langley. Wood's faſti, p. 66, 91.

Dr. *Francis Cheynel*, preſident of St. *John*'s *College* in the room of Dr. *Bayly*, was probationer-fellow of *Merton College* in the year 1629. and afterwards rector of *Petworth*, a member of the aſſembly of divines, and this year made preſident of that college, and *Margaret profeſſor* in the room of Dr. *Lawrence*, both which he quitted after ſome time for refuſing the *engagement*, and retired to his living at *Petworth*, from whence he was ejected at the reſtoration. He was a perſon of a great deal of indiſcreet zeal, as appears by his behaviour at the funeral of the great Mr. *Chillingworth*, already mentioned. Biſhop *Hoadly* ſays, he was exactly orthodox, and as pious, honeſt, and charitable, as his bigotry would permit; and Mr. *Eachard* adds, that he was a man of conſiderable learning and great abilities. *Dr.* Cheynel. Athen. Ox. p. 358.

Dr. *Michael Roberts*, principal of *Jeſus College* in the room of Dr. *Manſel*, was a good ſcholar, and would, no doubt, have conformed at the reſtoration, had he been enclined to have accepted any preferment. but he had reſigned his principality into the hands of the protector 1657. *Dr.* Roberts. Faſti, p. 71.

and

K. Charles I. 1647.

and being rich choſe a private life. He publiſhed a *latin* elegy upon general *Monk* duke of *Albemarle*, and died in *Oxford* 1679.

Dr. Staunton's life *by Mr.* Mayo. Athen. Ox. p. 484.

Dr. *Edmund Staunton*, preſident of *Corpus Chriſti College* in the room of Dr. *Newlin*, was admitted fellow of this college 1616. and afterwards miniſter of *Kingſton* upon *Thames*. He took the degrees in divinity 1634. and was afterwards one of the aſſembly of divines. He kept his principality till he was ejected by the king's commiſſioners at the reſtoration. He was a diligent popular preacher, a good ſcholar, and continued his labours among the non-conformiſts till his death, which happened 1671.

Dr. Palmer. Faſti, p. 66.

John Palmer M. D. warden of *All-Souls* in the room of Dr. *Sheldon*, had been batchelor of *phyſic* of *Queen's College*, and was now created *M. D.* in preſence of the chancellor; he was a learned man, and held his preferment till his death which happened *March* 4. 1659. at which time there being a near proſpect of the reſtoration, Dr. *Sheldon* was reſtored to his wardenſhip.

Wood's Faſti, p. 68.

Upon the death of Dr. *Pink*, the viſitors nominated old Mr. *White* of *Dorcheſter* to ſucceed him, but I think he refuſed it, being very much advanced in years.

New profeſſors.

The profeſſors of ſciences who ſucceeded the ejected ones were,

Dr. Ward, *aft. biſhop.* Athen. Ox. p. 826.

Dr. *Seth Ward* profeſſor of *aſtronomy* in the place of Dr. *Greaves*, and according to Mr. *Wood*, the moſt noted mathematician and aſtronomer of his time; he was educated in *Sidney College Cambridge*, and in the year 1643. ejected for adhering to the king, but having afterwards changed his mind he made friends to the committee for reforming the univerſity of *Oxford*, and was nominated to this preferment; he was afterwards maſter of *Trinity College*, and upon his majeſty's reſtoration preferred firſt to the biſhopric of *Exeter*, and then to that of *Saliſbury*, where he died 1668.

Dr. Wallis. Wood's faſti, p. 72. 106.

Dr. *John Wallis Savilian* profeſſor of *geometry* in the room of Dr. *Turner*; the fame of this gentleman's learning is well known to the world; he was of *Emanuel College Cambridge*, and afterwards fellow of *Queen's College* in the ſame univerſity, then miniſter of St. *Martin's Ironmonger-lane London*, one of the ſcribes in the aſſembly of divines, and now by the appointment of the committee, *geometry profeſſor*; he conformed at the reſtoration, and maintained his poſt, and was an ornament to the univerſity, to a very advanced age.

Dr. Du Moulin. Wood's Faſti, p. 205.

Lewis du Moulin M. D. of the univerſity of *Leyden*, *Gambden* profeſſor of *hiſtory* in the place of Mr. *Robert Wareing*; was incorporated in the ſame degree at *Cambridge* 1634. he was ſon of the famous *Peter du Moulin* the *french* proteſtant, and kept his preferment till the reſtoration,

tion, when he was turned out by his majeſty's commiſſioners, and perſiſted in his non-conformity till his death. He was a valuable and learned man, as appears by his writings; but Mr. *Wood* obſerves he was a violent independent, and ill-natured: he died in *London* 1680. *K.* Charles I. 1647.

Joſhua Croſſe, L. L. D. *natural philoſophy* reader in the room of Dr. *Edwards*, and one of the proctors of the univerſity; he was fellow of *Magdalen College*, and kept his reader's place till the reſtoration, after which he lived privately in *Oxford* till his death which happened in 1676. He was a gentleman much honoured for his becoming converſation. *Dr.* Croſſe. Calamy's abridg. p. 58.

Ralph Button, A. M. univerſity *orator* in the room of Dr. *Hammond*, and one of the proctors of the univerſity; he was originally of *Exeter College*, where he made ſo great a progreſs in philoſophy, and other literature, that when he was only batchelor of arts he was recommended by Dr. *Prideaux* to ſtand for a fellowſhip in *Merton College*, and was accordingly choſen 1633. He was afterwards a celebrated tutor in his houſe, but was obliged to quit *Oxford* at the beginning of the civil war, becauſe he would not bear arms for the king. When the war was over he reſumed his employment as a tutor, and upon the refuſal of *Edward Corbet* was made *canon* of *Chriſt-church*, and univerſity *orator*; he was ejected at the reſtoration, and afterwards taught academical learning at *Iſlington*, near *London*, till 1680. when he died. He was an excellent ſcholar, a moſt humble upright man, and a great ſufferer for non-conformity. *Mr.* Button. Calamy's abridg. p. 60.

Mr. *John Harmar* A. M. profeſſor of the *greek* language in the room of Dr. *Stringer*, was educated in *Magdalen College*, and took his degree 1617. he was afterwards maſter of the free-ſchool at St. *Albans*, and one of the maſters of *Weſtminſter* ſchool; from thence he was removed to the *greek* profeſſorſhip in this univerſity. He was (ſays Mr. *Wood)* a great *philologiſt*, a tolerable *latin* poet, and one of the moſt excellent *grecians* of his time, but otherwiſe an honeſt weak man. He was turned out at the reſtoration, and afterwards lived privately at *Steventon* in *Hampſhire* till the year 1670. when he died. *Mr.* Harmar. Athen. Ox. p. 478.

Theſe were all the changes that were made among the heads of colleges and profeſſors at this time; and upon the whole, though it muſt be allowed, that many of the ejected loyaliſts were men of learning and great merit, 'tis certain thoſe who kept their places, and the ſucceſſors of ſuch as were ejected, were men of equal probity and virtue, and no leſs eminent in their ſeveral profeſſions, as apppears by the monuments of their learning, ſome of which are remaining to this day.

The very enemies of the new heads of colleges have confeſſed, that they were ſtrict in the government of their ſeveral houſes; that they kept a more than common watch over the morals of the ſtudents, and obliged *Behaviour of the new profeſſors.*

K. Charles I. 1647.

them to an exact compliance with their ſtatutes. The *profeſſors* were indefatigable in inſtructing their pupils both in public and private; drunkenneſs, oaths, and profanation of the lord's day, were baniſhed; ſtrict piety, and a profeſſion of religion were in faſhion; the ſcholars often met together for prayer and religious conference; ſo that, as Mr. *Philip Henry* who lived then in the univerſity, obſerves, *if thoſe of the old ſpirit and way were at firſt the better ſcholars, theſe were the better men.*

Remarks. Walker's Suff. Cler. p. 140.

Let the reader now judge of the impartiality and candor of thoſe writers, who inſinuate "that the new profeſſors could neither pronounce "*latin*, nor write *engliſh*; that in the room of the ejected loyaliſts there "ſucceeded an illiterate rabble, ſwept up from the plough-tail, from "ſhops and grammar ſchools, and the dregs of the neighbouring univer-"ſity; that the muſes were driven from their ancient ſeats; that all loy-"alty, learning, and good ſenſe, was baniſhed; and that there ſucceed-"ed in their room nothing but barbariſm, enthuſiaſm, and ignorance, "till the dawn of the reſtoration." Lord *Clarendon* was a declared enemy to theſe changes, and has painted them in the moſt odious colours, yet the force of truth has obliged him to confeſs, that "though it might "have been reaſonably expected, that this wild and barbarous depopula-"tion (as he calls it) would have extirpated all the learning, religion and "loyalty, which had flouriſhed there, and that the ſucceeding ill huſ-"bandry, and unſkilful cultivation, would have made it fruitful only in "ignorance, profaneneſs, atheiſm and rebellion, yet by God's wonder-"ful providence that fruitful ſoil could not be made barren by all that ſtu-"pidity and negligence; it choaked the weeds, and would not ſuffer the "poiſonous ſeeds that were ſown with induſtry enough, to ſpring up, but "after ſeveral tyrannical governors mutually ſucceeding each other, and "with the ſame malice and perverſeneſs, endeavouring to extinguiſh all "good literature and allegiance, it yielded an harveſt of extraordinary "good knowledge in all parts of learning; and many who were wickedly "introduced, applied themſelves to the ſtudy of good learning, and the "practice of virtue, and had inclinations to that duty and obedience they "had never been taught, that when it pleaſed God to bring king *Charles* "II. back to his throne, he found the univerſity abounding in excellent "learning, and devoted to duty and obedience little inferior to what it "was before its deſolation." Conſidering the ill-nature that runs through this paragraph, it muſt be acknowledged to be an unanſwerable teſtimony to the learning and application of the *new profeſſors*; and with equal juſtice may it be added, that the univerſity was in a much better ſtate for learning, religion, and good ſenſe, at the reſtoration, than before the civil wars, as all the eminent philoſophers and divines of the eſtabliſhment who

who did ſo much honour to their country in the three ſucceeding reigns, owed their education to theſe profeſſors, *viz.* the *Tillotſons*, *Stillingfleets*, *Patricks*, *Souths*, *Caves*, *Sprats*, *Kidders*, *Whitbys*, *Bulls*, *Boyles*, *Newtons*, *Lockes*, and others. The univerſity was in high reputation in foreign parts, and produced as many learned performances as in any former period, ſo that admitting the new profeſſors were not introduced into their places in a legal way, according to the ſtatutes, becauſe of the *neceſſity of the times*, yet 'tis certain, they proved wiſe and watchful governors, ſtrict obſervers of their ſtatutes, and induſtrious promoters of piety and the liberal arts, and were far from deſerving the brand of *ignorant*, *illiterate*, *hypocritical blockheads*, *enemies to the legal conſtitution of their country*, or of being pronounced unworthy the high preferments they enjoyed. K. Charles I. 1647.

There were no doubt at firſt, very conſiderable vacancies in the ſeveral colleges; many of the fellows and ſcholars being dead, or killed in the king's ſervice, and others having reſigned their places in the univerſity for benefices in the church, beſides thoſe who were expelled by the viſitors, as already mentioned; but to ſupply the deficiency of *fellows* and *tutors*, the committee encouraged ſeveral learned graduates in the univerſity of *Cambridge* to tranſlate themſeves to *Oxford*, and accept of preferments according to their merits. Many who had deſerted the univerſity when it became a garriſon for the king, returned to their colleges, and were promoted according to their ſeniority. Great numbers of youth who had been kept at home becauſe of the public commotions, were now ſent to *Oxford* by their parents, to perfect their education; and if it be conſidered further, that there had been no admiſſions from *Weſtminſter*, *Eaton*, *St. Paul's*, *Merchant-Taylors*, and other public ſchools, for five or ſix years paſt, it is not to be wondered that there was an unuſual flow of youth to the univerſity at this time, ſo that the damage occaſioned by this revolution of affairs was quickly repaired, and the muſes returned to their ancient ſeats. *Vacancies in the univerſity filled up.*

The long interruption of education in the univerſity, produced a very great ſcarcity of orthodox and learned miniſters in the countries, ſome being ſilenced for refuſing the covenant, and others diſperſed, or killed in the wars. Many pulpits alſo were vacant by reaſon of the ſcandal or inſufficiency of the incumbents, which was one occaſion of the increaſe of lay-preachers, for the country people would go to hear any body rather than have no ſermons; beſides the preſbyterian clergy would authorize none to preach, except ſuch as would take the *covenant*, and conſent to their diſcipline. To remedy theſe evils, the northern counties petitioned the houſes to erect a new univerſity in the city of *York*, but the confuſion of the times prevented their proſecuting the deſign. The *independents* *Cauſes of the increaſe of lay-preachers.* Ruſhw. p. 854.

K. Charles I. 1647.

who were leſs zealous about clerical orders, encouraged or at leaſt connived at the lay-preachers, apprehending that in caſes of neceſſity, pious men of good natural parts might exerciſe their gifts publicly to the edification of the church; till under this cover they ſaw every bold enthuſiaſt almoſt begin to uſurp the office of a teacher. To bring things therefore into a little better order, the following petition was preſented to both houſes of parliament, *October* 6. under the title of *the humble petition of many citizens of* London, *and others.*

Petition for unordained preachers. Ruſhw. p. p. 834.

"YOUR petitioners are deeply ſenſible of the extream want of "preaching the goſpel throughout this kingdom, there being "many hundreds of towns and villages altogether deſtitute of any "preaching miniſters, and many others are not well ſupplied; by reaſon "whereof ignorance, drunkenneſs, profaneneſs, diſaffection to the par-"liament, and to others in authority, every where abounds, there being "ſcarce ſo much as the face of religion in many places. There is a great "cry of people from ſeveral counties of the kingdom, for men to preach "to them the word of eternal life; and there are many men of compe-"tent gifts and abilities, of good life and honeſt converſation, who being "willing to employ their talents in the lord's work, and to ſubmit them-"ſelves for approbation to moderate and judicious men, are yet, by oc-"caſion of ſome ſcruples about ordination, diſcouraged from engaging in "this work of publiſhing the goſpel, wherein they might be helpful to "many. And ſeeing that in the days of queen *Elizabeth, upon occaſion "of people's neceſſities*, many ſuch men were ſent forth to publiſh the goſ-"pel, who had no formal act of miniſterial ordination paſt upon them, "whoſe endeavours the lord bleſſed to the good of many ſouls, and the "furthering of the kingdom's peace; and ſince alſo we nothing doubt, "but the propagation of the goſpel throughout this kingdom, and the in-"formation of men in the things of their peace, and the peace and ſafety "of the kingdom, are worthy of your greateſt zeal, and are not the leaſt "of your care;

"Therefore your petitioners humbly pray, that thoſe who ſhall be ap-"proved of as men meet to diſpenſe the myſteries of the goſpel, by ſuch "judicious, moderate, and able men, whom you in wiſdom ſhall ap-"point thereunto, may receive from this honourable houſe encourage-"ment and protection in preaching the goſpel in any place of this king-"dom, or dominion of *Wales*, where need requires, that ſo the word of "the lord may have free courſe and be glorified; ignorant men may be "inſtructed; drunkenneſs, profaneneſs, and diſaffection to the parlia-"ment, and to others in authority, may be abendoned; and both the

"temporal

" temporal and ſpiritual peace and proſperity of all ſorts of men be the " more advanced." K. Charles I. 1647.

The houſes thanked the petitioners for their good affection, but did nothing upon it.

Stage plays put down. Scobel, p. 143.

By an ordinance of *Feb.* 11. this year, " all ſtage-players were declar- " ed to be rogues puniſhable by the acts of the 39th of queen *Elizabeth*, " and 7th of king *James*, notwithſtanding any licence they might have " from the king, or any other perſon. All ſtage galleries, ſeats and " boxes, are ordered to be pulled down by warrant of two juſtices of " peace; all actors in plays for time to come being convicted ſhall be pub- " licly whipped, and find ſureties for their not offending in like manner " for the future; and all ſpectators of plays for every offence are to pay " five ſhillings."

State of religion. Clarend. Vol. V. p. 115, 116.

The controverſies about church-government, and liberty of conſcience, ran ſtill as high as ever; the *preſbyterians* who had the government of the city of *London* in their hands, were for preſſing *covenant uniformity* in their ſermons, which the *independents* and others of more catholic principles, endeavoured to oppoſe with all their might. Lord *Clarendon* is pleaſed to repreſent this in a ludicrous manner; " the " pulpit ſkirmiſhes (ſays his lordſhip) were now higher than ever; the " *preſbyterians* in thoſe fields loſing nothing of their courage; having a " notorious power in the city, notwithſtanding the emulation of the *inde-* " *pendents*, who were more learned and rational, who though they had " not ſo great congregations of the common people, yet infected and " were followed by the moſt ſubſtantial citizens, and by others of better " condition. To theſe men *Cromwell* and moſt of the officers of the " army adhered; but the divinity of the times was not to be judged by " the preaching and congregations in churches, which were now thought " not to be the fit and proper places of devotion, and religious exerciſes, " where the biſhops had exerciſed ſuch illimited tyranny, and which had " been polluted by their conſecrations. *Liberty of conſcience* was now be- " come the great charter, and men who were inſpired preached and pray- " ed when and where they would. *Anabaptiſts* grew very numerous, " with whom the *independents* concurred, ſo far as to join with them for " the aboliſhing of tithes, as of judaical inſtitution—If any honeſt man " could have been at ſo much eaſe as to have beheld the proſpect with de- " light, never was ſuch a ſcene of confuſion as had ſpread itſelf at this " time over the whole kingdom." And yet it is certain, that the laws againſt vice and immorality were ſtrictly executed, the *lord's day* was duly obſerved, the churches were crowded with attentive hearers, family devotion was in repute, neither ſervants nor children being allowed to walk

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in the fields, or frequent the public houſes. In a word, notwithſtanding the difference of men's opinions, and political views, there was a zeal for God, and a much greater appearance of ſobriety, virtue, and true religion, than before the civil war, or after the bleſſed reſtoration.

Death of Mr. Herbert Palmer, Clark's lives.

Among the puritan divines who died this year, was the reverend Mr. *Herbert Palmer* B. D. of whom mention has been made among the *Cambridge* profeſſors; his father was Sir *Thomas Palmer* of *Wingham* in *Kent*, his mother the eldeſt daughter of *Herbert Pelham* of *Suſſex*, Eſq; Our divine was born at *Wingham*, and baptized there *March* 29, 1601. he had a polite education in his father's houſe, and learned the *french* language almoſt as ſoon as he could ſpeak. In the year 1615. he was admitted fellow commoner in St. *John's College*, *Cambridge*. In the year 1622. he took the degree of *M. A.* In 1623. he was choſen fellow of *Queen's College* in that univerſity; the year following he was ordained to the miniſtry, to which he had devoted himſelf from his infancy: his firſt exerciſe was at a lecture in the city of *Canterbury*, where he preached once a week, till it was put down with the reſt of the afternoon ſermons. In the year 1632. he was preſented by archbiſhop *Laud* to the vicarage of *Aſhwell* in *Hertfordſhire*, where he preached twice every Lord's-day, and catechiſed the children of his pariſhioners. The ſame year he was choſen one of the univerſity preachers of *Cambridge*, by which he had authority to preach, as he ſhould have occaſion, in any part of *England*. In the year 1640. he and Dr. *Tuckney* were choſen clerks of the convocation for the dioceſe of *Lincoln*. In the year 1643. he was called to be a member of the aſſembly of divines at *Weſtminſter*, and after ſome time choſen one of their *aſſeſſors*, in which place he behaved with great wiſdom and integrity. *April* 11, 1644. he was conſtituted maſter of *Queen's College Cambridge*, by the earl of *Mancheſter*; here he ſet himſelf induſtriouſly to the promoting of religion and learning, being very ſolicitous that none ſhould be admitted to a ſcholarſhip or fellowſhip in his college, but ſuch as were qualified in both theſe reſpects, the good effects of which appeared in the reputation and credit of that ſociety, beyond moſt others of the univerſity in his time. Mr. *Palmer* was a gentleman of a low ſtature, and a weakly conſtitution, but indefatigable in buſineſs; his leiſure was employed in works of devotion and charity, and as he had a competent eſtate, and choſe a ſingle life, he had an opportunity of doing a great deal of good; he maintained ſeveral poor ſcholars at his own expence in the college, and when he died left a conſiderable benefaction to the ſame purpoſe. His laſt ſickneſs was not long, his conſtitution being ſpent; but his behaviour was uncommon, he looked the king of terrors in the face with an unſhaken reſolution, and reſigned his life this ſummer with a firm expectation of the mercy

mercy of God to eternal life, in the forty-ſixth year of his age, and was buried in the new church at *Weſtminſter*. K. Charles I. 1647.

Mr. *Henry Wilkinſon* B. D. was born in *Yorkſhire*, and educated in *Merton College Oxford*. In the year 1586. he was choſen probationer-fellow, and proceeded in arts; after ſome time he was made *B. D.* and in the year 1601. became paſtor of *Waddeſdon* in *Bucks*. He was a perſon of conſiderable learning and piety, and being an old puritan (ſays Mr. *Wood*) was elected one of the aſſembly of divines in 1643. but he ſpent the chief of his time and labours among his pariſhioners at *Waddeſdon*, by whom he was greatly beloved; here he died in a very advanced age, *March* 19, 1647-8. and lies buried in his own church. *Death of Mr.* Henry Wilkinſon.

Mr. *John Saltmarſh*, deſcended of an antient family in *Yorkſhire*, was educated in *Magdalen College Cambridge*, and graduated there; he was eſteemed a perſon of a fine active fancy, no contemptible poet, and a good preacher; he was firſt miniſter at *Northampton*, afterwards at *Braiſted* in *Kent*, and at length chaplain in Sir *Thomas Fairfax*'s army, where he always preached up love and unity: he meddled not with preſbytery or independency, but laboured to draw ſouls from ſin to Chriſt. He publiſhed ſome treatiſes, by which it appears he was of *antinomian* principles. The manner of his death was extraordinary; *December* the 4th, 1647. being at his houſe at *Ilford* in *Eſſex* he told his wife he had been in a trance, and received a meſſage from God which he muſt immediately deliver to the army. He went that night to *London*, and next day to *Windſor*; being come to the council of officers he told them, that the Lord had left them; that he would not proſper their conſultations, but deſtroy them by diviſions among themſelves, becauſe they had ſought to deſtroy the people of God, thoſe who had ſtood by them in their greateſt difficulties. He then went to the *general*, and without moving his hat told him, that God was highly diſpleaſed with him for committing of ſaints to priſon. The like meſſage he delivered to *Cromwell*, requiring him to take effectual meaſures for the enlargement of the members of the army, who were committed for not complying with the general council. He then took his leave of the officers, telling them, he had now done his errand, and muſt never ſee them any more. After which he went to *London*, and took leave of his friends there, telling them his work was done, and deſiring ſome of them to be careful of his wife. *Thurſday December* 9. he returned to *Ilford* in perfect health; next day he told his wife, that he had now finiſhed his work, and muſt go to his Father. *Saturday* morning *December* 11, he was taken ſpeechleſs, and about four in the afternoon he died. *Death of Mr.* Saltmarſh. Ath. Ox. p. 287. Ruſhw. p. 944.

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

The ſecond civil war. The concluſion of the aſſembly of divines. The progreſs of preſbytery. The treaty of the Iſle of Wight. *Death and character of king* CHARLES I. *His works. And the authors of his unhappy ſufferings.*

K. Charles I. 1648.

The ſecond civil war.

THE king was all laſt winter a cloſe priſoner in *Cariſbrook* caſtle, attended only by two ſervants of his own, and debarred of all other converſation, without the knowledge of the governor; nevertheleſs by the aſſiſtance of ſome particular friends, he ſent and received ſeveral letters from the queen, though his correſpondence was diſcovered oftner than he was aware. His majeſty made ſeveral attempts to eſcape, but was always prevented; captain *Burley* attempted to raiſe the iſland for him, but was apprehended and executed. However in purſuance of the ſecret treaty with the *ſcots*, already mentioned, an army was raiſing in that kingdom, to be commanded by duke *Hamilton*; but the *engliſh* cavaliers, impatient of delay, without concerting proper meaſures among themſelves, or with the *preſbyterians*, took up arms in ſeveral counties, to deliver the king from his confinement, and to reſtore him without any treaty with his parliament. The *welſh* appeared firſt, under major general *Langhorn* colonel *Poyer* and *Powel*, three officers in the parliament army, who had privately accepted commiſſions from the prince of *Wales*. Theſe were followed by others in *Dorſetſhire*, *Devonſhire*, *Suſſex*, *Surrey*, *Lincolnſhire*, *Norfolk*, *Kent*, *Northamptonſhire*, *Eſſex*, and in the city of *London* itſelf. The inſurrection in the city began on *Sunday April* 9. in *Moorfields*, by a company of young fellows with clubs and ſtaves, crying out, for *God and king Charles*. But after they had done ſome miſchief in the night, and frighted the mayor into the *Tower*, they were diſperſed next morning by the general at the head of two regiments. The *kentiſh men* under the earl of *Norwich*, having plundered ſome houſes, were defeated near *Maidſtone*, and having a promiſe of pardon, the main body laid down their arms; notwithſtanding which, the earl with five hundred reſolute men, croſſed the *Thames* at the *Iſle of dogs*, and came as far as *Mile-end green*, expecting aſſiſtance from the city; but being diſappointed, he joined the *Eſſex* cavaliers under Sir *Charles Lucas* and Lord *Capel*, who ſurprized the parliament's committee at *Chelmsford*, and then ſhut themſelves up in *Colcheſter*, where they maintained themſelves againſt general *Fair-*

Ruſhw. p. 1007.

Fairfax for ten weeks, till being reduced to the laſt extremity, they were forced to ſurrender at diſcretion *Auguſt* 28. after which the general marched round about the country, and having quieted all inſurrections in thoſe parts, returned to his head-quarters at St. *Albans* about *Michaelmas*. While *Fairfax* was in *Kent* and *Eſſex*, lieutenant-general *Cromwell* reduced the *welch* about the end of *June*. At the ſame time, the earl of *Holland* and duke of *Buckingham* appeared at the head of five hundred horſe and ſome foot near *Kingſton upon Thames*, but they were ſoon diſperſed; the earl was taken priſoner at St. *Neot*'s in *Huntingdonſhire* by colonel *Scroop*, and the duke of *Buckingham* with great difficulty, eſcaped into the *Low Countries*. About the ſame time ſeveral of the parliament's ſhips revolted to the prince of *Wales*, then in *Holland*, who went on board, and with prince *Rupert*, Lord *Hopton*, and others, ſailed to the coaſt of *England*, with a deſign to relieve *Colcheſter*; but although diſappointed, he landed five hundred men about *Deal* and *Sandwich*, and blocked up the *Thames* mouth; but when the earl of *Warwick* came up with the parliament's fleet, he ſailed back to *Holland*, and moſt of the ſhips returned to the obedience of the parliament. K. Charles I. 1648.

It was not without great difficulty that the king's friends in *Scotland* prevailed with the parliament of that kingdom, to conſent to the raiſing an army againſt *England*, the commiſſioners of the kirk, and the whole body of their miniſters, being vehemently againſt it; and when it was put to the vote, eighteen lords and forty commoners entred their proteſts, from a ſtrong ſuſpicion, that by the vaſt reſort of loyaliſts to *Edinburgh*, there was a private agreement between *Hamilton* and that party, to lay aſide the *covenant*, and reſtore the king without any conditions; to prevent which the *ſcots* parliament gave expreſs orders, that none ſhould be received into their army, or join with them at their entrance into *England*, except ſuch as ſhould take the *covenant*; but *Hamilton* who betrayed their cauſe, found means to evade the order, by which means he ruined himſelf, and the party he intended to ſerve. Rapin, p. 475. H. Mem. p. 339.

The *ſcots* army entered *England July* 11th, to the number of twenty thouſand foot and ſix thouſand horſe, under the command of duke *Hamilton*, and were afterwards joined by Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* at the head of four thouſand foot, and ſeven or eight hundred horſe; but theſe being *engliſh-men* and cavaliers, who had not taken the *covenant*, were not incorporated with the *ſcots* forces, but were obliged to march a day before them, which was *Hamilton*'s contrivance to evade his orders; nevertheleſs they compoſed *one* army, *Langdale* being to receive all his orders from *Hamilton*, and to act only by his directions. But though there was a private underſtanding between the *generals*, the ſubalterns and ſoldiers of both parties were not acquainted with it, and had the ſame *The ſcots army enters* England.

K. Charles I. 1648.

incurable jealouſy of each other as formerly; from the ſame motive, the preſbyterians in the parliament at *Weſtminſter* commiſſioned their army to oppoſe the *ſcots*, though they came into *England* with an avowed intention of reſtoring the king upon the terms of the *covenant*; which was the ſupreme object of their wiſhes.

It may ſeem ſurpriſing however, that there was no good underſtanding between the two parliaments, when thoſe of *England* ſent commiſſioners to *Edinburgh* to accompliſh it; but the *ſcots* being ſtrongly perſuaded, that the parliament at *Weſtminſter* was ſtill governed by an army of *independents*, all that Mr. *Marſhal* and the reſt could ſay, was not ſufficient to divert them from their enterprize, which is the eaſier accounted for, when the ſtrength of the *Hamiltonian faction*, and their obligations to the king by their ſecret treaty are conſidered. This engagement appears from the *duke*'s letter to *Lambert*, in which he acquaints him, that he was commanded to enter *England* with an army, *for maintaining the* ſolemn league *and* covenant; *for ſettling religion*; *for delivering the king from his baſe impriſonment*; *and freeing the parliament from the conſtraint put upon them.* The ſtate of affairs had undergone a conſiderable change by the riſing of the *engliſh* cavaliers, the army was in the field, and divided into ſeveral diſtant parts of the kingdom, and the *preſbyterians* in as full poſſeſſion of the government, as ever; they were renewing the treaty with the king, and ſending propoſitions to the *ſcots* to join with them; but the good underſtanding between the two nations having been interrupted laſt winter, by the growing influence of the army, who were no friends to *covenant uniformity*, the *ſcots* would not be ſatisfied with the preſent diminution of their power, unleſs they were entirely diſbanded, and therefore had not changed the inſtructions to their general. On the other hand, the parliament could not with ſafety diſband their army while the *cavaliers* were in the field; nor could they forbid their oppoſing the *ſcots*, who had joined the *common enemy*, and were marching into *England* with an armed force, to deliver the king from his impriſonment, although they had concerted no meaſures with the two houſes, or communicated their ſecret treaty with his majeſty in the *Iſle of Wight*. Thus the two parliaments of *England* and *Scotland* oppoſed each other, when both had the ſame views, and were actuated by the ſame principles. If the *ſcots* army had been commanded by a general the *preſbyterians* could have confided in, and had marched directly for *London*, without joining the *cavaliers*, the parliament of *England* would have gladly received them, and the citizens of *London* have opened their gates; for the *engliſh presbyterians* wiſhed them well; but by joining the common enemy, who were in arms all over the kingdom, they were ſtaggered; and duke *Hamilton*, who betrayed their cauſe,

Ruſhw. p. 1194.

Ham. M. p. 337, 345, 353, &c.

cauſe, by trifling away a whole month in the north, gave the *engliſh* army, which was diſtributed into various parts, time to re-unite and defeat all their enterprizes. *K.* Charles I. 1648.

The *Scots* invading *England* in this hoſtile manner, and in the midſt of ſo many inſurrections, awakened men's fears, and made them apprehend the cauſe was to be fought over again. And while the parliament was alarmed on every ſide, the *engliſh* army gave them ſtrong aſſurances they would ſtand by them, and march whereſoever the committee of the two houſes (appointed to manage their motions) ſhould direct. However general *Fairfax* who engaged heartily againſt the *cavaliers*, refuſing to march againſt the *ſcots*, becauſe they had openly declared for the *covenant*, Colonel *Lambert* was ordered into the north, with a flying ſquadron to harraſs them, till lieutenant-general *Cromwell* could come out of *Wales* to his aſſiſtance. The *ſcots* having been joined by Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, who had ſeized the important town of *Berwic*, marched through *Cumberland* and *Weſtmorland* into *Lancaſhire* without oppoſition; but upon the 17th of *Auguſt*, *Cromwell* having joined *Lambert* and refreſhed his troops, faced them near *Preſton* with eight or ten thouſand men, and after a ſharp engagement with the *cavaliers* under Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, who were almoſt a day's march before the *duke*, routed the whole *ſcots* army, and took eight or nine thouſand priſoners, with all their artillery and baggage; *Hamilton* fled with three thouſand horſe, but was ſo cloſely purſued by *Lambert*, that he ſurrendered without ſtriking another ſtroke, and all his men were diſperſed or made priſoners. *Cromwell* after this action purſued his victory, marching directly to *Edinburgh*, which opened its gates, and having entered the city and changed the magiſtracy to his mind, he left three regiments of horſe to keep the country quiet, and returned into *England October* 11. laden with martial glory and renown. *And is defeated by* Cromwell.

Before the army left *London*, and while their influence over the parliament continued, the commons having taken into conſideration the affair of ſettling the goverment, voted unanimouſly, that the government of the kingdom ſhould be ſtill by *king*, *lords*, and *commons*, and that the propoſitions at *Hampton-Court* ſhould be the ground-work for a ſettlement; which ſhews that there was no deſign as yet formed of changing the government into a commonwealth, at leaſt nothing appeared, though the *agitators*, who were the chief managers of the army, began to mutter, that if the king could not be brought to reaſon, he muſt be ſet aſide, and the duke of *Glouceſter*, or one of his younger children placed on the throne. *Proceedings of parliament* Ruſhw. p. 1074.

K. Charles I. 1648.

The army had no ſooner left the neighbourhood of the city, but the *preſbyterians* reſumed the management of public affairs. *May* 5. the parliament reſolved to maintain the *ſolemn league and covenant*, and to unite with the kingdom of *Scotland* upon the propoſitions of *Hampton-Court*. The *militia* of the city of *London* was reſtored to the lord mayor and common-council; the eleven impeached members, and the ſeven peers were diſcharged; and in ſhort all that had been done againſt the preſbyterian greatneſs by the influence of the army laſt winter was reverſed; ſo that as from *Auguſt* 6, 1647. to the beginning of *May*, 1648. the parliament may be ſuppoſed to have lain under ſome reſtraint from the army; from that time to the end of the treaty of the *Iſle of Wight*, it was at full liberty, and entirely under preſbyterian direction. Petitions came now from divers counties, and from the city of *London* itſelf, for a perſonal treaty with the king; upon which the *commons* ſet aſide their votes of non-addreſſes, and at the requeſt of the lords conſented to treat with the king, without his ſigning any preliminary propoſitions, hoping as matters then ſtood, his majeſty would not delay a moment to grant their demands, that he might be releaſed from his confinement, and placed upon his throne, before the army ſhould be at leiſure to throw further obſtacles in the way; but here was the fatal overſight, the king and his friends would not condeſcend, nor the preſbyterians relax, till both were driven out of the field, and the army become irreſiſtible.

Which is entirely preſbyterian. Rapin, p. 504, 508, 511, 518.

Ruſhw. p. p. 1127.

Remarks on the confuſion of the times.

Let the reader pauſe a little, and reflect with grief upon the miſerable diſtractions of this unhappy kingdom; in this *criſis* were three or four powerful parties with ſeparate views ſtriving for maſtery. The KING a cloſe priſoner in the *Iſle of Wight* was the *prize* contended for; he had little or no weight to throw into either ſcale, though by ſigning the *ſcots* treaty he was reputed the author of that invaſion, and of the ſecond civil war; the CAVALIERS were in arms to preſerve the EPISCOPAL CHURCH of *England*; but having concerted no meaſures among themſelves were eaſily diſperſed. The SCOTS came into *England* in purſuance of the COVENANT, and the ſecret treaty of the *Iſle of Wight*, but two miſtakes ruined their enterprize; one was, their not communicating the contents of that *treaty* to the *engliſh preſbyterians*, which they might have done by their commiſſioners without the knowledge of the *engliſh* army, before they had marched into *England*; the other was, duke *Hamilton*'s acting in concert with the *engliſh cavaliers*, allowing them to march in the *van*, which gave their enemies in the parliament at *Weſtminſter*, a fair opportunity of engaging the whole military power of *England* againſt them; for without all doubt, if the duke had prevailed, not only the *independent*, but the *presbyterian cauſe* had been betrayed into the hands of the *cavaliers*,

which muſt in the end have been equally fatal to both parties, and loſt them all the advantages of the war. This fatal conjunction broke the ſtrength of the *engliſh presbyterians*, and played the game into the hands of a third party, who deſtroyed the other two. The ARMY, with whom were the *independents*, *anabaptiſts*, and other ſectaries, was governed by the *agitators*, who had given up the king, and had an incurable averſion to the *cavaliers*, and all who adhered to them, as their moſt determined enemies; nor could they confide in the *presbyterians*, becauſe in all their paſt treaties they had ſeen themſelves made a ſacrifice to *covenant uniformity*. Upon the whole, all parties were ſtiff in their demands, diſunited in their councils, and infinitely jealous of each other. Among the *preſbyterians*, ſome were for fighting only with the *cavaliers*, and others for oppoſing the *ſcots* as *invaders*. Some of the *cavaliers* were for reſtoring the king by their own valour, and others for availing themſelves of the aſſiſtance of the *ſcots*. The army was no leſs diſtracted; thoſe who ſerved under general *Fairfax* were unwilling to march againſt the *ſcots presbyterians*; thoſe under *Cromwell* were for encountering every power that would not ſecure them that liberty of conſcience for which they had been contending; and deſpairing of this not only from the king, but from the *ſcots* and *engliſh presbyterians*, they unhappily run upon thoſe extravagant meaſures which ended in the deſtruction of the king and overthrow of the whole conſtitution. *K. Charles I.* 1648.

Tantum religio potuit ſuadere malorum!

But to return, the aſſembly of divines having finiſhed their main buſineſs, was reduced to a ſmall number, moſt of the country miniſters having returned home, and thoſe who remained about *London* were employed chiefly in the examination of ſuch miniſters as preſented themſelves for ordination, or induction into livings; thus they ſubſiſted till *Feb.* 22. 1648-9. about three weeks after the king's death, having ſat five years, ſix months, and twenty-two days, in which time they had one thouſand, one hundred, and ſixty-three ſeſſions. They were afterwards changed into a committee for the purpoſes laſt mentioned, and met every *Thurſday* morning till *March* 25. 1652. when the long parliament being turned out of the houſe by *Oliver Cromwell*, they broke up without any formal diſſolution. *Concluſion of the aſſembly of divines. MS.* penes me.

The works of the aſſembly, beſides ſome letters to foreign churches, and occaſional admontitions were, *Their works.*

1. Their

K. Charles I. 1648.

1. Their humble advice to the parliament for ordination of miniſters, and ſettling the preſbyterian government.
2. A directory for public worſhip.
3. A confeſſion of faith.
4. A larger and ſhorter catechiſm.
5. A review of ſome of the thirty-nine articles.

The annotations on the bible, which go under their name, were neither undertaken, nor reviſed by them, but by a committee of parliament, who named the *commentators*, and furniſhed them with books; nor were they all members of the aſſembly, as appears by the following liſt.

Thoſe with *aſteriſms* were not of the aſſembly.

Was written by

The commentary on the five books of *Moſes*,	The Rev. Mr. *Ley*, ſub-dean of *Cheſter*.
The two books of *Kings*,	Dr. *Gouge*.
The two books of *Chronicles*,	
Ezra,	
Nebemiah,	
Eſther,	
The *Pſalms*,	* Mr. *Meric Cauſabon*.
Proverbs,	Mr. *Francis Taylor*.
Eccleſiaſtes,	Dr. *Reynolds*.
Solomon's Song,	* Mr. *Smalwood*, recommended by archbiſhop *Uſher*.
Iſaiah,	Mr. *Gataker*.
Jeremiah,	
Lamentations,	
Ezekiel,	* Mr. *Pemberton* in the firſt edition.
Daniel, and the ſmaller *prophets*.	* Bp. *Richardſon* in the ſecond.
Matthew,	Mr. *Ley*.
Mark,	
Luke,	
John,	
St. *Paul's Epiſtles*,	Dr. *D. Featley*, but his notes are broken and imperfect, the author dying before he had reviſed them.

There

There were two other perſons concerned in this work, who might probably have the other parts of ſcripture allotted them, not here mentioned, *viz.* Mr. *Downham*, and Mr. *Reading*. K. Charles I. 1648.

When poſterity ſhall impartially review the labours of this *aſſembly of divines*, and conſider the times in which they ſat, they will have a juſt veneration for their memory; for though their ſentiments in divinity were in many inſtances too narrow and contracted, yet with all their faults, amongſt which their perſecuting zeal for religion was not the leaſt, they were certainly men of real piety and virtue, who meant well, and had the intereſt of religion at heart; and moſt of them poſſeſſed as much learning as any of their cotemporaries; the names of *Lightfoot*, *Selden*, *Gataker*, *Greenhill*, *Arrowſmith*, *Twiſſe*, biſhop *Reynolds*, *Wallis*, &c. will always meet with eſteem from the learned world; and had they not graſped at *coercive power*, or juriſdiction over the conſciences of men, their characters would have been unblemiſhed. Mr. *Baxter* who knew moſt of them, ſays "they were men of eminent learning, godlineſs, "miniſterial abilities, and fidelity; and being not worthy to be one of "them myſelf (ſays he), I may more fully ſpeak the truth which I know, "even in the face of malice and envy, that as far as I am able to judge by "the information of hiſtory, and by any other evidences, the chriſtian "world, ſince the days of the apoſtles, had never a ſynod of more ex-"cellent divines than this ſynod, and the ſynod of *Dort*." The DIVINE RIGHT of the *presbyterian government* firſt threw them into heats, and then divided them, engaging them firſt with the *parliament*, and then with the *independents* and *eraſtians*. Their oppoſing a toleration raiſed them a great many enemies, and cauſed a *ſeceſſion* in their own body, for after they had carried the queſtion of DIVINE RIGHT, the *independents* and *eraſtians* deſerted them, after which they found it very difficult to muſter as many as would make a houſe. Had the parliament diſſolved them at that juncture, they had ſeparated with honour, but they dwindled by degrees as has been related; the buſineſs of the church being now tranſlated to the provincial aſſemblies. *Their character.* Baxter's Life, p. 73.

We have already remembered the two former of theſe aſſemblies, the *third* met *May* 3. this year, and choſe the reverend Mr. *Whitaker* moderator. In the fourth ſeſſion they agreed to preſent a ſecond petition to the parliament in the name of the province, humbly to deſire, 1. "That "they would renew the conſideration of their former petition. 2. That "would eſtabliſh the two catechiſms of the aſſembly of divines, and ap-"point them to be publicly taught throughout the kingdom. 3. That "they would add their civil ſanction to the new confeſſion of faith. "4. That the directory for public worſhip may be better obſerved; and "that *Proceedings of the 3d provincial aſſembly. MS.*

K. Charles I. 1648.

" that better care may be taken for the obſervation of the Lord's day."

——In their twelfth ſeſſion, *October* 6. they agreed to the report of their *committee concerning the cauſe of the decay of religion*, and of the increaſe of wickedneſs, which they ſay was chiefly owing to the want of able and ſettled miniſters, there being above forty pariſh churches and congregations within the province, which had no miniſters ſettled among them by allowance of authority, a catalogue of which churches was ſubjoined. The reaſon of this defect being chiefly want of maintenance, they pray the houſes, " to agree upon ſome method, that the dean " and chapter lands, and the impropriations belonging to biſhops, ly- " ing within this province, may be applied for the augmentation of " the clergy's maintenance; and that there may be a fixed maintenance " in every pariſh recoverable by the incumbent."

The 4th provincial aſſembly.

The fourth provincial aſſembly met *Nov.* 3. the reverend Mr. *Edmund Calamy* moderator. In their third ſeſſion *Nov.* 23. they ordered, that the ſeveral miniſters of the province of *London* do begin the work of catechiſing; that they uſe the aſſembly's catechiſm, and no other; that the perſons to be catechiſed be children and ſervants not admitted to the Lord's table; that the time be in the afternoon before ſermon; and that they exhort their pariſhioners to encourage it. In the fourth ſeſſion, *Nov.* 30. they reſolved, that the twelve claſſes of the province of *London* obſerve their courſe for ordination of miniſters, and that at the cloſe of every public ordination, notice be given which *claſſis* is to ordain next. But the nation being in confuſion, and the clouds gathering thick over their heads, they did little more this winter than keep a weekly faſt among themſelves, to avert the judgments of God, which threatened the life of the king, and the diſſolution of the whole government.

Provincial aſſembly of Lancaſhire. Vol. pamp. N° 73.

The county of *Lancaſhire* being formed into another *presbyterian province* this year, aſſembled at *Preſton Feb.* 7. 1648. and publiſhed a kind of paſtoral letter, or ſolemn exhortation to the ſeveral churches within their province, to the practice of thoſe duties that were requiſite to the ſupporting and carrying on the *presbyterian diſcipline*, ſubſcribed by the reverend

Mr. *James Hyett*, moderator,
Mr. *Tho. Johnſon*, aſſeſſor,
Mr. *Edw. Gee*, ſcribe.

Agreement of the people. Ruſhw. p. 1358.

They likewiſe appointed a committee to examine the paper called THE AGREEMENT OF THE PEOPLE, [hereafter to be mentioned] and tend-

tendered to the *conſideration of the nation by the officers of the army, with a deſire that they would by ſubſcription declare their concurrence to it*; but it was carried in the negative. The deſign of this paper was to change the form of government into a kind of commonwealth, without a king or houſe of lords. It was publiſhed by way of probation, that they might learn the ſenſe of the nation; but the article relating to religion being peculiar, and giving great offence to the *presbyterian* clergy, ſhall be tranſcribed entire, "We do not empower our repreſentatives (ſay they) "to continue in force, or make any laws, oaths, or covenants, whereby "to compel by penalties, or otherwiſe, any perſon to any thing, in or "about matters of faith, religion, or God's worſhip; or reſtrain any per- "ſon from profeſſing his faith, or exerciſe of his religion according to his "conſcience, in any houſe or place, except ſuch as are, or ſhall be ſet "apart for the public worſhip. Nevertheleſs, the inſtruction or direction "of the nation in a public way, for matters of faith, worſhip or diſci- "pline, ſo it be not compulſive or expreſs popery, is referred to their "diſcretion." The AGREEMENT adds, "It is intended that the chriſ- "tian religion be held forth, and recommended as the public profeſſion "in this nation, which we deſire may, by the grace of God, be reformed "to the greateſt purity in doctrine, worſhip, and diſcipline, according "to the word of God. The inſtructing the people thereunto in a pub- "lic way, provided it be not compulſive; as alſo the maintaining of able "teachers for that end, and for the confutation and diſcovery of hereſy, "error, and whatſoever is contrary to ſound doctrine, is allowed to be "provided by our repreſentatives; the maintenance of teachers may be "out of a treaſury, and we deſire not by *tithes*." But beſides theſe, "*All who profeſs faith in God by Jeſus Chriſt, however differing in "judgment from the doctrine, diſcipline, and worſhip publicly held forth, "ſhall be protected in the profeſſion of their faith, and exerciſe of their re- "ligion according to their conſciences, ſo as they abuſe not this liberty to "the civil injury of others, or the diſturbance of the public peace.*" Theſe were juſt and generous ſentiments; however the ſynod forbid their people to ſubſcribe them, not only becauſe the AGREEMENT imported a change in the civil government, but becauſe of the miſchiefs that would attend a *toleration*; their reaſons for which they publiſhed to the world *March* 6. 1648. ſubſcribed by fifty nine miniſters. K. Charles I. 1648.

The provincial aſſemblies of *London* met regularly every half year, to the year 1655. when finding themſelves without *power*, and not being willing to apply to the *protector* and his parliament for ſupport, they deſiſted; but there were none legally formed in any other counties of *England*. However the country miniſters entered into voluntary aſſociations, and erected a ſort of claſſes for ordination of miniſters, and promoting *Country aſſociations.*

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friendſhip and peace among themſelves, many of the *independent* miniſters joining with them. The aſſociations met once a month, at one or other church in the county, and after prayers and a ſermon, conferred upon the ſtate of religion, and gave their advice upon ſuch caſes as were brought before them, in a neighbourly and friendly manner.

Ordinance againſt blaſphemy and hereſy. Scobel's Col. cap. cxiv. p. 149.

To return to the parliament, which was now recruited with ſuch *presbyterian* members as had abſconded, or deſerted their ſtations, while the army was quartered in the neighbourhood of the city; theſe gentlemen finding they had the ſuperiority in the houſe, reſumed their courage, and took the oppportunity of diſcovering their principles and ſpirit, by paſſing ſuch a law againſt heretics as is hardly to be parallelled among proteſtants. It had been laid aſide by the influence of the army for above nine months, till *May* 1. when it was voted, that all ordinances concerning church government referred to committees, be brought in and debated; and that *the ordinance againſt blaſphemy and hereſy* be now determined, which was done accordingly. This is one of the moſt ſhocking laws I have met with in reſtraint of religious liberty, and ſhews that the governing *presbyterians* would have made a terrible uſe of their power, had they been ſupported by the ſword of the civil magiſtrate. The ordinance is dated *May* 2. 1648. and ordains, "that all perſons who ſhall willingly maintain, publiſh, or defend, by preaching or writing, the following hereſies with obſtinacy, ſhall upon complaint, and proof, by the oaths of two witneſſes, before two juſtices of the peace, or confeſſion of the party, be committed to priſon, without bail or mainprize, till the next gaol delivery; and in caſe the indictment ſhall then be found, and the party upon his trial ſhall not abjure his ſaid error, and his defence and maintenance of the ſame, he ſhall ſuffer the pains of death, as in caſe of felony, without benefit of clergy; and if he recant or abjure, he ſhall remain in priſon till he find ſureties, that he will not maintain the ſaid hereſies or errors any more; but if he relapſe, and is convicted a ſecond time, he ſhall ſuffer death as before. The hereſies or errors are theſe following.

1. "That there is no God.

2. "That God is not omnipreſent, omniſcient, almighty, eternal, and perfectly holy.

3. "That the Father is not God, that the Son is not God, that the Holy Ghoſt is not God, or that theſe three are not one eternal God; or Chriſt is not God equal with the Father.

4. "The denial of the manhood of Chriſt, or that the godhead and manhood are diſtinct natures; or that the humanity of Chriſt is pure and unſpotted of all ſin.

5. "The

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5. " The maintaining that Chriſt did not die, nor riſe again, nor aſ-
" cend into heaven bodily.

6. " The denying that the death of Chriſt is meritorious on the behalf
" of believers; or that Jeſus Chriſt is the Son of God.

7. " The denying that the holy ſcriptures of the old and new teſta-
" ment are the word of God.

8. " The denying of the reſurrection of the dead, and a future judg-
" ment."

The ordinance proceeds to ſpecify ſome other errors of leſs demerit, and ſays, " that whoſoever ſhall maintain or defend them ſhall, upon con-
" viction by the oaths of two witneſſes, or by his own confeſſion before
" two juſtices of peace, be ordered to renounce his ſaid error or er-
" rors in the public congregation of the pariſh from whence the complaint
" comes, or where the offence was committed, and in caſe of refuſal
" he ſhall be committed to priſon till he find ſureties that he ſhall not
" publiſh or maintain the ſaid error or errors any more. The errors are
" theſe following:

1. " That all men ſhall be ſaved.

2. " That man by nature hath free-will to turn to God.

3. " That God may be worſhipped in or by pictures or ima-
" ges.

4. " That the ſoul dies with the body, or after death goes neither to
" heaven, or hell, but to purgatory.

5. " That the ſoul of man ſleeps when the body is dead.

6. " That the revelations, or workings of the ſpirit, are a rule of faith
" or chriſtian life, though diverſe from, or contrary to the written word of
" God.

7. " That man is bound to believe no more than by his reaſon he
" can comprehend.

8. " That the moral law contained in the ten commandments is no rule
" of the chriſtian life.

9. " That a believer need not repent, or pray for pardon of
" ſin.

10. " That the two ſacraments, of baptiſm and the Lord's ſupper, are
" not ordinances commanded by the word of God.

11. " That the baptiſm of infants is unlawful and void; and that ſuch
" perſons ought to be baptized again.

12. " That the obſervation of the Lord's day, as enjoined by the ordi-
" nances and laws of this realm, is not according, or is contrary to the
" word of God.

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13. "That it is not lawful to join in public, or family prayer, or to "teach children to pray.

14. "That the churches of *England* are no true churches, nor "their miniſters and ordinances true miniſters and ordinances; or that "the church government by preſbyters is antichriſtian or unlawful.

15. "That magiſtracy, or the power of the civil magiſtrate, by law "eſtabliſhed in *England*, is unlawful.

16. "That all uſe of arms, though for the public defence (and be the "cauſe never ſo juſt) is unlawful."

Remarks. This *black liſt of hereſies* was taken from the ſpeeches or writings of the *papiſts*, *arminians*, *antinomians*, *arians*, *baptiſts*, and *quakers*, &c. of thoſe times. The ordinance was a comprehenſive engine of cruelty, and would have tortured great numbers of good chriſtians, and good ſubjects. The preſbyterians of the preſent age are not only thankful that the confuſion of the times did not permit their predeceſſors to put this law in execution, but wiſh alſo, that it could be blotted out of the records of time, as it is impoſſible to brand it with a cenſure equal to its demerits.

Ordinance for ſettling the preſbyterian *diſcipline.* Scobel, cap. cxviii. p. 165.

June 21. the army being ſtill in the field, and the parliament at liberty, the ordinance for the more effectual ſettling the *presbyterian* government, without limitation of time, was read the ſecond time and committed, and on the 29th of *Auguſt* it was perfected, and received the ſanction of both houſes, under the title of *a form of church government to be uſed in the churches of* England *and* Ireland. It is a collection of the ſeveral ordinances for eſtabliſhing the branches of preſbyterial government already mentioned, and ordains, that "all pariſhes and places whatſoever with-"in *England* and *Wales* ſhall be under the government of congregational, "claſſical, provincial, and national aſſemblies, except the houſes or "chapels of the king and his children, and of the peers of the realm, "which are to continue free for the exerciſe of divine duties, according "to the *directory*, and not otherwiſe; it gives directions for the choice of "ruling elders in every pariſh, and for proper perſons to be judges of the "qualifications of the perſons choſen; it appoints commiſſioners to di-"vide the whole kingdom into diſtinct claſſical preſbyteries; it gives di-"rection about the conſtituting of provincial and national ſynods, with "the extent of their ſeveral powers; it determines the method of ordi-"nation of miniſters, of diſpenſing church cenſures, and ſuſpenſion "from the ſacrament; and laſt of all, it gives direction for excom-"munication and abſolution," but lays no penalty upon *recuſants*, or ſuch

ſuch as do not come to the ſacrament, or ſubmit to their diſcipline; which was the utmoſt length that *presbytery* obtained in this kingdom. K. Charles I. 1648.

Treaty of the Iſle of Wight. Ruſhw. Vol. II. p. 1236.

The parliament having agreed to treat with the king without any preliminary conditions, ſent the earl of *Middleſex*, Sir *John Hippiſly*, and Mr. *Bulkely*, to acquaint his majeſty with their reſolutions, and to deſire him to appoint what place he pleaſed in the *Iſle of Wight* for the congreſs; his majeſty ſeemed pleaſed with the meſſage, and ſent a letter to the two houſes *Aug.* 10. deſiring them to recal their votes, which forbid the acceſs of his friends, and to direct that men of neceſſary uſe in this affair may be permitted to aſſiſt him; and that the *ſcots* be parties in the treaty. His majeſty then appointed *Newport* in the *Iſle of Wight* for the place of conference; to all which the lords agreed without any reſtriction; but the commons inſiſted, that no perſon lately in arms againſt the parliament be of the number; that the *ſcots* be not included; and that if his majeſty be at liberty as at *Hampton-Court*, he paſs his royal word not to go out of the iſland during the treaty, nor twenty-eight days after, without conſent of parliament.

Upon theſe conditions his majeſty was conducted to *Newport*, and left at liberty upon his *parole of honour*. Several noblemen, gentlemen, divines, and lawyers, were appointed to aſſiſt him in the treaty, who were to ſtand behind his majeſty's chair and hear the debates, but not to ſpeak, except when the king withdrew into another room for their advice; the names of his divines were, Dr. *Juxon* biſhop of *London*, Dr. *Duppa* biſhop of *Salisbury*, Dr. *Sheldon*, Dr. *Hammond*, Dr. *Oldſworth*, Dr. *Saunderſon*, Dr. *Turner*, Dr. *Haywood*; and towards the end of the treaty Dr. *Uſher* archbiſhop of *Armagh*, Dr. *Bramhall*, Dr. *Prideaux*, Dr. *Warner*, Dr. *Ferne*, and Dr. *Morley*; Dr. *Brownrigge* biſhop of *Exeter*, was alſo ſent for, but he was under reſtraint. And Dr. *Sheldon*, Dr. *Hammond*, and Dr. *Oldſworth*, being alſo under reſtraint, were not permitted to ſtand.

Rapin, p. 526.

The parliament appointed five noblemen, and ten commoners, with four divines to aſſiſt them in their debates touching religion (*viz.*) Mr. *Vines*, Mr. *Caryl*, Dr. *Seaman*, and Mr. *Marſhall*. The treaty was to continue forty days, and to proceed upon the propoſitions of *Hampton-Court*. *Sep.* 12. the parliament obſerved a day of public faſting and prayer, for a bleſſing; and ſome days after, the king and his houſhold did the like, when after the public ſervice the following prayer was read, drawn up by his majeſty's direction.

O MOST

K. Charles I. 1648. "MOST merciful Father, Lord God of peace and truth, we a people ſorely afflicted by the ſcourge of an unnatural war, "do earneſtly beſeech thee to command a bleſſing from heaven upon this "preſent treaty, begging for the eſtabliſhment of an happy peace. Soften "the moſt obdurate hearts with a true chriſtian deſire of ſaving thoſe "mens blood for whom Chriſt himſelf hath ſhed his; or if the guilt of "our great ſins cauſe this treaty to break off in vain, Lord, let the truth "clearly appear, who thoſe men are, who under pretence of the public "good do purſue their own private ends; that this people may be no "longer ſo blindly miſerable, as not to ſee at leaſt in this their day, "the things that belong to their peace. Grant this, gracious God, "for his ſake, who is our peace itſelf, even Jeſus Chriſt our Lord. "*Amen.*"

Parliament's propoſals and the king's reply. The conferences opened on *Monday September* 18. about nine in the morning, at the houſe of Sir *William Hodges*. The firſt day the commiſſioners preſented the king with a draught of three bills; the firſt to eſtabliſh the *presbyterian* government for ever in the church of *England*; the ſecond to relinquiſh the *militia* to the two houſes for thirty years; and the third to recal all his majeſty's declarations againſt the parliament. To the laſt of theſe the king readily conſented, but excepted to the preamble, in which were theſe words, *that the two houſes of parliament had been neceſſitated to enter into a war in their juſt and lawful defence.* Inſtead of which, the king propoſed an act of indemnity; but the commiſſioners inſiſting peremptorily upon the words as thoſe without which they could not be ſafe, his majeſty with great reluctance conſented, having firſt proteſted in writing, that *no conceſſion of his ſhould be binding if the treaty broke off without effect.* His majeſty yielded the *militia* to the parliament for twenty years; and the management of the *iriſh* war. He conceded to vacate thoſe titles of honour that had been conferred ſince the carrying away the *great ſeal*, and to confirm the parliament's *great ſeal*. He agreed to the payment of the public debts, provided they were ſtated within two years; to confirm the charter of the city of *London*; to impower the parliament to confer offices, and conſtitute magiſtrates for twenty years; and to take away the court of wards provided he might have one hundred thouſand pounds a year in lieu of it. His majeſty conſented further that thoſe of his party whom they called *delinquents* ſhould ſubmit to a fine, or be proſcribed the court, if the parliament ſaw fit; but he abhorred the thoughts of charging them with treaſon who had acted by his commiſſion, and therefore abſolutely refuſed to conſent to it.

Ruſhw. p. 1263.

With

With regard to religion his majeſty agreed, *October* 2. that " the aſ- *K.* Charles I. 1648.
" ſembly of divines at *Weſtminſter* be confirmed for three years; that the
" *directory* and *preſbyterian* government be confirmed for the ſame time, *King's conceſſions on the article of religion.* Ruſhw. p. 1281.
" provided that neither himſelf, nor thoſe of his judgment, be obliged to
" comply with it; that a conſultation in the mean time be had with the
" aſſembly, and twenty divines of his majeſty's nomination, what form
" of church government ſhall be eſtabliſhed afterwards, with a clauſe for
" the eaſe of tender conſciences. His majeſty conſented further, that le-
" gal eſtates for lives, or for a term of years not exceeding ninety nine,
" ſhould be made out of the biſhops lands and revenues, for the ſatisfac-
" tion of them that have purchaſed them, provided that the inheritance
" may ſtill remain to the church, and the reſt be reſerved for their main-
" tenance. His majeſty will conſent further, to an act for the better ob-
" ſervation of the *Lord's day*; for ſuppreſſing innovations in churches and
" chapels; for the better advancing of preaching God's holy word;
" and againſt pluralities and non-reſidence. To an act for regulating and
" reforming the univerſities, and the colleges of *Weſtminſter*, *Wincheſter*,
" and *Eaton*; for the better diſcovery of papiſts, and for the educating
" their children in the proteſtant religion; to an act for better putting the
" laws in execution againſt papiſts, and to prevent the hearing and ſaying
" maſs; but as to the *covenant*, his majeſty is not as yet ſatisfied to ſign
" or ſwear to it, or conſent to impoſe it on the conſciences of others."

Conference between the king and parliament divines.

Theſe conceſſions about church government being declared not ſatisfac-
tory, as amounting only to a ſort of *interim*, his majeſty deſired to confer
with the parliament divines for the ſatisfaction of his conſcience, having
been bred and inſtructed (as he ſaid) in the way he ſtands for, by his *fa-*
ther, the wiſeſt king and beſt man in the world, and therefore could not
eaſily yield. There is hardly any thing to be met with in this conference
but what has been already taken notice of in his majeſty's debate with
Mr. *Henderſon*, and in the anſwer of the *ſmectymnuan* divines to biſhop
Hall, in the *firſt volume* of this hiſtory; and therefore it will be the leſs
neceſſary to enter into the particulars of the debate. His majeſty propoſ-
ed ſome ſcruples in law about the obligation of his *coronation oath*, which
the commiſſioners undertook to anſwer themſelves; but the papers rela-
ting to the *unalterable inſtitution of epiſcopacy* were refered to the *divines*
on both ſides, and were as follow:

The king's firſt paper.

Newport, Oct. 2. 1648.

CHARLES REX,

King's firſt paper to the parl. divines. Rel. Carol. Vol. II. p. 245.

" I conceive that *epiſcopal government* is moſt conſonant to the word
" of God and of an apoſtolical inſtitution, as it appears by the ſcripture to
" have been practiſed by the apoſtles themſelves, and by them commit-

K. Charles I. 1648.

" ted and derived to particular perſons as their ſubſtitutes or ſucceſſors
" therein, (as for ordainingpreſbyters and deacons, giving rules concern-
Acts xiv. 23. " ing chriſtian diſcipline, and exerciſing cenſures over preſbyters and
Acts vi. 6. " others) and has ever ſince, till theſe laſt times, been exerciſed by
1 Cor. xvi. 1. " biſhops in all the churches of Chriſt; and therefore I cannot in con-
1 Cor. xiv. " ſcience conſent to aboliſh the ſaid government.
1 Cor. v. 3. " Notwithſtanding this my perſuaſion, I will be glad to be informed,
3 John ix. 10. " if our Saviour and his apoſtles did ſo leave the church at liberty, as they
1 Tim. v. 22. " might totally alter or change the church government at their pleaſure,
Titus i. 5. " which if you can make appear to me, then I will confeſs that one of
Rev. ii. 3. " my great ſcruples is clean taken away, and then there only remains,
1 Tim. v. 19. " That being by my coronation oath obliged to maintain epiſcopal go-
Titus iii. 10. " vernment, as I found it ſettled to my hands, whether I may conſent
" to the aboliſhing thereof until the ſame ſhall be evidenced to me to be
" contrary to the word of God."

Abſtract of the parl. divines reply. p. 246.

The parliament divines, in anſwer to the firſt part of his majeſty's paper admit, that the apoſtles did exerciſe the *extraordinary powers* his majeſty mentions; but deny, that they conferred them upon any particular perſons as their ſubſtitutes or *ſucceſſors*, and inſiſt, that in ſcripture there are only two orders of officers (*viz.*) *biſhops* and *deacons*, Phil. i. 1. *To the ſaints at* Philippi *that are in Chriſt Jeſus, with the biſhops and deacons*; and that the *name*, *office*, and *work* of a *biſhop* and a *preſbyter* is the ſame, as in *Titus* i. 5, and 7. *For this cauſe left I thee in* Crete—*that thou ſhouldſt ordain preſbyters in every city*; *for a biſhop muſt be blameleſs*. Acts xx. 27, 28. *Paul* called the *preſbyters* together, and charged them to *take heed to the flock over which the Holy Ghoſt had made them* BISHOPS *. 1 *Pet.* v. 1, 2. *The* PRESBYTERS *among you I exhort, who alſo am am a* PRESBYTER, *feed the flock of God among you, performing the office of* BISHOPS †. As the apoſtles were extraordinary officers, ſo were *Timothy* and *Titus* (*viz.*) evangeliſts, but neither of them are called *biſhops* in ſcripture, much leſs were they fixed to *Epheſus* or *Crete*, but travelled up and down to ſettle churches in ſeveral countries. They obſerve further, that in the ſame order of officers there was not any one ſuperior to another; no apoſtle above an apoſtle, no preſbyter above a preſbyter, nor one deacon above another. They add, that the *angels* of the churches in the revelations are never called *biſhops*, nor is the word uſed in any of St. *John*'s writings, who calls himſelf a preſbyter; from whence they argue the *identity* of theſe offices in ſcripture, and the equality of the officers. They admit, that not long after the apoſtles times, biſhops are reported to have ſome ſuperiority above preſbyters, but this was not a *divine*, but an *eccleſiaſtical* inſtitution, as is evident from the teſtimony of the moſt

*Ἐπισκοπους.

†Ἐπισκοποῦντες.

moſt antient fathers, and the moſt conſiderable writers in the *romiſh* church; to which they add the ſuffrage of the firſt reformers in king *Henry* the eighth's reign. The *Erudition of a Chriſtian Man*, printed 1643. ſays expreſly, that the ſcripture mentions but two orders, *i. e. biſhops* or *prieſts*, and *deacons*. They conclude with obſerving, that the modern epiſcopacy is very different from that which began to obtain in the ſecond and third ages of the church, inſomuch that the preſent hierarchy, being an *human inſtitution*, might be aboliſhed, and the other remain. K. Charles I. 1648.

After three days his majeſty, with the aſſiſtance of his learned divines, replied to the foregoing paper, and acknowledges, "that the words *biſhop* and *presbyter* are ſometimes confounded in ſcripture; he admits, "that preſbyters are *epiſcopi gregis*, biſhops of the flock; but that *biſhops* "are *epiſcopi gregis & paſtorum* within their ſeveral precincts, *i. e.* biſhops of the flock and of the paſtors too; and that ſoon after, common "uſage appropriated *biſhop* to the eccleſiaſtical governor, leaving *presbyter* to ſignify the ordinary miniſter or prieſt, as appears from the antient fathers and councils. He admits the calling of the apoſtles and "their gifts to be extraordinary, but adds, that their miſſion to *govern* "and *teach* was ordinary and perpetual; that the biſhops ſucceeded "them in the former, and preſbyters in the latter function. Octob. 6. *King's ſecond paper.* Rel. Carol. p. 260.

"His majeſty ſtill inſiſts, that *Timothy* and *Titus* were *biſhops*, as appears from antiquity, and by a catalogue of twenty-ſeven biſhops of "*Epheſus* lineally deſcending from *Timothy*, as is avouched by Dr. *Reynolds* againſt *Hart*, and therefore the diſtinction between an *evangeliſt* "and a *biſhop* is without foundation, the work of an evangeliſt being no "more than *diligence in preaching the word, notwithſtanding all impediments*, according to the apoſtle, 2 *Tim.* ii. 4, 5. His majeſty obſerves, "that the parliament divines had ſaid nothing to prove, that the angels of "the churches were not *perſonæ ſingulares*, and ſuch as had a prelacy "over paſtors, *i. e. biſhops*, but that they dealt only in generals, and "ſeemed unwilling to ſpeak their opinions about them."

His majeſty affirms, "that *biſhops* are the ſucceſſors of the apoſtles in "all things not extraordinary, ſuch as *teaching* and *governing*; and the "reaſons why they are not mentioned as a *diſtinct order* in the *new teſtament*, are 1. Becauſe the apoſtles reſerved to themſelves the govern"ment of thoſe churches where they appointed preſbyters, and ſo 'tis pro"bable the *Philippians* had no biſhop when *Paul* writ to them; 2. Be"cauſe in the epiſtles to *Timothy* and *Titus*, the perſons to whom he writ "being themſelves biſhops, there was no need to write about the qualifi"cations of any other officers than thoſe they wanted, which were preſ"byters and deacons only."

K. Charles I. 1648.

His majeſty admits concerning the ages after the apoſtles, "that they "are but a human teſtimony, and yet may be infallible in matter of fact, "as we infallibly know that *Ariſtotle* was a *greek* philoſopher, *&c.* he "avers the genuineneſs of thoſe epiſtles of *Ignatius*, which give teſtimony "to the ſuperiority of a biſhop above a preſbyter; and though his majeſ-"ty's royal progenitors had enlarged the power and privileges of biſhops, "he conceives the government to be ſubſtantially the ſame."

Octob. 17. *Parl. divines reply.* Rel. Carol. p. 277.

Eleven days after, the parliament's divines replied to the king's ſecond paper, in which they ſay, that they can find no ſuch partition of the apoſtolical office in ſcripture, as his majeſty mentions, (*viz.*) that the *governing part* ſhould be committed to biſhops, *the teaching and adminiſtring the ſacraments* to preſbyters; but that the whole work, *per omnia*, belongs to preſbyters, as appears from the two words uſed in the *acts* of the *apoſtles* and St. *Peter*'s epiſtle, Ποιμαίνειν, and Ἐπισκοπεῖν, under the force of which words the biſhops claim their whole right of government and juriſdiction; and when the apoſtle *Paul* was taking leave of the *epheſian* preſbyters and biſhops, he commits the *government* of the church not to *Timothy*, who was then at his elbow, but to the *presbyters*, under the name of biſhops, made by the holy ghoſt: from whence they conclude, that biſhops and preſbyters muſt be only two names of the ſame order. They obſerve, that the obſcurity of church hiſtory in the times ſucceeding the apoſtles, made the *catalogue makers* take up their ſucceſſion upon report; and 'tis a blemiſh to their evidence, that the nearer they come to the days of the apoſtles, they are the more doubtful and contradictory. Theſe divines are therefore of opinion, that human teſtimony on both ſides ought to be diſcharged, and the point in debate be determined only by ſcripture. And here they take hold of his majeſty's conceſſion, that in ſcripture the names of biſhops and preſbyters are not diſtinguiſhed; and that there is no mention but of two orders, biſhops and deacons. They deſired his majeſty to ſhow them, where the ſcripture has aſſigned any particular work or duty to a *biſhop* that is not common to a *presbyter*, for they apprehend his majeſty's aſſerting that a biſhop is an eccleſiaſtical governor, and a preſbyter an ordinary miniſter, is without any demonſtration or evidence; a few clear paſſages of ſcripture for the proof of this (ſay they) would bring the point to an iſſue. They deny his majeſty's diſtinction of *epiſcopi gregis & paſtorum, biſhop of ſheep and ſhepherds*, as being the point in queſtion, and affirmed without any evidence—that the office of *teaching* and *governing* was ordinary in the apoſtles, becauſe continued in the church (we crave leave to ſay) is that great miſtake which runs through the whole file of your majeſty's diſcourſe; for though there is a ſucceſſion in the work of teaching and governing, there is no ſucceſſion in the *commiſſion or office*, by which

which the apoſtles performed them; a ſucceſſion may be to the ſame work, but not to the ſame commiſſion; and ſince your majeſty cannot produce any record from ſcripture warranting the diviſion of the office of *teaching* and *governing* into two hands, we muſt look upon it as an invention of men to get the power into their hands. K. Charles I. 1648.

Theſe divines go on with a long proof that *Timothy* and *Titus* were evangeliſts; that is, not fixed to one place, but travelling with the apoſtles from one country to another to plant churches, and accordingly have drawn out an account of their travels from the *acts* of the *apoſtles*, and St. *Paul*'s *epiſtles*. They obſerve the weakneſs of his majeſty's reaſons, why biſhops are not mentioned as a *diſtinct order* in ſcripture, and add a third of their own *(viz.)* becauſe really *they were not*. As for the apoſtles reſerving in their own hands the *power of governing*, they admit, that they could no more part with it than with their apoſtleſhip. Had they ſet up biſhops in all churches they had no more parted with their power of *governing*, than in ſetting up preſbyters; preſbyters being called *rulers*, *governors*, and *biſhops*; nor could the apoſtles reaſonably be ſuppoſed to commit the government of the church of *Epheſus* to the preſbyters, when he was taking his laſt farewel of them, and yet reſerve the power of governing (in ordinary) to himſelf. His majeſty's other reaſon (they ſay) is inconcluſive, and in a ſort begging the queſtion. They add, that it is very unaccountable, that if there had been two ſorts of biſhops, one *over presbyters*, and the other *over the flock*, that there ſhould be no mention, no mark of difference, no diſtinct method of ordination, by which they might be diſtinguiſhed, throughout the whole *new teſtament*.

As to the ages after the apoſtles, there admit there were *presbyter biſhops* but not of divine inſtitution; that the catalogues of ſucceſſion are undoubtedly defective, but if they were not, it remains ſtill to be proved, that the *biſhops* in the catalogue were veſted with the *juriſdiction* which the modern biſhops claim.

Theſe divines profeſs to honour the pious intentions of his majeſty's anceſtors, and admit, that ornamental acceſſions to the perſon make no ſubſtantial change in the office, but that the primitive epiſcopacy, and the preſent hierarchy, are eſſentially different. They acknowledge a ſubordination of the exerciſe of juriſdiction to the civil power, and the laws of the land; and conclude with thanks to his majeſty's condeſcenſion, in allowing them to examine his learned reply, clothed in ſuch excellence of ſtile, and pray, that a pen in the hand of ſuch abilities may ever be employed on a ſubject worthy of it.

Nov. 1. 1648. Some days after his majeſty offered his laſt paper, wherein "he acknowledges the great pains of theſe divines to inform his judgment, and" *King's laſt paper.* Ib. p. 324.

K. Charles I. 1648.

" and takes particular notice of the decency of their manner, and of their " reſpectful addreſs to him upon this occaſion, but ſays they miſtook " him, when they ſpoke of a writ of partition of the epiſcopal office; " whereas his meaning was, that the office of *teaching* was common " both to the biſhop and preſbyter, but that *government* was peculiar to " the biſhop." His majeſty declines anſwering to all the particulars, becauſe he would not draw out the diſpute into a greater length, but ſeems unconvinced by any thing that had been offered; he affirms, that *Timothy* and *Titus* were *epiſcopi paſtorum*, biſhops over preſbyters; and that *Timothy* had a diſtinct work from preſbyters, that is, that he *might know how to behave himſelf in the exerciſe of his epiſcopal office.* His majeſty relies on the numerous teſtimonies of ancient and modern writers, for the ſcripture original of biſhops, and adds, that the teſtimonies of an equal number of equal credit to the contrary will ſignify nothing, becauſe one witneſs for the *affirmative* ought to be of more value than ten for the *negative*—In concluſion his majeſty put them upon evidencing one of theſe three things, (1.) either that there is no form of church government preſcribed in ſcripture. Or (2.) if there be, that the civil power may change it as they ſee cauſe. Or (3.) if it be unchangeable, that it was not *epiſcopal*, but ſome other that they will name, for till this is done he ſhall think himſelf excuſable for not conſenting to the aboliſhing that government which he found ſettled at his coronation; which is ſo ancient, has been ſo univerſally received in the chriſtian world, has been confirmed by ſo many acts of parliament, and ſubſcribed by all the clergy of the church of *England*. But the miniſters declined entring into ſo large a field, which muſt have brought on a debate concerning the whole eccleſiaſtical polity of the church.

Remarks. Theſe were all the papers which paſſed on both ſides, and deſerve the notice of thoſe who would enter into this controverſy. His majeſty ſaying, that one witneſs for the affirmative, that *epiſcopacy is of divine inſtitueion*, ought to be of more value than ten for the negative, is (I apprehend) one of the weakeſt and moſt frivolous arguments of his letter; for 'tis only changing the form of the queſtion, and making the preſbyterian ſay, that *presbytery is of divine inſtitution*, and then aſking his majeſty, or any epiſcopal divine, whether *one affirmative* teſtimony ought not to be of more value than *ten negative ones* of equal merit. His majeſty's ſtile is ſtrong and maſculine, and that of the parliament divines decent and reſpectful. Sir *Phil. Warwick* read the king's papers before the commiſſioners, and Mr. *Vines* thoſe of the miniſters: all was managed with the greateſt propriety, which makes it hard to excuſe lord *Clarendon*'s account of the behaviour of theſe divines, who ſays " they all behaved

p. 216.

" with

"with that rudeneſs, as if they meant to be no longer ſubject to a king "any more than to a biſhop; that they inveighed bitterly againſt the "pride and luſtre of lord biſhops; that two of them very plainly and "fiercely told the king, that if he did not conſent to the utter aboliſh-"ing of biſhops he would be damned; the men were *Spurſtow* and "*Jenkins*, who after the return of king *Charles* II. according to the mo-"deſty of that race of people, came to kiſs his majeſty's hand." And yet neither of the divines above-mentioned were nominated to aſſiſt at the treaty, nor had any ſhare in the debates. Mr. *Baxter* ſays, *all the parliament divines came off with great honour.* But ſuch is his lordſhip's or his *editor*'s candor towards any thing that looks like a preſbyterian!

K. Charles I. 1648.

Of the coronation oath.

The king' ſecond difficulty, relating to his *coronation oath*, by which he apprehended himſelf bound to maintain epiſcopal government as he found it ſettled when he received the crown, the commiſſioners did not think ſo proper for the diſcuſſion of *divines*, becauſe it depended upon the law of the land, and therefore took this part of the debate upon themſelves. The king conceived, *that the conſent of the clergy themſelves in convocation aſſembled, was neceſſary before they could be deprived of thoſe poſſeſſions and privileges of which they were legally poſſeſſed.* But the commiſſioners maintained, that the legiſlature alone was to determine in this caſe, as it had done at the reformation; that it was not to be ſuppoſed, that any body of men would conſent to part with their poſſeſſions if they could keep them; but *if the legiſlature judged any part of the king's coronation oath hurtful to the public, it was certainly in their power, with the conſent of the king, to alter or annul it.*—One may juſtly aſk how this branch of the coronation oath ſhould ſtick ſo much with the king, when it was notorious that his government for almoſt fifteen years, had been one continued breach of *magna charta*, and an encroachment upon the civil liberties of his ſubjects?

The king's final conceſſions.

But neither party would acceed to the other, tho' the article of religion was almoſt the only point that hindered the concluſion of the treaty: his majeſty wondered at the ſhyneſs and reluctance of the parliament divines to debate his three queſtions, and told them plainly, that their endeavours to give him ſatisfaction in them, would have added to the reputation of their ingenuity in the whole undertaking, it not being probable that they ſhould work much upon *his* judgment, while they were fearful to declare their *own*; or poſſible to relieve *his* conſcience, but by a free declaring of *theirs*. But what was all this to the point? the only queſtion before them was, *whether dioceſan epiſcopacy was of divine inſtitution?* if they had ſatisfied his majeſty in that, they had diſcharged their duty; to launch out farther was to loſe time and protract the treaty beyond its limits. If *dioceſan epiſcopacy* was not *ſcriptural* it might be aboliſhed, which

Ruſhw. p. 1291.

Ruſhw. p. 1301, 1302.

K. Charles I. 1648.

which was all the parliament contended for at preſent. But the king's divines encouraged him to diſpute every inch of ground, and inſtead of yielding any one point to the miniſters, to ſtart new difficulties, till his ruin was inevitable. However towards the cloſe of the treaty, when the victorious army was returning towards *London*, and things almoſt come to an extremity, his majeſty told the *commiſſioners*, "that though he could "not with a good conſcience conſent to the aboliſhing of epiſcopacy, "becauſe he believed the ſubſtance of it to be of apoſtolical inſtitution, "he was willing to reduce it to the primitive uſage; and if his two "houſes ſhould ſo adviſe, he would be content to leſſen the extent, and "multiply the number of dioceſes.—He ſtill apprehended the entire alie-"nation of the biſhops lands by ſale to be ſacrilege. — He was willing to "aſſent to the calling and ſitting of the aſſembly of divines as deſired.— "He would alſo confirm the public uſe of the *directory* in all churches "and chapels, and would repeal ſo much of all ſtatutes as concerned "the book of *common prayer* only; provided the uſe thereof might be "continued in his majeſty's chapel for himſelf and his houſhold; and "that the ſame [*i. e.* the *directory*] ſhould be confirmed by act of parlia-"ment for three years, provided a conſultation be had in the mean time "with the aſſembly of divines as before mentioned. — Touching the ar-"ticles of religion [the *aſſembly's confeſſion*] his majeſty deſired further "time to examine them before he bound up himſelf and his ſubjects in "matters of faith and doctrine. — His majeſty will conſent to an act for "better obſervation of the Lord's-day, and to prevent ſaying of maſs. "— But as to the *covenant*, his majeſty was not ſatisfied to take it, nor "to impoſe it upon others."

Theſe conceſſions being voted unſatisfactory by the two houſes at *Weſtminſter*, his majeſty conſented further *October* 21. 1. "That arch-"biſhops, chancellors, deans, and the whole hierarchy, be aboliſhed, "except BISHOPS. 2. That none but the *presbyterian* government be "exerciſed for *three years*. 3. That in caſe no ſettlement ſhould be "agreed upon within that time, that then for the future the power of "ordination ſhould not be exerciſed by *biſhops* without the counſel and "aſſiſtance of preſbyters; that no other epiſcopal juriſdiction ſhould be "exerciſed but ſuch as ſhould be agreed upon in parliament; and if "within that time his majeſty ſhould be convinced that *epiſcopacy* is not "agreeable to the word of God, or that Chriſt commanded any other "government, he will embrace it, and take *epiſcopacy* quite away." The houſes being ſtill diſſatisfied with theſe conceſſions, his majeſty added, *Nov.* 4. "That he would make no new biſhops for three years; and "for the further ſatisfaction of the parliament, he would not inſiſt upon "the uſe of the *common prayer* in his own chapel for that time, but

"would

" would make uſe of ſome other form of divine ſervice for himſelf, and " forbid maſs to be ſaid in the queen's chapel." This was his majeſty's final anſwer, which the commons voted unſatisfactory, and ordered the commiſſioners to acquaint him with their votes. *K.* Charles I. 1648.

The treaty was prolonged three weeks after this, in which time the commiſſioners did all that was in their power to obtain his majeſty's conſent, beſeeching him with tears upon their bended knees, ſince matters were brought to ſo narrow a compaſs, to yield up the point of *religion*. In their laſt paper of *Nov.* 20. they beſeech him to conſider, " that it is not the *apoſtolical biſhop* which the parliament deſire him to " aboliſh, but that epiſcopacy which was formerly eſtabliſhed by law in " this kingdom, and has been found by experience to be an hindrance " to piety, a grievance to the ſubject, an encroachment upon the power " of the civil magiſtrate, and ſo a burden to the perſons, purſes, and " conſciences of men. They do not meddle with the *apoſtolical biſhop*, " nor determine what that biſhop was whom the apoſtles mention in " in ſcripture; but they are for putting *him* down by a law *who* was ſet " up by a law; and certainly nothing can be more proper for parliaments, than to alter repeal or make laws, which appear to them for " the good of the commonwealth. *Arguments and motives of the parl. commiſſioners to gain the king's conſent.* Ruſhw. p. 1335. Whitl. p. 351.

" But admitting *apoſtolical biſhops* were within the purport of this bill, " we humbly conceive it does not follow, that therefore in conſcience it " muſt not be paſſed, for we may not grant, that no occaſion can make " that alterable which has foundation only in the *practice* of the apoſtles, " and not in a *precept*. Some things have certainly been altered which " the apoſtles practiſed; circumſtances many times change the nature " of moral actions; for the attaining a great good, or the avoiding a " great evil, that which ſingly conſidered is not fit to be done, and perhaps would be a fault if it were, may become a duty, and a man may be " bound in conſcience to do it. And if ever circumſtances could have a more " powerful and conſiderable influence than in this juncture, we leave to " your majeſty's conſideration. But this is ſaid only for argument ſake, " admitting but not granting the grounds on which your majeſty is " pleaſed to go, in refuſing to paſs this bill." The ſtrength of the commiſſioners reaſoning upon this head may be ſeen at once in this ſhort ſyllogiſm; *whatſoever is not of divine inſtitution may be very lawfully altered, changed, or reverſed. — But the epiſcopacy which is eſtabliſhed in the church of* England *is not that epiſcopacy mentioned in ſcripture — therefore the laws which eſtabliſhed it may take it away.*

The commiſſioners go on, " As for the *ſale of biſhops lands*, which " your majeſty conceives to be *ſacrilege*, we humbly offer that biſhoprics " being diſſolved their lands revert to the *crown*, which is their founda-

" tion

K. Charles I. 1648.

" tion and patron, and heretofore held it no ſacrilege to diſpoſe of bi-
" ſhops lands to its own and other uſes by act of parliament, which was
" an ordinary practice in your majeſty's predeceſſors, kings and queens of
" this nation. Beſides, in all ages, even under the ceremonial law, im-
" minent and urgent neceſſity has diſpenſed with the alienation of conſe-
" crated things.

" Your majeſty is pleaſed to ſay, *You cannot communicate in a public*
" *form of divine ſervice, where it is uncertain what the miniſter will offer*
" *to God.* But we beſeech your majeſty to be informed, that the *directory*
" ſets down the matter of the prayer which the miniſter is to uſe; words
" and expreſſions for enlargement being left to his diſcretion. But give
" us leave to add, that this ought to be no objection with your majeſty,
" for then one muſt not hear any prayer before ſermon, for here every
" miniſter has a ſeveral form, which he varies according to occaſion.

" Upon the whole therefore we humbly hope, that your majeſty af-
" ter a moſt ſerious conſideration, will diſcern the juſt cauſe which
" the two houſes have for remaining unſatisfied with your majeſty's con-
" ceſſions, *with relation to the church*, for they are apprehenſive that af-
" ter the expiration of the three years in which epiſcopal government is
" to be ſuſpended, a biſhop ſo qualified as your majeſty expreſſes will
" riſe again; for if you ſhould not in the mean time agree with your
" parliament upon any other form of government, which depends whol-
" ly upon your majeſty's pleaſure, no other government can be ſet up;
" and then this epiſcopacy will return with ſo great power, that the bi-
" ſhop may chooſe whether any miniſter at all ſhall be made in the
" church of *England*, and thoſe that ſhall muſt be at his devotion, he
" having the negative voice in ordination, which we humbly conceive is
" no where declared in ſcripture to be the prerogative of an *apoſtolical*
" *biſhop.*

" We humbly ſay further, that the charging biſhops lands with leaſes
" for ninety-nine years is not ſufficient, becauſe there is a rent reſerved
" to the the biſhop, and the property will continue as before; ſo that
" it cannot be expected that the *presbyterian government* ſhould be com-
" plied with, and exerciſed with profit or comfort to the church, as long
" as a door is left open for the return of a ſuperior power upon the firſt
" opportunity.

" We hope your majeſty will pardon our preſſing in this manner;
" our intention is not to offer violence to your majeſty's conſcience, but
" to endeavour to inform it in a matter that appears to the two houſes of
" ſo great conſequence. We again humbly beſeech your majeſty to re-
" view our former papers; call to mind thoſe reaſons and arguments
" which in debate have been uſed upon this ſubject, with ſuch others as

" your

" your own wiſdom ſhall ſuggeſt, and then be pleaſed to give your royal " conſent to the particulars above ſpecified, that both yourſelf and your " people may have cauſe to rejoice." K. Charles I. 1648.

The committee of ſtates in *Scotland* joined with the parliament commiſſioners in beſeeching his majeſty to accede to the *propoſition about religion*, which they underſtood to be the point his majeſty moſt ſtuck at, and which they in honour and intereſt were obliged moſt to inſiſt upon, and without which (they add) *his throne cannot be eſtabliſhed in righteouſneſs*. They alſo wrote to the *prince of Wales* to mediate with his father. The *general aſſembly*, and the commiſſioners of the kirk of *Scotland*, ſent at the ſame time two angry letters, for (it was ſaid) *they* could ſpeak more plainly in the name of their *maſter*, than the commiſſioners of eſtates would venture to do in their own. But his majeſty was deaf to all remonſtrances and perſuaſions, being determined if his two houſes did not think fit to recede from the rigor of their demands in theſe particulars, to caſt himſelf (as he ſaid) on his *Saviour's* goodneſs to ſupport and defend him from all afflictions, how great ſoever which might befal him, rather than upon politic conſiderations deprive himſelf of the tranquillity of his mind; and therefore, excepting his majeſty's *conſent to licenſe the aſſembly's leſſer catechiſm with a proper preface*, in all other matters in difference he reſolved to abide by his former anſwers. *States of* Scotland *preſs the king's conſent.* Ruſhw. p. 1304. Clarend. p. 224. Ruſhw. p. 1326, 1334.

At the cloſe of the treaty the king made a ſhort ſpeech to the commiſſioners, in which he reminds them how far he had condeſcended for the ſake of peace. He deſired them to put a good interpretation on his vehement expreſſions on ſome part of the debates, there being nothing in his intentions but kindneſs; and that as they had uſed a great deal of freedom, and ſhewed great abilities in their debates, which had taken him off from ſome of his opinions, that they would uſe the ſame freedom with his two houſes, to preſs them to an abatement of thoſe things in which his conſcience was not yet ſatisfied, which more time might do, his opinions not being like the laws of the *Medes* and *Perſians* unalterable or infallible; adding his very hearty thanks for the pains they had taken to ſatisfy him, profeſſing that he wanted eloquence to commend their abilities. He deſired them candidly to repreſent all the tranſactions of the treaty to his two houſes, that they might ſee nothing of his own intereſt, how near or dear ſoever (but that wherein his conſcience is not ſatisfied) can hinder, on his part, an happy concluſion of the treaty. *King's ſpeech to the commiſſioners.* Vol. Pam. N° 83.

The king's conceſſions were certainly a ſufficient foundation for peace with the *presbyterians*, if they could have been relied upon, and were ſo voted by the parliament when it was too late. His majeſty had given *Remarks.*

K. Charles I. 1648.

up the main pillars of the hierarchy, by conſenting to aboliſh archbiſhops, deans, and chapters, and that a biſhop ſhould not act without his preſbyters; which was archbiſhop *Uſher's* ſcheme, and all that the *puritans* at firſt contended for; but the *ſcots* and *engliſh preſbyterians* grown lofty in power, and being leſs apprehenſive of danger from the army, than they ought, concluded they could not fail of their whole eſtabliſhment in a few weeks, though there was not the leaſt proviſion for *liberty of conſcience for diſſenters*, which they might have been ſenſible, would occaſion high diſcontents in the army. The commiſſioners were diſpoſed to an accommodation, and took all opportunities to aſſure his majeſty, that if he would but yield for a time, things ſhould be made eaſy to him afterwards. But the truth is, as the king would not truſt the parliament, ſo neither would they the king, becauſe they obſerved, (1.) His dilatorineſs in the treaty, as if he waited for ſome advantageous turn of affairs to revoke his conceſſions. (2.) His reſolute diſputing every inch of ground without yielding a ſingle propoſition, or none of any conſiderable moment. (3.) His majeſty's maxim, *that what was yielded out of neceſſity was not binding when the reſtraint was taken off.* (4.) They ſuſpected his ſincerity, becauſe the duke of *Ormond* was at this very time treating with the *iriſh* rebels by his majeſty's commiſſion, which he would not recal. (5.) They remembered his majeſty's artful manner of interpreting away his conceſſions. (6.) They gave out that he was not his own maſter, but that his conſcience was under the direction of his *divines*, who would put him upon all extreams for their ſupport. (7.) They were incenſed at the murders and depredations of the cavalier ſoldiers, even after they were beaten out of the field, and were afraid of their recovering the management of public affairs. And *laſtly*, They were as firmly perſuaded of the divine inſtitution of preſbytery, and the obligation of the *covenant*, as the king and his divines were of the *jus divinum* of epiſcopacy.

Clarend. p. 222.

Book XI. p. 217.

Yet under all theſe prepoſſeſſions, lord *Clarendon* obſerves ſome of the commiſſioners found means to advertiſe the king in private, "that they "were of his majeſty's judgment about church government, which they "hoped might be preſerved, but not by the method his majeſty purſued; "that all the reaſonable hope of preſerving the crown was in dividing the "parliament and the army, which could be done no other way than by "giving ſatisfaction with reference to the church. This might probably "unite the parliament and the city of *London*, and enable them to bring "his majeſty to *London* with honour, where he might have an opportunity "of gaining more abatements than he could ever expect by refuſing to "ſign the preliminaries. Many advertiſements came from his majeſty's "friends in *London*, and other places, that it was high time the treaty was

"at

" at an end, before the army drew nearer *London*, which it would ſhortly " do, as ſoon as thoſe in the north had finiſhed their works." Sir *J. Browning* entreated his majeſty in his cloſet, to make all his conceſſions in one declaration, at one inſtant, and in one day. The parliament commiſſioners were no leſs importunate with the king, but he was inflexible, and uſually out of humour. Remarkable are the words of Mr. *Whitlock*, ſpeaking of the abovementioned conceſſions; " More than this could " not be obtained, though moſt earneſtly begged of his majeſty by ſome " of the commiſſioners (great perſons) with tears, and upon their knees, " particularly as to the propoſition concerning *religion*, wherein church " government, public worſhip, and chiefly the revenues of the church, " ſwayed more with the *king's chaplains* then about him; and they more " with his majeſty (continually whiſpering matter of conſcience to him) " than the parliament, and all his commiſſioners, could prevail with him " for an agreement, though poſſibly his own judgment (which was above " all theirs) might not be ſo fully convinced by his eager divines about " him." But *theſe* had poſſeſſion of his majeſty's conſcience, and directed his anſwers; and though they abhorred the thoughts of depoſing the king, or putting him to death, it ought to be conſidered, whether their ſtiff and imprudent behaviour did not manifeſtly contribute to that *cataſtrophe*.

K. Charles I. 1648.

Whitl. Mem. p. 335, 336.

His majeſty being thus intangled, was pleaſed before the breaking up of the treaty, to ſend for archbiſhop *Uſher*, and aſked him this queſtion, *whether he found in all antiquity, that presbyters alone ordained any?* To which the archbiſhop replied frankly, that he could ſhew his majeſty more than that, *even that presbyters alone had ſucceſſively ordained biſhops*, and inſtanced in St. *Jerom's* words, in his *Epiſt. ad Evagrium*, where he ſays, the preſbyters of *Alexandria* choſe and made their own biſhops from the days of *Mark* the apoſtle till *Heraclus* and *Dionyſius*. At the ſame time the archbiſhop offered his majeſty his own ſcheme for the reduction of epiſcopacy to the form of preſbytery, which his majeſty had formerly rejected, but was now at length willing to accept, as the archbiſhop himſelf told Mr. *Baxter*; but the *ſcots* and *engliſh presbyterians* were grown ſo ſtubborn that they would not acquieſce.

Archbiſhop Uſher's *ſentiments.*

Baxter's life, p. 206.

Though the commiſſioners had no power to recede from their inſtructions, the treaty was prolonged from time to time in hopes that ſomething or other might gain upon the king; but his majeſty was frequently out of temper, and treated the commiſſioners with no degree of confidence. The forty days to which the treaty was limited being ended *Octob.* 28. it was enlarged for fourteen days, and then for ſeven, and ſo on to the 28th of *November*, for which (ſays lord *Clarendon*) his majeſty was nothing glad; nor did his friends in the houſe deſire the prolongation, it being moved by

Concluſion of the treaty.

p. 232.

K. Charles I. 1648.

thoſe that wiſhed the treaty might have no good effect, to give the army time to finiſh their ſummer's work, and return to *London*. On the laſt day of the treaty, when the *commiſſioners* preſſed his majeſty to conſider, that there was not one whole day to determine the fate of the kingdom, and that nothing could ſave his majeſty from the growing power of the army, but giving his two houſes ſatisfaction in the particular of the church,

Book XI. p. 227.

" then (ſays lord *Clarendon*) his majeſty's own council, and the divines, " beſought him to conſider the ſafety of his perſon, even for the church's " ſake, which had no proſpect of being preſerved but by his life, that the " unavoidable neceſſity that lay upon him obliged him to do any thing " that was not ſin." And why did they not do this ſooner? However it ſeems *they could not prevail for a ſuſpenſion of the epiſcopal power in point of ordination and juriſdiction, till he and the two houſes ſhould agree what government ſhould be eſtabliſhed for the future.* Which was the ſubſtance of all his majeſty intended by his conceſſions. After ſupper the *commiſſioners* took their leave, and having kiſſed his majeſty's hand, began their journey next morning towards *London*. 'Tis intrepid language that Mr. *Warwick* puts into the king's mouth on this occaſion: His majeſty ſaid to him one night, " I am like a captain that has defended " a place well, and his ſuperiors not being able to relieve him he had leave " to ſurrender it; but though they cannot relieve me in the time let them " relieve me when they can, elſe (ſays he) I will hold it out till I make ſome " ſtone in this building my tomb-ſtone; and ſo I will do by the church " of *England*."

Lord *Clarendon* is of opinion, " that the major part of both houſes, as " well as the *commiſſioners*, were at this time ſo far from deſiring the exe- " cution of all their conceſſions, that if they had been able to have reſiſt- " ed the wild fury of the army, they would themſelves have been ſuitors " to have declined the greateſt part of them." And were not the king's councellors and divines ſenſible of this? Why then did they trifle away a month in fruitleſs debates, when it was evident to all men that the king's condition became more deſperate every day? Thus ended the famous treaty at *Newport*, which like all the former proved unſucceſsful, chiefly from an incurable jealouſy between the contending parties, which how reaſonable it was on either ſide muſt be left with the reader.

King's letter to the prince.

The noble hiſtorian obſerves, that the king ſent the prince of *Wales* a journal of the proceedings of the treaty, and an exact copy of all the papers that had paſſed to the 29th of *November*, together with a letter of ſix ſheets of paper writ with his majeſty's own hand, containing the reaſons and motives of all his conceſſions. The concluſion of the letter, his lordſhip ſays, deſerves to be preſerved in letters of gold, as it gives the beſt character of that excellent prince; but the copy does not in my opinion,

reſemble the original. Some paſſages of it are theſe, " —— We have " laboured long in ſearch of peace, do not you be diſheartened to tread " in the ſame ſteps. — Preſer the way of peace — Conquer your enemies " by pardoning rather than by puniſhing —— Never affect more great- " neſs or prerogative than that which is really and intrinſically for the " good of your ſubjects, not the ſatisfaction of favourites. You may " perceive that all men entruſt their treaſure where it returns them intereſt. " If princes, like the ſea, receive, and repay all the freſh ſtreams the ri- " vers intruſt them with, they will not grudge, but pride themſelves to " make them up an ocean —— If God reſtore you to your right, what- " ever you promiſe keep —— Don't think any thing in this world worth " obtaining by falſe and unjuſt means ——." Theſe are excellent max- ims of government; and if his majeſty had conducted himſelf by them he could not have been reduced to ſuch a low and deſtitute condition, as to have hardly a place in the world to hide himſelf in; " for, ſays " lord *Clarendon*, there was at that time no court in chriſtendom ſo " honourably or generouſly conſtituted, that it would have been glad to " have ſeen him, and they who wiſhed him well, did not wiſh his " eſcape, becauſe they imagined impriſonment was the worſt that could " befal him."

K. Charles I. 1648. Book XI. p. 229. Clar. p. 231.

I am unwilling to ſuſpect the genuineneſs of this letter, though there were ſo many forgeries obtruded upon the world about this time to advance his majeſty's piety and virtue, that one can hardly feel the ground he treads on. If ſuch a letter was ſent to the *prince*, 'tis very ſtrange he ſhould never ſee it; or that his lordſhip, who lived in the prince's family, and extracted his account of the treaty of *Newport* from theſe papers (as he declares) ſhould never ſhew it his maſter; and yet theſe are the words of biſhop *Burnet*, in the *Hiſtory* of his *Life* and *Times*, " The duke of *York* " ſuffered me to talk very freely to him about religion, and he told me " among other things, that *the letter to the prince of* Wales *was never* " *brought to him.*"

Remarks. p. 51.

The army had been ſix months in the field this ſummer engaged againſt the *cavaliers* and *ſcots*, who being now reduced and ſubdued, they began to expreſs an high diſſatisfaction with the *preſent treaty*, becauſe no proviſion had been made for their darling point, *liberty of conſcience*. Here they had juſt reaſon of complaint, but ought not to have relieved themſelves by the methods, and at the expence they did. They were thorougly incenſed againſt the *king and his cavaliers* on one hand, and the *high presbyterians* on the other. It appeared to them, that the king's ſentiments in religion and politics were not changed; that he would always be raiſing new com- motions till things returned to their former channel; and in the preſent treaty he had yielded nothing but through conſtraint; and that when he was

The caſe of the army.

K. Charles I. 1648. was reſtored to his throne, after all the blood that had been ſhed, they ſhould neither be ſafe in their lives or fortunes. On the other hand, if *presbyterian uniformity* ſhould take place by virtue of the preſent treaty, their condition would be little mended; for (ſaid they) if the king himſelf cannot obtain liberty to have the *common-prayer* read privately in his own family, what muſt the *independents* and *ſectaries* expect? What have we been contending for, if after all the hazards we have run, *presbytery* is to be exalted, and we are to be baniſhed our country or driven into corners?

Their proceedings. While the reſentments of the army were thus inflamed, their officers who were *high enthuſiaſts*, though men of unblemiſhed morals, obſerved ſeveral days of faſting and prayer at their head quarters at St. *Alban's*, till at length in a kind of deſpair, and under the influence of a *religious phrenſy*, they entered upon the moſt deſperate meaſures, reſolving to aſſume the SOVEREIGN POWER into their own hands; to bring the king to juſtice; to ſet aſide the *covenant*; and change the government into a commonwealth. To accompliſh theſe monſtrous reſolutions, which were founded (as they alledged) upon SELF PRESERVATION, though proſecuted by meaſures ſubverſive not only of the rights of parliament, but of the fundamental laws of ſociety, the officers agreed upon a *remonſtrance*, which was preſented to the parliament by ſix of their council, *Nov.* 20. eight days before the expiration of the treaty with the king, together with a letter from general *Fairfax* to the houſe, deſiring it might have a preſent reading.

Their remonſtrance. The remonſtrance ſets forth the miſcarriages of the king's government; his double and dilatory proceedings in treaties, particularly in *that now on foot*; and then deſires the houſe to return to their votes of non-addreſſes; to lay aſide that bargaining propoſition of compounding with delinquents, and bring them to puniſhment; and among theſe offenders, they propoſe

Clarend. p. 236. Rapin, p. 549. "(1.) That the KING be brought to juſtice, as the capital cauſe of all. "(2.) That a day be ſet for the prince of *Wales* and duke of *York* to "ſurrender themſelves, or be declared incapable of the government; and "that for the future, no king be admitted but by the free election of the "people."

They ſeize the king's perſon a 2d. time. The commons upon reading this remonſtrance, were ſtruck with ſurprize, and being in the utmoſt conſternation, deferred the debate for ten days *i. e.* to the end of the treaty. But the officers being apprehenſive of what might happen in that time, ſent colonel *Ewer* to the *Iſle of Wight* with a party of horſe to ſecure the perſon of the king, and ordered colonel *Hammond* to quit the iſland, and attend the council of officers at their head quarters at *Windſor*; the king was ſecured the very day after the expiration of the treaty, and next morning [*Nov.* 30.] conveyd by a party of

of horſe to *Hurſt-Caſtle*, where he continued till he was conducted by colonel *Harriſon* to *Windſor*, in order to his trial. The ſame day the officers ſent a declaration to the houſe to enforce their late *remonſtrance*, complaining that they were wholly neglected, and deſiring the majority of the houſe to exclude from their councils ſuch as would obſtruct juſtice, or elſe withdraw from them. This occaſioned warm debates among the members, and a motion that the principal officers who had a ſhare in the remonſtrance might be impeached of high treaſon. Upon which the army marched directly to *London*, with general *Fairfax* at their head, who writ to the lord-mayor and common council, that he was marching to *Weſtminſter* in purſuance of the late remonſtrance, and deſired 40000 *l.* of the city in part of their arrears. *Dec.* 2. he quartered his troops about *Whitehall*, the *Mews*, *Covent-Garden*, and St. *James*'s, aſſuring the citizens, that they ſhould diſturb no man in his property.

K. Charles I. 1648. Ruſhw. p. 1341. Rapin, p. 555. Claren. p. 237. *They march to* London *and purge the parl.*

Though the houſes were now invironed with an armed force, they had the courage to vote, that the *ſeizing the perſon of the king, and carrying him priſoner to* Hurſt-Caſtle, *was without their advice and conſent*; and next day, after having ſat all night [*Dec.* 5.] it was carried without a diviſion, that *the king's conceſſions to the parliament's propoſitions were a ſufficient ground for the houſes to proceed upon for ſettling the peace of the kingdom*; two hundred forty-four members being preſent. But the officers being determined to carry their point, diſcharged the city trained bands, and placed a regiment of horſe and another of foot the very next day, at the door of the parliament houſe, and colonel *Pride* having a liſt of the diſſaffected members in his hand, took about forty of them into cuſtody, and denied entrance to about an hundred more, which determined ſeveral others to withdraw, inſomuch that the houſe of commons was left in the poſſeſſion of about one hundred and fifty or two hundred perſons, moſt of them officers of the army, who conducted every thing according to the plan concerted in their council at St. *Albans*. *Oliver Cromwell* was not yet arrived at *London* from his northern expedition, but writ from *Knottingſly*, *Nov.* 20. that the officers of his regiments were deeply ſenſible of the miſeries of the kingdom, and had a great zeal for impartial juſtice to be done on offenders, with whom he concurred. *December* 6. he came to *London*, and next day had the thanks of the houſe thus garbled for his faithful ſervices to the public. *December* 11. a paper called the AGREEMENT OF THE PEOPLE was preſented to the general and council of officers, as a rule for future government. 'Twas ſuppoſed to be drawn up by *Ireton*, and propoſed a diſſolution of the preſent parliament, and a new one to be choſen, conſiſting of four hundred members, who were to elect a *council of ſtate* from among themſelves, for the management of all pub-

Dugdale, p. 363.

K. Charles I. 1648.

public affairs, under certain reſtrictions; one of which is, that *they do not lay any reſtraints on the conſciences of men for religious differences* (as has been mentioned) but no proceedings were had upon it, nor did it ever take place.

Votes of the remainder of the houſe of commons.

In the mean time, the houſe of commons (if they now deſerved that name), voted his majeſty's conceſſions at the *Iſle of Wight* not *ſatisfactory*; and "that no member who had been abſent when that vote was paſſed, "ſhould ſit again in the houſe till he had ſubſcribed it; that no more "addreſſes be made to the king for the future, that no malignant, who "had aſſiſted againſt the parliament in the firſt or ſecond civil war, or "that had abetted the late tumults, ſhould be capable of being choſen "lord mayor or alderman of the city of *London*, or be capable of any "place of profit or truſt, or ſo much as of giving his vote for chooſing "perſons into ſuch offices, for the ſpace of one year." The ſecluded members publiſhed a proteſtation againſt all theſe proceedings as null and void, till they were reſtored to their places; but the lords and commons who remained in the houſes, voted their proteſtation falſe, ſcandalous, and ſeditious.

Rushw. p. 1360.

Ib. p. 1365.

Clarend. p. 240.

Who reſolve to try the king.

The army having vanquiſhed all oppoſition, went on with irreſiſtible violence to change the whole frame of government; and to make way for it, determined to impeach the king of high treaſon, as having been the cauſe of all the blood that had been ſpilt in the late war. This unheard of motion met with ſome oppoſition even in that *pack'd aſſembly*; *Oliver Cromwell* was in doubt, and ſaid "if any man moved this of choice "or deſign, he ſhould think him the greateſt TRAYTOR in the world; "but ſince PROVIDENCE and NECESSITY had caſt them upon it, he "ſhould pray God to bleſs their councils, though he was not provided "on the ſudden to give them advice." Some ſaid, there was no need to bring the king to a trial; others, that there was no law to try him, nor any judicatory to call him to account; but all this was over-ruled; and becauſe the *lords* rejected the ordinance for the king's trial, lord *Clarendon* tells us, they ſhut up their doors; but Mr. *Whitlock* ſays, they entered their houſe, and altho' ſeveral ordinances paſſed, the commons would not own them any longer. Thus the conſtitution was diſſolved, and all that enſued, muſt be conſidered as effected by the *military power*.

Rushw. p. 1363.

Rapin, p. 562.

Dugdale, p. 366.

p. 361.

Voice of the nation.

Tho' ſome few petitions had been procured from divers counties, and even from the common-council of *London*, *that juſtice might be done upon the authors of our troubles, and bloodſhed, in an exemplary way, and without reſpect of perſons*; yet the general voice of the nation was againſt ſuch violence, as appears by the petitions and proteſtations of all orders of people.

The

The prelatical clergy lay ſtill, either becauſe they could not aſſemble in a body, or becauſe they apprehended they could do no ſervice by appearing; but Dr. *Gauden*, afterwards biſhop of *Exeter*, publiſhed *a proteſtation againſt the declared purpoſes and proceedings of the army, and others, about trying and deſtroying our ſovereign lord the king*, dated *January* 5. and ſent it to a *colonel* to be preſented to lord *Fairfax* at the council of war. Dr. *Hammond* ſent *an humble addreſs alſo to the general and council of war, to prevent the horrid deſign of putting the king to death*, dated *Jan.* 15. Both theſe papers inſiſted on the *divine right* of kingly government, and that to call the king before the tribunal of the people, was contrary to the laws of the land. The famous Mr. *Prynne*, one of the ſecluded members, publiſhed *a brief memento to the preſent unparliamentary junto, touching their preſent intentions and proceedings to depoſe and execute* CHARLES STEWART, *their lawful king of* England, dated from the *King's Head* in the *Strand*, *Jan.* 1. 1648.

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Dr. Gauden *and Dr.* Hammond's *proteſtation.*

The officers of the army attempted by their creatures to gain over the *London* miniſters to their meaſures, or at leaſt to perſuade them to a neutrality. *Hugh Peters* one of their chaplains, was ſent to the remains of the *aſſembly of divines* at *Weſtminſter* for this purpoſe, but *they declared unanimouſly for the releaſe of the king.* He then invited ſeveral of the *London* miniſters, as Mr. *Marſhal*, *Calamy*, *Whitaker*, *Sedgwick*, *Aſh*, &c. to a conference with ſome officers of the army, upon the ſubject *of the coercive power of the magiſtrate in matters of religion*, which was foreign to the preſent purpoſe; but inſtead of meeting them, theſe divines aſſembled with their brethren at *Sion College*, and publiſhed a paper, intitled *a ſerious and faithful repreſentation of the judgment of the miniſters of the goſpel within the province of* London, *whoſe names are ſubſcribed, contained in a letter to the general, and his council of war, delivered to his excellency by ſome of the ſubſcribers*, Jan. 18. 1648.

And of the whole body of the preſbyterian *miniſters of* London.

In this addreſs, after aſſigning reaſons why they would not conſult with the officers upon matters of religion, they complain of their impriſoning the members of parliament; " we remember (ſay they) that " when the king with a multitude of armed men demanded but a ſmall " number of the members of parliament, it was deemed an unparallel'd " breach of the privilege of parliament, and was one reaſon that an army " was raiſed by their authority, and for their preſervation; but that this " very army ſhould ſo far exceed that act, which was then eſteemed " without parallel, is what we could not believe, had not our eyes been " witneſſes of it!

Fol. Pamp. N° 52.

" And though both houſes of parliament ſaw reaſon to take up arms " in their own defence, and in defence of the proteſtant religion, and the " fundamental laws of their country, yet this cannot be pleaded in juſti-

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" fication of your uſurping an authority over king and parliament, " who are but ſo many private perſons, and no part of the legiſlature.

" Moreover though the parliament took up arms in defence of the " laws, it was never their intention to do violence to the *perſon of the* " *king*, or diveſt him of his royal authority, much leſs to overthrow the " whole conſtitution.

" We therefore think ourſelves bound by our proteſtation, and by our " *ſolemn league and covenant*, to appear for our excellent conſtitution a- " gainſt arbitrary and tyrannical power in the king, on the one hand, and " againſt the illegal proceedings of private perſons, tending to ſubvert the " conſtitution, and introduce *anarchy* and *confuſion* on the other.

" Inſtead therefore of conſulting with you, we earneſtly entreat you, " as the ambaſſadors of Chriſt, that you would conſider of the evil of your " preſent ways, and turn from them. You cannot but know, that the " word of God commands obedience to magiſtrates, and conſonant to " ſcripture this hath been the judgment of proteſtant divines at home and " abroad, with whom we concur; diſclaiming, deteſting, and abhor- " ring the practices of jeſuits, concerning the oppoſing of lawful magiſ- " trates by any private perſons, and the murthering of *kings* by any, " though under the moſt ſpecious and colourable pretences. Examine " your conſciences, if any number of perſons of different principles from " yourſelves, had invaded the rights of parliament, impriſoned the king, " and carried him about from place to place, and attempted the diſſolution " of the whole government, whether you would not have charged them " with the higheſt crimes?

" We deſire you not to infer the juſtice of your proceedings from the " ſucceſs, but to diſtinguiſh between God's permiſſion and approbation, " and that God's ſuffering men to proſper in their evil courſes is one of " the ſevereſt judgments; the providence of God therefore, which is ſo " often pleaded in juſtification of your actions, is no ſafe rule to walk by, " in ſuch actions which the word of God condemns.

" Nor is it ſafe to be guided by the *impulſes of the ſpirit*, when they " are contrary to the written word of God; we are to try the ſpirits, and " to have recourſe to the law and the teſtimony, if they ſpeak not accor- " ding to them, there is no light in them.

" If you plead *neceſſity* for doing that which yourſelves confeſs to be " irregular, we anſwer, no neceſſity can oblige men to ſin; beſides, 'tis " apparent, you were under no neceſſity, the parliament (till forced by " you) being full and free; beſides, you have engaged by oath to pre- " ſerve his majeſty's perſon, and the privileges of parliament, and no ne- " ceſſity can juſtify perjury, or diſpenſe with lawful oaths.

" We

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" We therefore beſeech you to recede from this your evil way, and " learn *John Baptiſt*'s leſſon to ſoldiers, *do violence to no man, neither* " *accuſe any man falſly, and be content with your wages.* But if you " perſiſt in this way, *be ſure your ſin will find you out.* If our exhorta- " tion prevail not we have diſcharged our duty, and we hope delivered " our own ſouls. If it be our portion to ſuffer, as we are told, we truſt " we ſhall ſuffer as chriſtians; but we hope better things of you, and " ſubſcribe ourſelves your ſervants in the Lord."

James Nalton *paſtor* Foſter-lane,
Tho. Cawton St. Bartholomew Exchange,
John Fuller Biſhopſgate,
Fran. Roberts St. Auſtin,
W. Jenkin Chriſt Church,
Elidad Blackwel Alhall. Underſhaft,
William Harriſon Grace Church,
John Sheffield St. Swithins,
Matth. Haviland Trinity,
Geo. Smallwood Poultry,
Will. Taylor Coleman-ſtreet,
Chriſt. Love Alderſgate,
Rob. Mercer St. Brides,
Tho. Gataker Rotherhithe,
Geo. Walker St. J. Evang.
Arthur Jackſon M. Woodſtreet,
Char. Offspring St. Antholines,
Hen. Roborough Eaſt-cheap,
Nic. Profet Foſter-lane,
Tho. Caſe Milk-ſtreet,
Stanly Gower Ludgate,
Andrew Janeway Alhall. *on the* Wall,
Sam. Clark St. Bennet Fink,
Tho. Clendon Alh. Barkin,
John Wale St. M. Cornhill,
James Crawford St. Chriſt.
Ralph Robinſon *paſtor* St. Mary Woolnoth,
Will. Blackmore St. Peter Cornhill,
Fran. Peck St. Nic: Acorns,
Steph. Watkins St. Saviour Southwark,
Will. Wickers St. Andrew Hubbard,
John Wallis Ironmonger-lane,
Tho. Manton Stoke-Newington,
Tho. Gouge St. Sepulchres,
Tho. Watſon Walbrook,
Nath. Staniforth St. Mary Bothaw,
John Halk Alhallows *on the* Wall,
John Glaſcock St. Andrew Underſhaft,
Tho. Whately St. Mary Woolchurch,
Jacob Tice Billingſgate,
Jonat. Loyd Garlickhithe,
John Morton Newington-Butts,
Joſhua Kirby,
Arth. Barham St. Helens,
Benj. Needler St. Margaret Moſes,
John Wells St. Olave Jury,
Rob. Mathew St. Andrew Wardrobe.

Notwithſtanding this ſeaſonable and explicite remonſtrance, the epiſcopal divines in order to throw off all the guilt of the king's misfortunes from themſelves, who by their obſtinate behaviour had in reality reduced

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him to the laſt extremity, reſolved to fix it upon the *presbyterians*; as their ſucceſſors have done even till this day. It was therefore given out among the people, that the *presbyterians* had brought the king to the block, and that the *independents* would cut off his head. To wipe off this calumny, the *presbyterian* clergy publiſhed another paper, entitled *a vindication of the* London miniſters *from the unjuſt aſperſions caſt upon their former actings for the parliament, as if they had promoted the bringing the king to capital puniſhment.* It was addreſſed to the people, and after they had repeatedly declared their diſlike of the proceedings at *Weſtminſter* againſt the king, they conclude in words to this purpoſe, "therefore ac- "cording to our *covenant* we do, in the name of the great God, warn "and exhort all that belong to our reſpective charges, or to whom we "have adminiſtered the ſaid *covenant*, to abide by their vow, and not "ſuffer themſelves to be perſuaded to ſubſcribe the *agreement of the peo- "ple*, which is ſubverſive of the preſent conſtitution, and makes way "for the toleration of all hereſies and blaſphemies, and will effectually "divide the two kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland*. We earneſtly be- "ſeech them to mourn for the ſins of the parliament and city, and for "the miſcarriages of the king himſelf in his government, which have "caſt him down from his excellency into an horrid pit of miſery almoſt "beyond example; and to pray, that God would give him effectual re- "pentance, and ſanctify the bitter cup of divine diſpleaſure which di- "vine providence has put into his hands; and that God would reſtrain "the violence of men, that they may not dare to draw upon themſelves "and the kingdom *the blood of their ſovereign.*"

Their further vindication.

This was ſigned by fifty ſeven miniſters, among whom were the following nineteen, whoſe names were not to the above-mentioned repreſentation.

Corn. Burges, *D. D. at* St. Paul's,
Will. Gouge, *D. D.* Blackfriars,
Edm. Stanton, *D. D.* Kingſton,
Tho. Temple, *D. D.* Batterſea,
Edm. Calamy, *B. D.* Aldermanbury,
Jer. Whitaker St. Mary Magd. Bermondſey,
Dan. Cawdry St. Martin in the Fields,
William Spurſtow, *D. D.* Hackney,
Laz. Seaman Bread-ſtreet,
Simeon Aſh Baſſiſhaw,
Tho. Thoroughgood *of* Crayford,
Ed. Corbet Croydon,
John Viner Aldgate,
John Croſſe Friday-ſtreet,
Peter Witham St. Alban Wood-ſtreet,
John Stileman Rotherhithe,
Joſias Ball North Grey,
Jonathan Devereux, late *of* St. Andrew Holborn,
Paul Ruſſel Hackney.

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Behaviour of the independents. Vol. Pamp. p. 108.

It was not poſſible for the few *independent miniſters* in *London* to join the *preſbyterians* in theſe addreſſes, (1.) becauſe they were not poſſeſſed of parochial livings, nor members of the provincial aſſembly of *London*, nor admitted to their weekly conſultations at *Sion College*, but were a ſort of diſſenters from the public eſtabliſhment. (2.) Becauſe they did not believe themſelves ſo far bound by the *covenant* as to oppoſe a toleration, nor to ſupport any conſtitution that was not conſiſtent with chriſtian liberty, which the *preſbyterians* would not admit. None of their miniſters, that I know of, declared their approbation of the proceedings of the council of officers in the trial of the king, except Mr. *Hugh Peters*, and Mr. *John Goodwin*. Some of the *independent miniſters* in the country joined the *preſbyterians* in proteſting againſt it; thoſe of *Oxford* and *Northampton* of both denominations publiſhed their *humble advice and earneſt deſire*, preſented to general *Fairfax* and the council of war *Jan.* 25. ſubſcribed by nineteen or twenty names, in which they declare their utter diſapprobation of all proceedings againſt his majeſty's crown and life, as contrary to ſcripture, to the laws of the land, the *ſolemn league and covenant*, and tending to deſtroy the conſtitution, and involve the nation in a war with their neighbours—They declare their diſſent from the late violence upon the parliament—But with reference to religion they ſay, "though our ſouls abhor that grand deſign of the devil and his agents to decry all religious and zealous profeſſors under the names of "*ſectaries* and *independents*, we willingly grant, and heartily deſire, that "the intereſt of all godly and honeſt men may be carefully provided for, "and ſecured, as far as is conſiſtent with the word of God, our *covenant*, and the public peace; and that men of different apprehenſions in "matters of religion may not be utterly uncapable of all offices of power "and truſt, though we cannot agree to an *univerſal toleration*." They conclude with beſeeching the *general*, to ſuſpend all further proſecution againſt the king, and to endeavour a right underſtanding between the king, parliament and army; but if they cannot prevail, they deſire to waſh their hands of the blood of their *dread ſovereign*, and to approve themſelves innocent of all that confuſion and miſery, in which the depoſing and taking away his majeſty's life will involve them, their poſterity, and all men profeſſing godlineſs in the three kingdoms.

Each. hiſt. p. 654. Elench. not. narr. 1ma. p. 118.

It muſt be confeſſed, the *independents* were a ſort of malecontents, and had reaſon to be diſſatisfied with the treaty of *Newport*, becauſe they were not only excluded the *new eſtabliſhment*, but debarred of a *toleration*; and yet, as Mr. *Eachard* and Dr. *Bates* the phyſician obſerve, ſeveral of them joined with their brethren in declaring againſt the deſign of putting the king to death, in their ſermons from the pulpit, in conferences, monitory letters, petitions, proteſtations, and public remonſtrances.

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And of the Scots.

The *ſcots* kirk, by their commiſſioners, declared and proteſted againſt the putting the king to death, as abſolutely inconſiſtent with their *ſolemn league and covenant*. They publiſhed a *proteſtation*, directed to the miniſters of the province of *London* meeting at *Sion College*, *Jan.* 25. 1648-9. with a letter, exhorting them to courage and conſtancy in their oppoſition to the proceeding of the houſe of commons, and to an *univerſal toleration*.

Proceedings of the army and parliament. Rapin, p. p. 568.

Sundry foreign princes and ſtates, by their ambaſſadors, interceeded for the king; ſome from their reſpect to his perſon, and others from a regard to the honour that was due to crowned heads. But it was impoſſible to ſtop the impetuous wildfire of the army, who having brought the king from *Hurſt-Caſtle* to *Windſor*, obtained a vote in the parliament (if we may ſo call it) that all ceremonies due to a *crowned head* be laid aſide; and then came to the following reſolutions, *Jan.* 4. Firſt, *that the people under God are the original of all juſt power.* Secondly, *that the houſe of commons are the ſupream power of the nation.* Thirdly, *that whatever is declared for law by the commons in parliament is valid, though the conſent of the king and houſe of peers be not had thereto.* The houſe of lords, which was reduced to ſixteen peers, having unanimouſly rejected the ordinance of the commons for the king's trial, and adjourned for a fortnight, the commons reſolved to act without them, and having named a committee of thirty eighty perſons to receive informations, and draw up a charge againſt the king, they conſtituted a *high court of juſtice* for his trial, conſiſting of one hundred forty five perſons, of whom twenty or more might proceed to buſineſs; but *not above one half* would act under this authority; Mr. Serjeant *Bradſhaw* was preſident; Mr. *Cook* ſolicitor-general; and Mr. *Steel*, Mr. *Doriſlaus*, and Mr. *Aſke*, were to ſupport the charge. The form of proceſs being ſettled by the commiſſioners, the king who had been conducted to St. *James*'s, *Jan.* 15. appeared before his judges in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, the firſt time, on *Saturday Jan.* 20. when being ſeated at the bar in a chair of crimſon velvet, and covered, as were all his judges, Mr. *Cook* the ſolicitor exhibited a charge of high treaſon againſt him, which being read, the king, inſtead of pleading to the charge, excepted to the juriſdiction of the court, which was overruled, the *preſident* replying, that they would not ſuffer their authority to be diſputed, and therefore required the king to think better of it againſt *Monday*, but his majeſty perſiſting in his refuſal to plead both on *Monday* and *Tueſday*, the clerk was ordered to record the default; *Wedneſday* the court ſat in the *painted chamber*, and examined witneſſes againſt the king; *Thurſday* and *Friday* they conſulted how to proceed; and on *Saturday* his majeſty was brought the laſt time to the bar, when perſiſting to diſown the juriſdiction of the court, he deſired to be heard in the *painted chamber* by the lords and commons, but his requeſt was denied, and the *preſi-*

The king's trial and execution.

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dent pronounced ſentence of death againſt him as a traytor, fifty nine being preſent, and ſignifying their concurrence by *ſtanding up*, as had been agreed. Sundry indignities and inſults were offered to the king by the ſoldiers, as he paſſed along *Weſtminſter-Hall*, but the far greater number of people deplored his unhappy condition. *Tueſday Jan.* 30. being appointed for his execution his majeſty was offered the aſſiſtance of Mr. *Calamy*, *Vines*, *Caryl*, *Dell* and *Goodwin*, but he refuſed them, and choſe Dr. *Juxon* biſhop of *London*, who according to biſhop *Burnet*, performed his office with ſuch a dry coldneſs as could not raiſe the king's devotion. On the fatal day, he was conducted on foot by a ſtrong guard through St. *James's Park* to a ſcaffold erected in the open ſtreet before the *banqueting-houſe* at *Whitehall*, where he made a ſhort ſpeech to the people, in which he makes no acknowledgment of the miſtakes of his government, but declared himſelf a martyr for the laws and liberties of the people; after which he laid down his head on the block, which was ſevered from his body at one blow by ſome bold executioner in a maſk, in the forty-ninth year of his age, and twenty-fourth of his reign. His body was interred privately at *Windſor Feb.* 28th. following, without ceremony, and with no other inſcription on the coffin, than KING CHARLES, 1648. K. Charles I. 1648.

The reader will collect the character of this unfortunate prince rather from the preceeding facts, than from the keen reflections of his determined enemies, or the flattering encomiums of his friends and admirers, which latter in their anniverſary ſermons, have almoſt equalled his ſufferings with thoſe of our bleſſed ſaviour. It muſt be admitted, that king *Charles* I. was ſober, temperate, chaſte, an enemy to debauchery and lewdneſs, and very regular in his devotions. But theſe excellent qualities were ballanced with ſome of a very different nature; his temper was diſtant and reſerved to a fault; he was far from being generous, and when he beſtowed any favour did it in a very diſagreeable and uncourtly manner; his judgment in affairs of government was weak and unſteady, and generally under the direction of a favourite. In his treaties with the parliament, he was chargeable with great inſincerity, making uſe of evaſive and ambiguous terms, the explication of which he reſerved for a proper place and ſeaſon. He had lofty notions of the abſolute power of princes, and the unlimited obedience of ſubjects; and tho' he was very ſcrupulous about his *coronation oath* in regard to the church, he ſeems to have paid little attention to it as it reſpected the *laws and liberties of his ſubjects*, which he lived in the conſtant violation of for fifteen years. He was a perfect dupe to his queen, who had too much the direction of public affairs both in church and ſtate; no wonder therefore that he had a determined averſion to the *puritans*, and leaned ſo much to the pomp and ceremony *His character.* Clarend. hiſt. p. 430.

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ceremony of the church of *Rome*, that though a proteſtant in judgment he was for meeting the papiſts half way, and for eſtabliſhing one motley religion throughout *Great Britain*, in which both parties might unite. He told Dr. *Sanderſon*, that if God ever reſtored him to his crown, he would go bare foot from the *Tower of London*, or *Whitehall*, to St. *Paul*'s, by way of penance, for conſenting to the earl of *Strafford*'s death, and to the aboliſhing of epiſcopacy in *Scotland*, and deſire the people to intercede with God for his pardon. Such was his majeſty's ſuperſtition! Upon the whole, though king *Charles* I. had virtues that might have rendered him amiable as a private gentleman, his foibles were ſo many as entitle him to the character of a very weak and impolitic prince; far from appearing truly great in any one ſcene of his whole life except the laſt. Mr. *Coke* ſays, he was wilful, and impatient of contradiction; his actions ſudden and inconſiderate, and his councils without ſecrecy. He would never confeſs any of his irregularities in government, but juſtified them all to his death. If any gave him advice contrary to his inclination, he would never be friends with him again. He was unaffable, and difficult of addreſs, requiring ſuch ſtrained ſubmiſſions as were not uſual to his predeceſſors. The ſincerity of his promiſes and declarations were ſuſpected by his friends as well as enemies, ſo that he fell a ſacrifice to his arbitrary principles, the beſt friends of the *conſtitution* being afraid to truſt him. Biſhop *Burnet* adds, "that he affected in his behaviour the ſolemn "gravity of the court of *Spain*, which was ſullen even to moroſeneſs; "this led him to a grave reſerved deportment, in which he forgot the civi- "lities and affabilities which the nation naturally loved; nor did he, "in his outward deportment, take any pains to oblige any per- "ſons whatſoever. He had ſuch ſuch an ungracious way of ſhewing "a favour, that themanner of beſtowing it was almoſt as mortifying "as the favour was obliging. He loved high and rough meaſures, "but had neither ſkill to conduct them, nor height of genius to manage "them. He hated all that offered prudent and moderate counſels, "and even when it was neceſſary to follow ſuch advices he hated "thoſe that gave them. His whole reign, both in peace and war, was "a continued ſeries of errors, ſo that it does not appear that he had a "true judgment of things. He was out of meaſure ſet upon following "his humour, but unreaſonably feeble to thoſe whom he truſted, chiefly "to the *queen*, and (it may be added alſo) to the clergy. He had a "high notion of the regal power, and thought that every oppoſition to it "was *rebellion*. He minded little things too much, and was more con- "cerned in drawing up a paper than in fighting a battle. He had a firm "averſion to popery, but was much inclined to a middle way between "proteſtants and papiſts, by which he loſt one without gaining the other. "At his death he ſhewed a calm and compoſed firmneſs which amazed "all

Life of Sanderſon.

Detect. p. 336.

His life, p. 47.

" all people, and ſo much the more, becauſe it was not natural to him, " and was therefore by his friends imputed to an extraordinary meaſure of " ſupernatural aſſiſtance." K. Charles I. 1648.

After his majeſty's death, the epiſcopal clergy did all they could to canonize him for a *martyr*; they printed *his ſayings, his prayers, his meditations, and forms of devotion under his ſufferings*, and drew his *pourtrait* in the moſt devout and heavenly attitude. His works conſiſting of ſundry declarations, remonſtrances, and other papers, have been publiſhed in a moſt pompous and elegant form; among which *one* is of very ſuſpected authority, if not abſolutely ſpurious, I mean his Εικὼν Βασιλικὴ, i. e. *Eikoon Baſilikè, or the portraiture of his ſacred majeſty in his ſolitude and ſufferings*, ſaid to be written with the king's own hand: It was firſt printed in the year 1649. and paſſed through fifty editions in divers languages within twelve months. No book ever raiſed the king's reputation ſo high as this, which obliged the new *council of ſtate* to employ the celebrated *Milton* to deſtroy its credit, which he attempted in a treatiſe under the title of Εικὼνο Κλάςης [*Eikono Claſteſe*] or an anſwer to a book entitled *Eikoon Baſilikè*, printed by *Du Garde* 1652. but the fraud was not fully detected till ſome years after. *His works.*

The grounds and evidences of the ſpuriouſneſs of this book are theſe, 1. That lord *Clarendon*, in his hiſtory of the *grand rebellion*, makes no mention of it. 2. Biſhop *Burnet* ſays, the duke of *York* afterwards king *James* II. told him in the year 1673. that the book called *Eikoon Baſilikè* was not of his father's writing, but that Dr. *Gauden* writ it; that after the reſtoration, the doctor brought the duke of *Somerſet* to the king and to the duke of *York*, who both affirmed, they knew it to be his [the doctor's] writing, and that it was carried down by the earl of *Southampton*, and ſhewed the king during the treaty of *Newport*, who read and approved it. 3. The earl of *Angleſey* gave it under his hand, that king *Charles* II. and the duke of *York* declared to him in the year 1675. that they were very ſure the ſaid book was not written by the king their father, but by Dr. *Gauden* biſhop of *Exeter*. 4. Dr. *Gauden* himſelf after the reſtoration, pleaded the merit of this performance in a letter to lord chancellor *Hyde*, who returned for anſwer, that the particular he mentioned [*i. e.* of his being the author of that book] was communicated to him as a ſecret; I am ſorry (ſays his lordſhip) that it was told me, for when it ceaſes to be a ſecret it will pleaſe no body but Mr. *Milton*. 5. Dr. *Walker* a clergyman of the church of *England*, after invoking the great God, the ſearcher of hearts, to witneſs to the truth of what he declares, ſays, in his treatiſe entitled *A true Account of the Author of Eikoon Baſilikè*, " I know and believe the book was written by Dr. *Gau-* " *den*, except *chap.* 16th. and 24th. by Dr. *Duppa*. Dr. *Gauden* (ſays he)

Εικὼν Βασιλικὴ *a ſpurious performance.* Vide Bayle's Dict. Title Milton. His Life, p. 51.

Crit. Hiſt. 191.

K. Charles I. 1648.

Crit. Hiſt. p. 189. Hiſt. Stuarts, p. 283.

" he) acquainted me with his deſign, and ſhewed me the heads of ſeveral chapters, and ſome of the diſcourſes. Some time after the king's " death I aſked him, whether his majeſty had ever ſeen the book? He " replied, I know it certainly no more than you; but I uſed my beſt endeavours that he might, for I delivered a copy of it to the marquis " of *Hertford*, when he went to the treaty of the *Iſle of Wight*——" Dr. *Gauden* delivered the *MS.* to this *Walker*, and *Walker* carried it to the preſs; it was copied by Mr. *Gifford*, and both the doctor's ſon and his wife affirm, that they believe it was written in the houſe where they lived.

Notwithſtanding all this evidence Mr. archdeacon *Eachard* ſays, the book is inconteſtably the king's; and biſhop *Kennet* adds, that thoſe who pretend *Eikoon Baſilikè* was a ſham put upon the world, are a ſet of men that delight to judge and execute the royal martyr over again by murdering his name. Dr. *Hollingworth*, *Dugdale*, *Wagſtaffe*, and others, have endeavoured to invalidate the abovementioned authorities, by ſhewing that Dr. *Gauden* was not capable of writing ſuch a book; but ſurely the evidence already produced, is as ſtrong and convincing as any thing of this nature can poſſibly be.

Books publiſhed for and againſt the king's death.

The king's trial and execution in ſuch an illegal and unheard of manner, ſtruck the whole chriſtian world with aſtoniſhment. The prince of *Wales*, then in *Holland*, encouraged the learned *Salmaſius* to write a latin treatiſe, entitled *Defenſio Regia*, or a *Defence of King* Charles I. *dedicated to his Son* Charles II. which was anſwered by *Milton*, in a book entitled *Defenſio pro populo* Anglicano, or a *Defence of the people of* England, writ in an elegant but ſevere ſtile. This book, ſays Mr. *Bayle*, made the author's name famous over all the learned world. Another performance appeared about the ſame time, entitled *Clamor Regii Sanguinis ad Cælum*; or, *The Cry of the King's Blood to Heaven.* It was writ in *latin* by *Peter du Moulin* jun. and anſwered by *Milton* in the ſame language. But to ſatisfy the *engliſh* reader, Mr. *John Goodwin* publiſhed a ſmall treatiſe, which he called *A Defence of the Sentence paſſed upon the late king by the High Court of Juſtice——wherein the juſtice and equity of the ſaid ſentence is demonſtratively aſſerted, as well from clear texts of ſcripture as principles of reaſon, grounds of law, authorities and precedents, as well foreign as domeſtic*; a very weak and inconluſive performance! for admitting our author's principles, that *the original of government is from the people, and that magiſtrates are accountable to them for their adminiſtration*, they are not applicable to the preſent caſe, becauſe the officers of the army had neither the voice of the people, nor of their repreſentatives in a free parliament; the houſe of commons was purged, and the houſe of peers diſperſed, in order to make way for this outrage upon the conſtitution,

tion. Our author was ſo ſenſible of this objection, that in order to evade it, he advances this ridiculous concluſion, that *though the erecting an high court of juſtice* BY THE HOUSE OF COMMONS ALONE *be contrary to the* LETTER, *yet it being for the people's good it is ſufficient that it is agreeable to the* SPIRIT *of the law.* But who gave a few officers of the army authority to judge what was for the *people's good*, or to act according to the *ſpirit* of a law in contradiction to the *letter?* This would expoſe every man's life and eſtate to the will and pleaſure of an arbitrary tyrant, and introduce a *rule of government* ſo juſtly complained of in the former part of this reign, in oppoſition to a *rule of law.* The preſident *Bradſhaw*, in his ſpeech at pronouncing ſentence, goes upon the ſame general topics, that *the people are the origin of civil power*, which they transfer to their magiſtrates under what limitations they think fit, and *that the king himſelf is accountable to them for the abuſe of it*; but if this were true, it is not to the preſent purpoſe, becauſe as has been obſerved, the *king's judges* had not the conſent of the people of *England* in their diffuſive or collective capacity. His majeſty's own reaſons againſt this *high court of juſtice*, which he would have given in court, if he might have been heard, are in my opinion, a ſufficient anſwer to all that can be ſaid on the other ſide. K. Charles I. 1648. p. 20.

"—— Admitting, but not granting (ſays his majeſty) that the peo-
" ple of *England*'s commiſſion could grant your pretended power, I ſee
" nothing you can ſhew for that, for certainly you never aſked the queſtion
" of the tenth man of the kingdom; and in this way you manifeſtly
" wrong even the pooreſt plough-man, if you demand not his free con-
" ſent; nor can you pretend any colour for this your pretended commiſ-
" ſion without conſent, at leaſt of the major part of the people of *Eng-*
" *land*, of whatſoever quality or condition, which I am ſure you never
" went about to ſeek, ſo far are you from having it —— Nor muſt I
" forget the privileges of both houſes of parliament, which this day's
" proceedings do not only violate, but likewiſe occaſion the greateſt
" breach of the public faith that I believe ever was heard of, with which
" I am far from charging the two houſes —— Then for any thing I can
" ſee, the higher houſe is totally excluded; and for the houſe of com-
" mons it is too well known, that the major part of them are detained,
" or deterred from ſitting —— And after all, how the houſe of com-
" mons can erect a *court of judicature*, which was never one itſelf,
" as is well known to all lawyers, I leave to God and the world to
" judge. ——"

King *Charles* therefore died by the hands of violence, or by the *military ſword*, aſſumed and managed in an arbitrary manner by a few deſperate officers and their dependents, of ſundry denominations as to religion, *Authors of the king's death.*

K. Charles I. 1648.

gion, without any regard to the ancient conſtitution of their country, or the fundamental laws of ſociety; for by the former, the king cannot be tried for his life before any inferior court of juſtice; nor could they feign any pretence for the latter, without the expreſs conſent of the majority of the nation, in their perſonal or repreſentative capacities, which theſe gentlemen never pretended. But ſince all parties have endeavoured to throw off the odium of this *fatal event* from themſelves, it may not be improper to ſet before the reader the ſentiments of our beſt hiſtorians upon this head, leaving every one to draw what concluſion from them he pleaſes.

Of the king and his divines. Wh. Mem. p. 335. Coke's Detect. p. 331, 332.

Not to inſiſt upon the king's ſervile fondneſs for his queen and her friends; his reſolute ſtiffneſs for his old principles of government in church and ſtate; his *untimely* and ungracious manner of yielding to what he could not avoid; his diſtant and reſerved behaviour towards thoſe who were only capable of ſerving him, and his manifeſt doubling between the parliament and army, which ſome very reaſonably apprehend were the principal cauſes of all his misfortunes, Mr. *Whitlock* and Mr. *Coke* lay a good deal of blame on his majeſty's chaplains; the *latter* reproaches them with inſiſting peremptorily to the laſt upon the divine right of epiſcopacy; and the *former* for continual whiſpering in the king's ears the importance of preſerving the revenues of the church to the hazard of his perſon and kingdom; and ſurely if *theſe warm and eager divines* could have diſentangled his majeſty's conſcience (which Mr. *Whitlock* apprehends was not fully ſatisfied), as ſoon as the cavaliers had been diſperſed, and the *ſcots* beaten out of the field, the miſchief that followed might have been prevented. I will not take upon me to ſay how far their influence might reach, tho' his majeſty's profound deference to their judgment was notorious; but the conviction does not ſeem impracticable, when it is remembered the king was of opinion, that *what he yielded through the neceſſity of his affairs was not binding when he ſhould be at liberty*; but neither his majeſty nor his clergy foreſaw the iſſue.

Of the preſbyterians.

Moſt of the writers on the king's ſide, as well the *preachers* ſince the reſtoration, in their anniverſary ſermons, have with great injuſtice charged the *presbyterians with bringing the king to the block*, contrary to the ſtrongeſt and moſt convincing evidence; for though their ſtiffneſs for the *divine right of preſbytery*, and their antipathy to *liberty of conſcience*, is not to be vindicated, yet I apprehend enough has been ſaid in the foregoing pages, to clear them from this unrighteous charge; if the zeal of the *presbyterians* for their *diſcipline* and *covenant* was culpable, the behaviour of the king and his divines in the oppoſition was no leſs ſo, conſidering he was a priſoner, and in the hands of a victorious parliament; neither ſide were ſenſible of the danger till it was too late, but when the ſtorm was ready to

burſt

burſt on their heads, I do not ſee what men could do more in their circumſtances to divert it, than the *presbyterians* did; they preached and prayed, and proteſted againſt it in the moſt public manner; many of them reſigned their preferments becauſe they would not take the *engagement* to the new commonwealth; they groaned under all the ſucceeding changes of government, and had a principal ſhare in the reſtoration of the *royal family* in the year 1660. without which theſe *anniverſary declaimers* would never have had an opportunity of pelting them with their eccleſiaſtical artillery, in the unwarrantable manner they have done. K. Charles I. 1648.

Of the independents.

The forementioned writers, together with Mr. *Rapin*, in his late hiſtory of *England*, load the *independents* as a religious ſect, with all the guilt of *cutting off the king's head*; and with being in a plot from the commencement of the civil war, to deſtroy equally king, monarchy, epiſcopacy, and preſbyterianiſm; but this laſt named writer not being acquainted with their religious principles conſtantly confounds the *independents* with the *army*, which was compounded of a number of ſectaries, the majority of whom were not of that *denomination*. There were no doubt among the *independents*, as well as among other parties, men of *republican principles*, who had a large ſhare in the reproach of this day; but beſides what has been obſerved, of ſome of their number joining with the *preſbyterians* in proteſting againſt the king's execution, the *divines of this perſwaſion* had no difference with the *preſbyterians*, or *moderate epiſcopalians*, about forms of civil government; the leading officers would have contributed their part toward reſtoring his majeſty to his throne, when he was with the army, upon more equal terms than ſome other of his adverſaries, had they not diſcovered his deſigns to ſacrifice them when it ſhould be in his power. In their laſt propoſitions they conſented to the reſtoring the king, upon the foot of a toleration for themſelves and the epiſcopal party; leaving the *presbyterians* in poſſeſſion of the eſtabliſhment. Both *Whitlock* and *Welwood* obſerve, that at the very time of the king's trial the *prevailing party* were not determined what form of government to ſet up, "many having thoughts of making the duke of *Glouceſter* "king;" which his majeſty being informed of, forbid the duke, in his laſt interview, to accept the crown while his elder brothers were living. And though Mr. *Rapin* ſays, that after the force put upon the members of parliament on the 6th and 7th of *December*, *the houſe conſiſted of none but* independent *members*, 'tis certain to a demonſtration, that there were then remaining in the houſe men of all parties, *epiſcopalians*, *preſbyterians*, *independents*, *anabaptiſts*, and others; ſo little foundation is there for this writer's concluſion, that the *independents* and THESE ONLY, put the king to death.

Mem. p. 99.

p. 563.

K. Charles I. 1648.

Dr. *Lewis du Moulin* hiſtory profeſſor in *Oxford*, who lived through theſe times, ſays, "that no party of men, as a religious body, were the "actors of this tragedy, but that it was the contrivance of an army, "which like that of king *David's* in the wilderneſs, was a medly or "collection of all parties that were diſcontented; ſome *courtiers*, ſome "*presbyterians*, ſome *epiſcopalians*; few of any ſect, but moſt of none, or "elſe of the religion of *Tho. Hobbes* and Dr. *Scarborough*; not to mention "the *papiſts*, who had the greateſt hand in it of all." The ſame learned profeſſor, in his book intitled *The Conformity of the* Independent *diſcipline with that of the* primitive Chriſtians, publiſhed 1680. had a chapter intitled, *An Anſwer to thoſe who accuſe the* Independents *for having an immediate hand in the death of king* CHARLES I. but the times were ſuch, that the author was adviſed not to publiſh it.

Sentiments of Dr. Du Moulin. Vind. Prot. Relig. p. 53, 59.

Of Mr. Baxter. Baxter's Life, p. 63.

Mr. *Baxter* ſays, "Many that minded no ſide in religion, thought it "was no policy to truſt a conquered king, and therefore were wholly for "a parliamentary government without a king; of theſe (ſays he) ſome "were for an *ariſtocracy*, and others for a *democracy*, and ſome thought "they ought to judge the king for all the blood that had been ſhed; the "*vaniſts*, the *independents*, and other ſects, with the *democratical party*, "being left by *Cromwell* to do the buſineſs under the name of the parliament of *England*."

Bp. Burnet. Hiſt. Life *and* Times. Vol. I. p. 46, 47.

Biſhop *Burnet* ſays, that "*Ireton* was the perſon that drove it on, for "*Cromwell* was all the while in ſuſpenſe about it; *Ireton* had the principles "and temper of a *Caſſius*, he ſtuck at nothing that might turn *England* "into a commonwealth; *Fairfax* was much diſtracted in his mind, "and changed purpoſes every day; *the* preſbyterians, *and the body of the* "*city were much againſt it, and were every day faſting and praying for* "*the king's preſervation.* There were not above eight thouſand of the "army about the town, but thoſe were the moſt engaged in enthuſiaſm, "and were kept at prayer in their way almoſt day and night, except when "they were upon duty, ſo that they were wrought up to a pitch of fury "which ſtruck terror into all people."

Of the papiſts.

Part III. p. 168.

Mr. *Eachard* and ſome others, are of opinion, that great numbers of *papiſts*, under hopes of liberty of conſcience, or of deſtroying epiſcopacy, joined with foreign prieſts and jeſuits againſt the king. The celebrated author of *Foxes and Firebrands* has this remarkable paſſage; "Let all true "proteſtants, who deſire ſincerely to have an happy union, recollect what "a blemiſh the emiſſaries of *Rome* have caſt upon thoſe proteſtants named "*presbyterian* and *independent*, *Rome* ſaying the *presbyterians* brought "*Charles* the firſt's head to the block, and *independents* cut it off; whereas "*it is certain, that the members and clergy of* Rome, *under diſſenting ſhapes*,

con-

" *contrived this murder.* Nay the good king himſelf was informed, that " the jeſuits in *France*, at a general meeting, reſolved to bring him to juſ- " tice, and to take off his head by the power of their friends in the army." *K.* Charles I. 1648.

Biſhop *Bramhall* in a letter to archbiſhop *Uſher*, dated *July* 20. 1654. adds, " Thus much to my knowledge have I ſeen and heard, ſince my " leaving your lordſhip, which I myſelf could hardly have credited had " not mine eyes ſeen ſure evidence of the ſame *(viz.)* that when the " *romiſh* orders which were in diſguiſe in the parliament army, writ to " their ſeveral convents, and eſpecially to the *Sorboniſts*, about the law- " fulneſs of taking away the king's life, it was returned by the *Sorboniſts*, " that it was lawful for any *roman* catholic to work a change in govern- " ments for the mother church's advancement, and chiefly in an heretical " kingdom, and ſo, lawful to make away with the king." Mr. *Prynne* adds, " that Mr. *Henry Spotſwood* ſaw the queen's confeſſor on horſeback " among the crowd in the habit of a trooper, with his drawn ſword " flouriſhing it over his head in triumph, as others did, when the king's " head was juſt cut off; and being aſked how he could be preſent at ſo " ſad a ſpectale, anſwered, there were above forty more prieſts and jeſuits " there beſides himſelf, and when the fatal blow was given he flouriſhed " his ſword and ſaid, *now the greateſt enemy we have in the world is* " *dead!*" But this ſtory does not ſeem to me very probable, nor is it eaſy to believe that the papiſts ſhould triumph in the death of a king, who was their friend and protector in proſperity, and whoſe ſufferings are in a great meaſure chargeable upon his too great attachment to their intereſts.

Ib p. 168, 169.

Neceſſ. Vind. p. 45.

Fox *and* Firebrand, Part II. p. 86.

But the ſtrongeſt and moſt unexceptionable teſtimony, is *the act of attainder of the king's judges paſſed upon the reſtoration of king* Charles II. the preamble to which ſets forth, " that the execrable murder of his royal " father was committed by a party of wretched men deſperately wicked, " and hardened in their impiety, who having firſt plotted and contrived " the ruin of this excellent monarchy, and with it of the true proteſtant " religion, which had long flouriſhed under it, found it neceſſary, in or- " der to carry on their pernicious and traiterous deſigns, to throw down all " the bulwarks and fences of law, and to ſubvert the very being and con- " ſtitution of parliament —— And for the more eaſy effecting their at- " tempts on the perſon of the king himſelf, *they firſt ſeduced ſome part of* " *the then army into a compliance, and then kept the reſt in ſubjection partly* " *for hopes of preferment, and chiefly for fear of looſing their employments* " *and arrears*, till by theſe, and other more odious arts and devices, they " had fully ſtrengthened themſelves in power and faction; which being " done, they declared againſt all manner of treaties with the perſon of " the

Sentiments of the convention parliament. 12 Car. II. chap. 30.

K. Charles I. 1648.

" the king, while a treaty with him was ſubſiſting; they remonſtranced " againſt the parliament for their proceedings; they ſeized upon his royal " perſon while the commiſſioners were returned to *London* with his an- " ſwers, which were voted a ſufficient foundation for peace; they then ſe- " cluced and impriſoned ſeveral members of the houſe of commons, and " *then there being left but a ſmall number of their own creatures (not a* " *tenth part of the whole) they ſheltered themſelves under the name and au-* " *thority of a parliament, and in that name prepared an ordinance for the* " *trial of his majeſty*; which being rejected by the *lords* they paſſed alone " in the name of the commons of *England*, and purſued it with all poſ- " ſible force and cruelty till they murdered the king, before the gates of his " own palace. Thus (ſay they) the *fanatic rage of a few miſcreants*, " who were neither true proteſtants nor good ſubjects, ſtands imputed by " our adverſaries to the whole nation; we therefore renounce, abominate, " and proteſt againſt it ——"

If this be a true ſtate of the caſe, it is evident from the higheſt authority in this kingdom, that the king's death was not chargeable upon any religious party, or ſect of chriſtians; nor upon the people of *England* aſſembled in a free parliament, but upon the *council of officers and agitators*, who having become deſperate by the reſtleſs behaviour of the *cavaliers*, and ill conduct of the ſeveral parties concerned in the treaty of *Newport*, plotted the overthrow of the king and conſtitution, and accompliſhed it by an act of *lawleſs violence*; that it was only a ſmall part of the army who were ſeduced into a compliance, and theſe kept the reſt in ſubjection till the others had executed their deſperate purpoſes; ſo that though the wiſdom of the nation has thought fit to perpetuate the memory of this fatal day by an anniverſary faſt, as *that which may be inſtructive both to princes and ſubjects*, yet if we may believe the declaration of his majeſty at his trial, or of the act of parliament which reſtored his family, the king's murder was not the act of the people of *England*, nor of their legal repreſentatives, and therefore ought not to be lamented as a national ſin.

CHAP.

THE HISTORY OF THE PURITANS.

PART II.

CHAPTER I.

From the death of king CHARLES I. *to the coronation of king* CHARLES II. *in* Scotland.

UPON the death of the late king, the legal conſtitution was diſſolved, and all that followed till the reſtoration of king *Charles* II. was no better than an *uſurpation* under different ſhapes; the houſe of commons, if it may deſerve that name, after it had been purged of a third part of its members, relying upon the *act of continuation*, called themſelves the *ſupreme authority of the nation*, and began with an act to diſinherit the prince of *Wales*, forbidding all perſons to proclaim him king of *England*, on pain of high treaſon. The houſe of lords was voted uſeleſs; and the office of a king unneceſſary, burdenſome, and dangerous. The form of government for the future was declared to be a free common-

Common-wealth. 1649.

The monarchy turned into a common-wealth.

Common-wealth. 1648.

wealth; the executive power lodged in the hands of a *council of ſtate* of forty perſons, with full powers to take care of the whole adminiſtration for one year; new keepers of the *great ſeal* were appointed, from whom the judges received their commiſſions, with the name, ſtile, and title of, *cuſtodes libertatis* Angliæ *authoritate parliamenti*, i. e. *keepers of the liberties of* England *by authority of parliament*. The coin was ſtamped on one ſide with the arms of *England* between a *laurel* and a *palm*, with this inſcription, *the commonwealth of* England; and on the other, a *croſs* and *harp*, with this motto, *God with us*. The oaths of allegiance and ſupremacy were aboliſhed, and a new one appointed, called the ENGAGEMENT, which was, *to be true and faithful to the government eſtabliſhed, without king or houſe of peers*. Such as refuſed the oath were declared incapable of holding any place or office of truſt in the commonwealth; but as many of the excluded members of the houſe of commons as would take it, reſumed their places.

Remarks. Such was the foundation of this new conſtitution, which had neither the conſent of the people of *England*, nor of their repreſentatives in a free parliament. "And if ever there was an uſurped government, mutilated, "and founded only in violence (ſays *Rapin*) it was that of this parliament." But though it was unſupported by any other power than that of the army, it was carried on with the moſt conſummate wiſdom, reſolution, and ſucceſs, till the ſame military power that ſet it up, was permitted by divine providence with equal violence to pull it down.

Oppoſed by the levellers. The new commonwealth in its infant ſtate, met with oppoſition from divers quarters: the *levellers* in the army gave out, that the people had only changed their yoke, not ſhaken it off; and that the RUMP's little finger (for ſo the houſe of commons was now called), would be heavier than the king's loins. The agitators therefore petitioned the houſe to diſſolve themſelves, that new repreſentatives might be choſen. The commons alarmed at theſe proceedings, ordered their general officers to caſhier the petitioners, and break their ſwords over their heads, which was done accordingly. But when the forces paſſed under a general review at *Ware*, their friends in the army agreed to diſtinguiſh themſelves by wearing ſomething white in their hats; which *Cromwell* having ſome intelligence of beforehand, commanded two regiments of horſe who were not in the ſecret, to ſurround one of the regiments of foot; and having condemned four of the ringleaders in a council of war, he commanded two of them to be ſhot to death by their other two aſſociates, in ſight of the whole army; and to break the combination, eleven regiments were ordered for *Ireland*; upon which great numbers deſerted, and marched into *Oxfordſhire*; but general *Fairfax* and *Cromwell* having overtaken them at *Abingdon*, held them in

Whitl. p. 387, 389.

in treaty till colonel *Reynolds* came up, and after ſome few ſkirmiſhes diſperſed them. Commonwealth. 1649.

The *ſcots* threatened the *commonwealth* with a formidable invaſion, for upon the death of king *Charles* I. they proclaimed the prince of *Wales* king of *Scotland*, and ſent commiſſioners to the *Hague*, to invite him into that kingdom, *provided he would renounce popery and prelacy, and take the ſolemn league and covenant*. To prevent the effects of this treaty, and cultivate a good underſtanding with the *dutch*, the parliament ſent Dr. *Doriſlaus* an eminent civilian, concerned in the late king's trial, agent to the *States General*; but the very firſt night after his arrival, *May* 3. he was murdered in his own chamber by twelve deſperate cavaliers in diſguiſe, who ruſhed in upon him while he was at ſupper, and with their drawn ſwords killed him on the ſpot. Both the parliament and ſtates of *Holland* reſented this baſe action ſo highly, that the young king thought proper to remove into *France*; from whence he went to the *Iſle of Jerſey*, and towards the latter end of the year fixed at *Breda*; where the *ſcots* commiſſioners concluded a treaty with him, upon the foot of which he ventured his royal perſon into that kingdom the enſuing year. *And by the* ſcots. Whitl. p. 386.

But to ſtrike terror into the *cavaliers*, the parliament erected another *high court* of *juſtice*, and ſentenced to death three illuſtrious noblemen, for the part they had acted in the laſt civil war; duke *Hamilton*, the earl of *Holland*, and lord *Capel*, who were all executed *March* 9. in the *Palace-Yard* at *Weſtminſter*: duke *Hamilton* declared himſelf a preſbyterian; and the earl of *Holland* was attended by two miniſters of the ſame perſuaſion; but lord *Capel* was a thorough loyaliſt, and went off the ſtage with the courage and bravery of a *Roman*.

But the chief ſcene of great exploits this year was in *Ireland*, which *Cromwell* a bold and enterprizing commander, had been appointed to reduce; for this purpoſe he was made lord lieutenant for three years, and having taking leave of the parliament, ſailed from *Milford Haven* about the middle of *Auguſt*, with an army of fourteen thouſand men of reſolute principles, who before the imbarkation obſerved a day of faſting and prayer; in which Mr. *Whitlock* remarks that after three miniſters had prayed, lieutenant-general *Cromwell* himſelf, and the colonels *Gough* and *Harriſon* expounded ſome parts of ſcripture excellently well, and pertinently to the occaſion. The army was under a ſevere diſcipline; not an oath was to be heard throughout the whole camp, the ſoldiers ſpending their leiſure hours in reading their bibles, in ſinging pſalms, and religious conferences. *L. G.* Cromwell *reduces* Ireland.

Almoſt all *Ireland* was in the hands of the royaliſts and *roman* catholics, except *Dublin* and *Londonderry*; the former of theſe places had been late- *His rapid ſucceſs.*

Common-wealth-1649.

ly beſieged by the duke of *Ormond* with twenty thouſand men, but the garriſon being recruited with three regiments from *England*, the governor colonel *James*, ſurprized the beſiegers, and after a vigorous ſally ſtormed their camp, and routed the whole army, which diſperſed itſelf into *Drogheda*, and other fortified places. CROMWELL upon his arrival, was received with the acclamations of a vaſt concourſe of people, to whom he addreſſed himſelf from a riſing ground, with hat in hand, in a ſoldier-like manner, telling them "he was come to cut down and deſtroy the barbarous and blood-thirſty *iriſh*, with all their adherents; but that all "who were for the proteſtant religion, and the liberties of their country, "ſhould find ſuitable encouragement from the parliament of *England* and "himſelf, in proportion to their merits. Having refreſhed his forces he marched directly to *Drogheda*, which was garriſoned with 2500 foot and 300 horſe, and was therefore thought capable of holding out a month; but the general neglecting the common forms of approach, battered the walls with his cannons, and having made two acceſſible breaches, like an impetuous conqueror, entered the town in perſon at the head of colonel *Ewer*'s regiment of foot, and put all the garriſon to the ſword. From thence he marched to *Wexford*, which he took likewiſe by ſtorm, and after the example of *Drogheda*, put the garriſon to the ſword; the general declaring, that *he would ſacrifice all the* iriſh papiſts *to the ghoſts of the* engliſh proteſtants *whom they had maſſacred in cold blood.* The conqueſt of theſe places ſtruck ſuch a terror into the reſt, that they ſurrendered upon the firſt ſummons; the name of *Cromwell* carrying victory on its wings before himſelf appeared, the whole country was reduced by the middle of *May*, except *Limerick*, *Galloway*, and one or two other places, which *Ireton* took the following ſummer. Lord *Inchequin* deſerted the remains of the royal army, and *Ormond* fled into *France*. Lieutenant-general *Cromwell* being called home to march againſt the *ſcots*, arrived at *London* about the middle of *May*, and was received by the parliament and city with diſtinguiſhed reſpect and honour, as a ſoldier who had gained more laurels, and done more wonders in nine months, than any age or hiſtory could parallel.

Whitl. p. 434.

'Tis a remarkable account the lieutenant-general gives in one of his letters, of the behaviour of the army after their arrival in *Ireland*; "their "diligence courage and behaviour is ſuch (ſays he), through the providence of God, and ſtrict care of the chief officers, that never men did "obey orders more chearfully, nor go upon duty more couragiouſly. "Never did greater harmony and reſolution appear to proſecute this cauſe "of God, than in this army. Such a conſent of heart and hands; ſuch "a ſympathy of affections, not only in carnal but in ſpiritual bonds, which

" ties faſter than chains of adamant! I have often obſerved a wonderful con- Common-wealth. 1649.
" ſent of the officers and ſoldiers upon the grounds of doing ſervice to God,
" and how miraculouſly they have ſucceeded. The mind of man being
" ſatisfied, and fixed on God, and that his undertaking is for God's glory,
" it gives the greateſt courage to thoſe men, and proſperity to their
" actions."

To put the affairs of *Ireland* together: the *roman* catholics charged the ill ſucceſs of their affairs upon the duke of *Ormond*, and ſent him word, " that they were determined not to ſubmit any longer to his commands, " it not being fit that a catholic army ſhould be under the direction of a " proteſtant general; but that if he would depart the kingdom, they " would undertake of themſelves to drive *Ireton* out of *Dublin*." After this they offered the kingdom to the duke of *Lorrain*, a bigotted papiſt, who was wiſe enough to decline the offer, and then quarreling among themſelves they were ſoon driven out of all the ſtrong holds of the kingdom, and forced to ſubmit to the mercy of the conqueror. All who had borne arms in the late inſurrection, were ſhipped away into *France*, *Spain*, or *Flanders*, never to return on pain of death. Thoſe who had a hand in murdering the proteſtants at the time of the maſſacre, were brought from ſeveral parts of the country, and after conviction upon a fair trial were executed. The reſt of the natives, who were called *Tories*, were ſhut up in the moſt inland counties, and their lands given partly in payment to the ſoldiers who ſettled there, and the reſt to the firſt adventurers. Lord *Clarendon* relates it thus, " near one hundred thouſand of them were " tranſported into foreign parts, for the ſervice of the kings of *France* and " *Spain*; double that number were conſumed by the plague, famine, and " other ſeverities exerciſed upon them in their own country; the remain- " der were by *Cromwell* tranſplanted into the moſt inland, barren, deſo- " late, and mountainous part of the province of *Connaught*, and it was " lawful for any man to kill any of the *iriſh*, that were found out of the " bounds appointed them within that circuit. Such a proportion of land " was allotted to every man, as the *protector* thought competent for them; " upon which they were to give formal releaſes of all their titles to their " lands in any other provinces; if they refuſed to give ſuch releaſes, they " were ſtill deprived, and left to ſtarve within the limits preſcribed them; " out of which they durſt not withdraw; ſo that very few refuſed to ſign " thoſe releaſes, or other acts which were demanded. It was a conſidera- " ble time before theſe *iriſh* could raiſe any thing out of their lands to " ſupport their lives; but neceſſity was the ſpring of induſtry." Thus they lived under all the infamy of a conquered nation till the reſtoration of king

Summary account of the ſtate of Ireland.

Carrington's *life of* Cromwell. p. 155. Clar. p. 153.

Common-wealth. 1649.

king *Charles* II. a juſt judgment of God for their barbarous and unheard of cruelties to the *iriſh* proteſtants!

Conduct of the presbyterians towards the new government.

To return to *England:* the body of the preſbyterians acted in concert with the *ſcots*, for reſtoring the king's family upon the foot of the covenant; ſeveral of their miniſters carried on a private correſpondence with the chiefs of that nation, and inſtead of taking the engagement to the preſent powers, called them *uſurpers*, and declined praying for them in their churches; they alſo declared againſt a general toleration, for which the army and parliament contended.

L. G. Cromwell *and the army petition for a toleration.* Whitl. p. 405.

When lieutenant-general *Cromwell* was embarking for *Ireland*, he ſent letters to the parliament, recommending the removal of all the penal laws relating to religion; upon which the houſe ordered a committee to make report concerning a method for the eaſe of tender conſciences, and an act to be brought in to appoint commiſſioners in every county, for the approbation of able and well qualified perſons to be made miniſters, who cannot comply with the preſent ordinance for *ordination of miniſters*.

Ib. p. 404.

Aug. 16. general *Fairfax* and his council of officers, preſented a petition to the ſame purpoſe, praying "that all penal ſtatutes formerly made, "and ordinances lately made, whereby many conſcientious people were "moleſted, and the propagation of the goſpel hindered, might be re-"moved. Not that they deſired this liberty ſhould extend to the ſetting "up popery, or the late hierarchy; or to the countenancing any ſort of "immorality or prophaneneſs; for they earneſtly deſired, that drunken-"neſs, ſwearing, uncleanneſs, and all acts of prophaneneſs, might be vi-"gorouſly proſecuted in all perſons whatſoever." The houſe promiſed to take the petition into ſpeedy conſideration, and after ſome time paſſed it into a law.

The engagement enforced.

But to bring the preſbyterian clergy to the teſt, the *engagement* which had been appointed to be taken by all civil and military officers within a limited time, on pain of forefeiting their places, was now required to be ſworn and ſubſcribed by all miniſters, heads of colleges and halls, fellows of houſes, graduates, and all officers in the univerſities; and by the maſters, fellows, ſchool-maſters, and ſcholars of *Eaton College*, *Weſtminſter*, and *Wincheſter* ſchools; no miniſter was to be admitted to any eccleſiaſtical living, no clergyman to ſit as member of the aſſembly of divines, nor be capable of enjoying any preferment in the church, unleſs he qualified himſelf by taking the *engagement* within ſix months, publicly in the face of the congregation.

Walker, p. 146.

To be taken by the whole nation.

Nov. 9. it was referred to a committee, to conſider how the *engagement* might be ſubſcribed by all the people of the nation of eighteen years of age and upwards. Purſuant to which a bill was brought in, and paſſed,

Jan.

Jan. 2. to debar all who ſhould refuſe to take and deſcribe it, from the benefit of the law; and to diſable them from ſuing in any court of law or equity. Commonwealth. 1649.

This was a ſevere teſt on the preſbyterians, occaſioned by the *apprehended rupture* with the *ſcots*; but their clergy inveighed bitterly againſt it in their ſermons, and refuſed to obſerve the days of humiliation appointed by authority for a bleſſing upon their arms. Mr. *Baxter* ſays, that he writ ſeveral letters to the ſoldiers, to convince them of the unlawfulneſs of the preſent expedition: and in his ſermons declared it a ſin to force miniſters to pray for the ſucceſs of thoſe who had violated the covenant, and were going to deſtroy their brethren. That he both ſpoke and preached againſt the *engagement*, and diſſuaded men from taking it. At *Exeter*, ſays Mr. *Whitlock*, the *miniſters* went out of town on the faſt-day, and ſhut up the church doors; and *all the magiſtrates* refuſed the *engagement*. At *Taunton* the faſt was not kept by the preſbyterian miniſters; and at *Cheſter* they condemned the *engagement* to the pit of hell; as did many of the *London* miniſters, who kept days of private faſting and prayer, againſt the preſent government. Some of them (ſays *Whitlock*) joined the royaliſts, and refuſed to read the ordinances of parliament in their pulpits, as was uſual in thoſe times; nay when the *ſcots* were beat, they refuſed to obſerve the day of thankſgiving, but ſhut up their churches and went out of town; for which they were ſummoned before the committee and reprimanded; but the times being unſettled no further notice was taken of them at preſent.

Preſbyterians refuſe it.

Baxter's *life*, p. 64, 66.

Moſt of the ſectarian party (ſays Mr. *Baxtor*) ſwallowed the *engagement*; and ſo did the king's old cavaliers, very few of them being ſick of the diſeaſe of a ſcrupulous conſcience: ſome writ for it, but the moderate epiſcopal men and preſbyterians, generally refuſed it. Thoſe of *Lancaſhire* and *Cheſhire* publiſhed the following reaſons againſt it.

Cavaliers and ſectarians take the oath.

Life, p. 64, 65.

(1.) " Becauſe they apprehended the oath of allegiance, and the ſolemn " league and covenant, were ſtill binding.

(2.) " Becauſe the preſent powers were no better than *uſurpers*.

(3.) " Becauſe the taking of it was a prejudice to the right heir of the " crown, and to the ancient legal conſtitution."

Reaſons againſt it and for it.

To which it was anſwered, " that it was abſurd to ſuppoſe the oath of al- " legiance, or the ſolemn league and covenant to be in force after the king's " death; for how could they be obliged to preſerve the king's perſon, " when the king's perſon was deſtroyed, and the kingly office aboliſhed; " and as to his ſucceſſor, his *right* had been forfeited and taken away by " parliament." With regard to the *preſent powers* it was ſaid, " that " it was not for private perſons to diſpute the rights and titles of their ſu-

" preme

Common-wealth. 1649.

" preme governors. Here was a government *de facto*, under which they " lived; as long therefore as they enjoyed the protection of the government, " it was their duty to give all reaſonable ſecurity that they would not diſ- " turb it, or elſe to remove." The body of the common people being weary of war, and willing to live quiet under any adminiſtration, ſubmitted to the engagement, as being little more than a promiſe not to attempt the ſubverſion of the preſent government, but many of the preſbyterian clergy choſe rather to quit their preferments in the church and univerſity, than comply; which made way for the promotion of ſeveral independent divines, and among others, of Dr. *Tho. Goodwin* one of the diſſenting brethren in the aſſembly, who by order of parliament, *Jan.* 8. 1749-50. was appointed preſident of *Magdalen College Oxford*, with the privilege of nominating fellows and demies in ſuch places as ſhould become vacant by death, or by the poſſeſſors refuſing to take the *engagement*.

Whitl. p. 453.

Meaſures of the parliament to ſupport their authority.

The parliament tried ſeveral methods to reconcile the preſbyterians to the preſent adminiſtration; perſons were appointed to treat with them, and aſſure them of the protection of the government, and of the full enjoyment of their eccleſiaſtical preferments according to law; when this would not prevail, an order was publiſhed, that miniſters in their pulpits ſhould not meddle with ſtate affairs. After this the celebrated *Milton* was appointed to write for the government, who rallied the ſeditious preachers with his ſatyrical pen in a ſevere manner; at length when all other methods failed, a committee was choſen to receive informations againſt ſuch miniſters, as in their pulpits vilified and aſperſed the authority of parliament, and an act was paſſed, that all ſuch ſhould be ſequeſtered from their eccleſiaſtical preferments.

Whitl. p. 387.

Scots *declaration againſt the* engliſh. V. P. N° 34. p. 6.

The preſbyterians ſupported themſelves under theſe hardſhips by their alliance with the *ſcots*, and their hope of a ſpeedy alteration of affairs by their aſſiſtance; for in the remonſtrance of the general aſſembly of that kirk, dated *July* 27. they declare, that " the ſpirit which has acted in " the councils of thoſe who have obſtructed the work of God, deſpiſed " the covenant, corrupted the truth, forced the parliament, murdered " the king, changed the government, and eſtabliſhed ſuch an unlimited " toleration in religion, cannot be the ſpirit of righteouſneſs and holineſs. " They therefore warn the ſubjects of *Scotland* againſt joining with them, " and in caſe of an invaſion to ſtand up in their own defence. The *engliſh* have no controverſy with us (ſay they), but becauſe the kirk and " ſtate have declared againſt their unlawful *engagement*; becauſe we ſtill " adhere to our covenant, and have borne our teſtimony againſt their *to-* " *leration*, and taking away the king's life." But then they warn their people alſo againſt *malignants*, " who value themſelves upon their attach-

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" ment to the young king, and if any from that quarter ſhould invade the " kingdom, before his majeſty has given ſatisfaction to the parliament and " kirk, they exhort their people to reſiſt them, as abettors of an abſolute " and arbitrary government." Commonwealth. 1649.

About two months after this, the parliament of *England* publiſhed a declaration on their part, wherein they complain of the revolt of the *engliſh* and *ſcots* preſbyterians, and of their taking part with the enemy, becauſe their diſcipline was not the exact ſtandard of reformation. " But " we are ſtill determined (ſay they) not to be diſcouraged in our endeavours " to promote the purity of religion, and the liberty of the common- " wealth; and for the ſatisfaction of our preſbyterian brethren, we de- " clare, that *we will continue all thoſe ordinances which have been made* " *for the promoting a reformation of religion, in doctrine, worſhip, and* " *diſcipline, in their full force*; and will uphold the ſame, in order to " ſuppreſs popery, ſuperſtition, blaſphemy, and all kinds of prophane- " neſs. Only we conceive ourſelves obliged *to take away all ſuch acts and* " *ordinances as are penal and coercive in matters of conſcience.* And be- " cauſe this has given ſo great offence, we declare as in the preſence of " God, that by whomſoever this liberty ſhall be abuſed, we will be ready " to teſtify our diſpleaſure againſt them, by an effectual proſecution of " ſuch offenders." *Parliament vindicate their proceedings.* Vol. pamp. N° 34.

The *ſcots* commiſſioners were all this while treating with the king in *Holland*, and inſiſting on his ſubſcribing the ſolemn league and covenant; his eſtabliſhing the *Weſtminſter confeſſion*, the directory, and the preſbyterian government in both kingdoms. The king being under diſcouraging circumſtances, conſented to all their demands with regard to *Scotland*, and as to *England* referred himſelf to a free parliament: But the *ſcots* not ſatisfied with his majeſty's exceptions as to *England*, replied that " ſuch " an anſwer as this would grieve the whole kirk of *Scotland*, and all their " covenanting brethren in *England* and *Ireland*, who under pain of the " moſt ſolemn perjury ſtand bound to God and one another, to live and " die by their *covenant*, as the chief ſecurity of their religion and liberties, " againſt popiſh and prelatical malignants. *Your majeſty's father* (ſay " they) *in his laſt meſſage to our kirk offered to ratify the ſolemn league* " *and covenant. He offered likewiſe at the* Iſle of Wight *to confirm the* " *directory, and the presbyterial government in* England *and* Ireland, *till* " *he and his parliament ſhould agree upon a ſettled order of the church.* Be- " ſides, your majeſty having offered to confirm the aboliſhing of epiſcopa- " cy, and the ſervice book in *Scotland*, it cannot certainly be againſt our " conſcience to do it in *England.*" But the king would advance no farther till he had heard from the queen mother, who ſent him word, that it was Scots *treaty with the king in* Holland. *They will include the* engliſh *presbyterians.*

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the opinion of the council of *France*, that he ſhould agree with the *ſcots* upon the beſt terms he was able, which he did accordingly, as will be related the next year.

The fifth provincial aſſembly of *London* met the beginning of *May* at *Sion College*, the reverend Mr. *Jackſon* of St. *Michael Woodſtreet* moderator. A committee was appointed to prepare materials for proof of the *divine right* of preſbyterial church government. The proofs were examined and approved by this, and the aſſembly that met in *November* following, of which Mr. *Walker* was moderator, Mr. *Calamy* and Mr. *Jackſon* aſſeſſors, and Mr. *Blackwell* ſcribe. The treatiſe was printed, and aſſerts

(1.) That there is a church government of divine inſtitution.

(2.) That the civil magiſtrate is not the origin or head of church government. And,

(3.) That the government of the church by ſynods and claſſes is the government that Chriſt appointed. It maintains ſeparation from their churches to be *ſchiſm*; that miniſters formerly ordained by biſhops need not be re-ordained: And for private chriſtians in particular churches to aſſume a right of ſending perſons forth to preach, and to adminiſter the ſacraments, is in their opinion, inſufferable.

Augmentation of poor livings by tithes and firſt fruits, &c. Scobel, p. 41, 113.

The parliament did all they could to ſatisfy the malecontent preſbyterians, by ſecuring them in their livings, and by ordering the dean and chapter lands to be ſold, and their names to be extinct, except the deanry of *Chriſt Church*, and the foundations of *Weſtminſter*, *Wincheſter*, and *Eaton* ſchools. The biſhops lands, which had been ſequeſtered ſince the year 1646. were now by an ordinance of *June* 8. 1649. veſted in the hands of new truſtees, and appropriated to the augmentation of poor livings in the church. The firſt fruits and tenths of all eccleſiaſtical livings, formerly payable to the crown, were veſted in the ſame hands, free from all incumbrances, or truſt, that they ſhould pay yearly, all ſuch ſalaries, ſtipends, allowances and proviſions, as have been ſettled and confirmed by parliament, for preaching miniſters, ſchool-maſters, or profeſſors in the univerſities; provided the aſſignment to any one do not exceed one hundred pounds. 'Tis further provided, that the maintenance of all incumbents ſhall not be leſs than one hundred pounds a year, and the commiſſioners of the great ſeal are empowered to enquire into the yearly value of all eccleſiaſtical livings, to which any cure of ſouls is annexed; and to certify into the court of *Chancery*, the names of the preſent incumbents who ſupply the cure, with their reſpective ſalaries; how many chapels belong to pariſh churches, and how the ſeveral churches and chapels are ſupplied with preaching miniſters; that ſo ſome courſe may be taken for providing for a bet-

a better maintenance where it is wanting. Dr. *Walker* ſays, the value of biſhops lands forfeited and ſold amounted to a million of money; but though they ſold very cheap, they that bought them had a very dear bargain in the end. Common-wealth. 1649. p. 14.

Upon debate of an ordinance concerning public worſhip, and church government, the houſe declared, that the preſbyterial government ſhould be the eſtabliſhed government. And upon the queſtion, whether tithes ſhould be continued, it was reſolved, that they ſhould not be taken away, till another maintenance equally large and honourable ſhould be ſubſtituted in its room. *Presb. gov. eſtabliſhed.*

The inhabitants of the principality of *Wales* were deſtitute of the means of chriſtian knowledge, their language was little underſtood, their clergy were ignorant and idle; ſo that they had hardly a ſermon from one quarter of a year to another. The people had neither bibles nor catechiſms; nor was there a ſufficient maintenance for ſuch as were capable of inſtructing them. The parliament taking the caſe of theſe people into conſideration, paſſed an act, *Feb.* 22. 1649. *for the better propagation and preaching of the goſpel in* Wales, *for the ejecting ſcandalous miniſters and ſchool-maſters, and redreſs of ſome grievances*; to continue in force for three years. What was done in purſuance of this ordinance will be related hereafter; but the parliament were ſo intent upon the affair of religion at this time, that Mr. *Whitlock* ſays, they devoted *Friday* in every week to conſult ways and means for promoting it. *Propagation of the goſpel in* Wales.

Nor did they confine themſelves to *England*, but as ſoon as lieutenant-general *Cromwell* had reduced *Ireland*, the parliament paſſed an ordinance, *March* 8. 1649. for the encouragement of religion and learning in that country; "they inveſted all the manors and lands late of the archbiſhop "of *Dublin*, and of the dean and chapter of St. *Patrick*, together with "the parſonage of *Trym* belonging to the biſhopric of *Meath*, in the "hands of truſtees, for the maintenance and ſupport of *Trinity College* "in *Dublin*; and for the creating, ſettling, and maintaining another col-"lege in the ſaid city, and of a maſter, fellows, ſcholars, and public "profeſſors: And alſo for erecting a free ſchool, with a maſter, uſher, "ſcholars, and officers, in ſuch manner, as any five of the truſtees, with "the conſent of the lord-lieutenant, ſhall direct and appoint. The lord-"lieutenant to nominate the governor, maſters, *&c* and to appoint them "their ſalaries; and the truſtees, with the conſent of the lord-lieutenant, "ſhall draw up ſtatutes and ordinances, to be confirmed by the parliament "of *England*." *And in* Ireland.

The univerſity of *Dublin* being thus revived, and put upon a new foot, the parliament ſent over ſix of their moſt acceptable preachers to give it

Common-wealth. 1649.

reputation, appointing them two hundred pounds a year, out of the bishops lands; and till that could be duly raised, to be paid out of the public revenues: And for their further encouragement, if they died in that service, their families were to be provided for. By these methods learning began to revive, and in a few years religion appeared with a better face than it had ever done before in that kingdom.

A corporation for propagation of the gospel among the Indians.

A prospect being opened for spreading the christian religion among the *Indians*, upon the borders of *New-England*, the parliament allowed a general collection throughout *England*, and erected a corporation for this service, who purchased an estate in land of between five and six hundred pounds a year; but on the restoration of king *Charles* II. the charter became void, and colonel *Bedingfield* a *roman* catholic officer in the king's army, of whom a considerable part of the land was purchased, seized it for his own use, pretending he had sold it under the real value, in hopes of recovering it upon the king's return. In order to defeat the colonel's design, the society solicited the king for a new charter, which they obtained by the interest of the lord chancellor. It bears date *Feb.* 7. in the 14th year of his majesty's reign, and differs but little from the old one. The honourable *Robert Boyle* Esq; was the first governor. They afterwards recovered colonel *Bedingfield*'s estate, and are at this time in possession of about five hundred pounds a year, which they employ for the conversion of the *Indians* in *America*.

But all that the parliament could do was not sufficient to stop the mouths of the loyalists and discontented presbyterians; the pulpit and press sounded to sedition; the latter brought forth invectives every week against the government; it was therefore resolved to lay a severe fine upon offenders of this kind, by an ordinance bearing date *Sept.* 20. 1649. the preamble to which sets forth, that "Whereas divers scandalous and seditious pamphlets are daily printed, and dispersed with officious industry by the malignant party both at home and abroad, with a design to subvert the present government, and to take off the affections of the people from it, it is therefore ordained,

Ordinance against seditious libels. Scobel, p. 88. chap. lx.

"THAT the author of every seditious libel or pamphlet shall be fined ten pounds, or suffer forty days imprisonment. The printer five pounds, and his printing press to be broken. The bookseller forty shillings; the buyer twenty shillings, if he conceals it, and does not deliver it up to a justice of peace. It is further ordained, that no news paper shall be printed, or sold without licence, under the hand of the clerk of the parliament, or the secretary of the army, or such other person

" perſon as the council of ſtate ſhall appoint. No printing preſſes are to " be allowed but in *London*, and in the two univerſities. All printers are " to enter into bonds of three hundred pounds, not to print any pam- " phlet againſt the ſtate without licence, as aforeſaid, unleſs the au- " thor's or licenſer's name, with the place of his abode be prefixed. " All importers of ſeditious pamphlets are to forfeit five pounds for every " ſuch book or pamphlet. No books are to be landed in any other " port but that of *London*, and to be viewed by the maſter and war- " dens of the company of *ſtationers*. This act to continue in force for " two years." Common-wealth. 1649.

Miniſters forbid to meddle in politics.

But the pulpit was no leſs dangerous than the preſs; the preſbyterian miniſters in their public prayers and ſermons, eſpecially on faſt days, keeping alive the diſcontents of the people. The government therefore, by an ordinance, aboliſhed the monthly faſt, which had ſubſiſted for about ſeven years, and had been in a great meaſure a faſt for ſtrife and debate; but declared at the ſame time, that they ſhould appoint occaſional faſts, from time to time for the future, as the providence of God ſhould require. Whitl. p. 383.

Remarks.

In the midſt of all theſe diſorders, there was a very great appearance of ſobriety both in city and country; the indefatigable pains of the preſbyterian miniſters in catechizing, inſtructing, and viſiting their pariſhioners, can never be ſufficiently commended. The whole nation was civilized, and conſiderably improved in ſound knowledge, though biſhop *Kennet* and Mr. *Eachard* are pleaſed to ſay, *that hereſies and blaſphemies againſt heaven were ſwelled up to a moſt prodigious height*. " I know (ſays Mr. *Bax-* " *ter*) you may meet with men who will confidently affirm, that in theſe " times all religion was trodden under foot, and that hereſy and " ſchiſm were the only piety; but I give warning to all ages, that " they take heed how they believe any, while they are ſpeaking for " the intereſt of their factions and opinions againſt their real or ſup- " poſed adverſaries." *Life*, p. 86. However the parliament did what they could to ſuppreſs and diſcountenance all ſuch extravagancies; and even the officers of the army, having convicted one of their *quarter-maſters* of blaſphemy in a council of war, ſentenced him to have his tongue bored through with an hot iron, his ſword broke over his head, and to be caſhiered the army.

But biſhop *Kennet* ſays, *even the* turkiſh *alcoran was coming in; that it was tranſlated into* engliſh, *and ſaid to be licenſed by one of the miniſters of*

Common-wealth. 1649.

of London. Sad times! Was his lordſhip then afraid that the *alcoran* ſhould prevail againſt the bible? Or that the doctrines of Chriſt could not ſupport themſelves againſt the extravagant follies of an impoſtor? But the book did no harm, though the commons immediately publiſhed an order for ſuppreſſing it; and ſince the reſtitution of *monarchy* and *epiſcopacy*, we have lived to ſee the life of *Mahomet* and his *Koran* publiſhed without miſchief or offence.

His lordſhip adds, that the papiſts took advantage of the liberty of the times, *who were never more numerous and buſy*; which is not very probable, becauſe the parliament had baniſhed all papiſts twenty miles from the city of *London*, and excepted them out of their acts of indulgence and toleration; the ſpirit of the people againſt popery was kept up to the height; the mob carried the popes effigies in triumph, and burnt it publicly on queen *Elizabeth*'s birth day; and the miniſters in their pulpits pronounced him antichriſt; but ſuch is the *zeal* of this right reverend hiſtorian!

1650. *Marquis of* Montroſs *executed.* Burn. Hiſt. p. 36. 52.

The beginning of this year, the marquis of *Montroſs* was taken in the north of *Scotland* by colonel *Straughan* with a ſmall body of troops, and hanged at *Edinburgh* on a gallows thirty feet high; his body was buried under the gallows, and his quarters ſet upon the gates of the principal towns in *Scotland*; but his behaviour was great and firm to the laſt. The marquis appeared openly for the king in the year 1643. and having routed a ſmall party of covenanters in *Perthſhire*, acquired conſiderable renown; but his little ſucceſſes were very miſchievous to the king's affairs, being always magnified beyond what they really were: His vanity was the occaſion of breaking off the treaty of *Uxbridge*, and his fears leſt king *Charles* II. ſhould agree with the *ſcots*, and revoke his commiſſion before he had executed it, now hurried him to his own ruin.

Conditions of the ſcots *treaty with the king.*

The young king being in treaty with the *ſcots* covenanters at *Breda*, was forced to ſtifle his reſentments for the death of the marquis, and ſubmit to the following hard conditions.

(1.) "That all perſons excommunicated by the kirk ſhould be for-"bid the court.

(2.) "That the king by his ſolemn oath, and under his hand and ſeal, "declare his allowance of the covenant.

(3.) "That he confirm thoſe acts of parliament which enjoin the co-"venant. That he eſtabliſh the preſbyterian worſhip and diſcipline, and "ſwear never to oppoſe, or endeavour to alter them.

(4.) "That all civil maters be determined by parliament; and all eccle-"ſiaſtical affairs by the kirk.

(1.) "That

(5.) "That his majeſty ratify all that has been done in the parliament "of *Scotland* in ſome late ſeſſions, and ſign the covenant upon his arrival "in that kingdom, if the kirk deſired it." Commonwealth. 1650.

The king arrived in *Scotland June* 23. but before his landing the commiſſioners inſiſted on his ſigning the covenant, and upon parting with all his old counſellors, which he did, and was then conducted by the way of *Aberdeen* and St. *Andrews* to his houſe at *Falkland*. *July* 11. his majeſty was proclaimed at the croſs at *Edinburgh*, but the ceremony of his coronation was deferred to the beginning of the next year. In the mean time the *engliſh* commonwealth was providing for a war which they ſaw was unavoidable, and general *Fairfax* refuſing to act againſt the *ſcots*, his commiſſion was immediately given to *Cromwell*, with the title of *captain general in chief of all the forces raiſed, and to be raiſed by authority of parliament, within the commonwealth of* England. Three days after (*viz.*) *June* 29. he marched with eleven thouſand foot, and five thouſand horſe, towards the borders of *Scotland*, being reſolved not to wait for the *ſcots* invading *England*, but to carry the war into their country. The *ſcots* complained to the *engliſh* parliament of this conduct, as a breach of the act of pacification, and of the covenant; but were anſwered, that they had already broken the peace by their treaty with *Charles Stuart*, whom they had not only received as their king, but promiſed to *aſſiſt in recovering the crown of* England. Their receiving the king was certainly their right as an independent nation; but whether their engaging to aſſiſt him in recovering the crown of *England*, was not declaring war, muſt be left to the reader.

He arrives in Scotland.

Cromwell *marches againſt the* ſcots.

July 22. the general croſſed the *Tweed*, and marched his army almoſt as far as *Edinburgh* without much oppoſition, the country being deſerted by reaſon of the terror of the name of *Cromwell*, and the reports that were ſpread of his cruelty in *Ireland*. Not a *ſcots* man appeared under ſixty, nor a youth above ſix years old, to interrupt his march. All proviſions were deſtroyed, or removed, to prevent the ſubſiſtence of the army, which was ſupplied from time to time by ſea; but the general having made proclamation, that no man ſhould be injured in his perſon or goods who was not found in arms, the people took heart and returned to their dwellings.

The *ſcots* army, under the command of general *Leſly*, ſtood on the defenſive, and watched the motions of the *engliſh* all the month of *Auguſt*; the main body being intrenched within ſix miles of *Edinburgh*, to the number of thirty thouſand of the beſt men that ever *Scotland* ſaw; general *Cromwell* did every thing he could to draw them to a battle, till by the fall of rain, and bad weather, he was obliged to retreat to *Muſſelborough*,

Battle *of* Dunbar. Life *of* Cromwell, p. 178. Burnet.

Common-wealth. 1650.

borough, and from thence to *Dunbar*, where he was reduced to the utmoſt ſtreights, having no way left but to conquer or die. In this extremity he ſummoned the officers to prayer; after which he bid all about him take heart, for God had heard them; then walking in the earl of *Roxborough*'s gardens, that lay under the hill upon which the *ſcots* army was encamped, and diſcovering by perſpective glaſſes that they were coming down to attack him, he ſaid *God was delivering them into his hands.* That night proving very rainy, the general refreſhed his men in the town, and ordered them to take particular care of their firelocks, which the *ſcots* neglected, who were all the night coming down the hill. Early next morning *September* 3. the general with a ſtrong party of horſe beat their guards, and then advancing with his whole army, after about an hour's diſpute, entered their camp and carried all before him; about four thouſand *ſcots* fell in battle, ten thouſand were made priſoners, with fifteen hundred arms, and all their artillery and ammunition; the loſs of the *engliſh* amounting to no more than about three hundred men.

Vol. VI. p. 377.

'Tis an odd reflection lord *Clarendon* makes upon this victory: "Never was victory obtained (ſays his lordſhip) with leſs lamentation; for "as *Cromwell* had great argument of triumph, ſo the king was glad of "it, as the greateſt happineſs that could befal him, in the loſs of ſo "ſtrong a body of his enemies." Such was the encouragement the *ſcots* had to fight for their king!

Scots *miniſters invited to return to their churches.*

Immediately after this action, the general took poſſeſſion of *Edinburgh*, which was in a manner deſerted by the clergy; ſome having ſhut themſelves up in the caſtle, and others fled with their effects to *Sterling*, the general to deliver them from their fright, ſent a trumpet to the caſtle, to aſſure the governor, that the *miniſters* might return to their churches, and preach without any diſturbance from him, for he had no quarrel with the *ſcots* nation on the ſcore of religion. But the miniſters replied, that having no ſecurity for their perſons, they thought it their duty to reſerve themſelves for better times. Upon which the general writ to the governor;

Cromwell's *letter to the gov. of the caſtle.* *Life* Cromwell. p. 182.

"THAT his kindneſs offered to the miniſters in the caſtle, was "without any fraudulent reſerve; that if their maſter's ſervice was "their principal concern, they would not be ſo exceſſively afraid of ſuffering for it. That thoſe divines had miſreported the conduct of his party, when they charged them with perſecuting the miniſters of Chriſt in "*England*; for *the miniſters in* England *(ſays he) are ſupported, and have* "*liberty to preach the goſpel, though not to rail at their ſuperiors at diſcre-*"*tion*; *nor under a pretended privilege of character to over-top the civil*

" *powers, or debaſe them as they pleaſe*——No man has been diſturbed in " *England* or *Ireland* for preaching the goſpel; nor has any miniſter been " moleſted in *Scotland* ſince the coming of the army hither——ſpeaking " truth becomes the miniſters of Chriſt, but when miniſters pretend to a " glorious reformation, and lay the foundation thereof in getting to them- " ſelves *power*, and can make worldly mixtures to accompliſh the ſame, " ſuch as the late agreement with their king; they may know that the " *Sion* promiſed is not to be built with ſuch *untempered mortar*. And for the " unjuſt invaſion they [the miniſters] mention, time was when an army " out of *Scotland* came into *England*, not called by the ſupreme authority " —we have ſaid in our papers, with what hearts, and upon what ac- " count we came, and the lord has heard us, though you would not, upon " as ſolemn an appeal as any experience can parallel—I have nothing to ſay " to you, but that I am, Commonwealth. 1650.

Sir, your humble ſervant

O. CROMWELL.

The *ſcots* miniſters, in their reply to this letter, objected to the general, *his opening the pulpit doors to all intruders, by which means a flood of errors was broke in upon the nation*. To which the general replied, " we " look on miniſters as helpers of, not lords over the faith of God's people: " I appeal to their conſciences, whether any denying of their doctrines, or " diſſenting from them, will not incur the cenſure of a *ſectary*, and " what is this but to deny chriſtians their liberty, and aſſume the infalli- " ble chair? where do you find in ſcripture that preaching is included " within your function? though an approbation from men has order in it, " and may be well, yet he that hath not a better than that, hath none at " all. *Miniſters Reply.* Cromwell's *anſwer.* Whitl. p. 458. Collier, eccl. hiſt. p. 863.

" I hope he that aſcended up on high may give his gifts to whom he " pleaſes; and if thoſe giſts be the ſeal of miſſion, are not you envious, " though *Eldad* and *Medad* propheſy? you know who has bid us covet " earneſtly the beſts gifts, but chiefly, that we may *propheſy*; which the " apoſtle explains to be a ſpeaking to inſtruction, edification and comfort, " which the inſtructed, edified, and comforted, can beſt tell the energy " and effect of.

" Now, if this be evidence, take heed you envy not for your own " ſakes, leſt you be guilty of a greater fault than *Moſes* reproved in *Jo-* " *ſhua*, when he envied for his ſake. Indeed you err through miſtake of

Common-wealth. 1650.

" the ſcriptures. Approbation is an act of convenience in reſpect of order, " not of neceſſity, to give faculty to preach the goſpel.

" Your pretended fear, leſt error ſhould ſtep in, is like the man, that " would keep all the wine out of the country leſt men ſhould be drunk. " It will be found an unjuſt and unwiſe jealouſy, to deny a man the liber- " ty he hath by nature, upon a ſuppoſition he may abuſe it. When he " doth abuſe it, then judge."

Governor's complaint.

The governor complained to the *general*, that *the parliament at* Weſtminſter *had fallen from their principles, not being true to the ends of the covenant.* And then adds with the miniſters, *that men of ſecular employments had uſurped the office of the miniſtry, to the ſcandal of the reformed churches.*

Cromwell's *reply.* Collier, p. 864.

In anſwer to the firſt part of this expoſtulation, general *Cromwell* deſired to know, whether their bearing witneſs to themſelves, was a good evidence of their having proſecuted the ends of the covenant? " to infer " this (ſays he) is to have too favourable an opinion of your own judg- " ment and impartiality. Your doctrines and practice ought to be tried by " the word of God, and other people muſt have a liberty of examining " them upon theſe heads, and of giving ſentence."

As to the charge of indulging the uſe of the pulpit to the laity, the *general* admits it, and adds " are ye troubled that Chriſt is preached? does " it ſcandalize the reformed churches, and *Scotland* in particular? is it " againſt the covenant? away with the covenant if it be ſo. I thought " the *covenant* and theſe men would have been willing, that any ſhould " ſpeak good of the name of Chriſt; if not, it is no covenant of God's ap- " proving; nor the kirk you mention ſo much the ſpouſe of Chriſt."

The *general* in one of his letters, lays conſiderable ſtreſs upon the ſucceſs of their arms, after a moſt ſolemn appeal to God on both ſides. To which the *ſcots* governor replied, *we have not ſo learned Chriſt, as to hang the equity of a cauſe upon events.* To which *Cromwell* anſwers, " We " could wiſh that blindneſs had not been upon your eyes to thoſe marvel- " lous diſpenſations which God has lately wrought in *England.* But did " not you ſolemnly appeal and pray? Did not we do ſo too? and ought not " we and you to think with fear and trembling on the hand of the great " God in this mighty and ſtrange appearance of his, and not ſlightly call " it an event? were not your expectations and ours renewed from time to " time, whilſt we waited on God to ſee how he would manifeſt himſelf " upon our appeals? and ſhall we after all theſe our prayers, faſtings, " tears, expectations, and ſolemn appeals, call theſe bare events? the lord " pity you——"

From

From this correſpondence the reader may form a judgment of the governing principles of the *ſcots* and *engliſh* at this time; the former were ſo inviolably attached to their covenant, that they would depart from nothing that was inconſiſtent with it. The *engliſh*, after ſeeking God in prayer, judged of the goodneſs of their cauſe by the appearance of providence in its favour; moſt of the officers and ſoldiers were men of ſtrict devotion, but went upon this miſtaken principle, that God would never appear for a bad cauſe after a ſolemn appeal to him for deciſion. However the *ſcots* loſt their courage, and ſurrendered the impregnable caſtle of *Edinburgh* into the hands of the conqueror *December* 24. the garriſon having liberty to march out with their baggage to *Burnt Iſland* in *Fife*; and ſoon after the whole kingdom was ſubdued. Common-wealth. 1650. *Remarks.*

The provincial aſſembly of *London* met this year as uſual, in the months of *May* and *November*, but did nothing remarkable; the parliament waited to reconcile them to the *engagement*. and prolonged the time limited for taking it, but when they continued inflexible, and inſtead of ſubmitting to the preſent powers were plotting with the *ſcots*, it was reſolved to clip their wings, and make ſome examples, as a terror to the reſt. *June* 21. the committee for regulating the univerſities was ordered to tender the *engagement* to all ſuch officers, maſters, and fellows, as had neglected to take it, and upon their refuſal to diſplace them. Accordingly in the univerſity of *Cambridge*, Mr. *Vines*, Dr. *Rainbow* and ſome others were diſplaced, and ſucceeded by Mr. *Sydrach Sympſon*, Mr. *Jo. Sadler*, and Mr. *Dell*. In the univerſity of *Oxford*, Dr. *Reynolds* the vice-chancellor refuſed the engagement, but after ſome time offered to take it, in hopes of ſaving his deanery of *Chriſt Church*; but the parliament reſenting the example, took advantage of his forfeiture, and gave the deanery to Dr. *John Owen* an independent divine, who took poſſeſſion of it *March* 18. 1650-1. *Proceedings againſt the preſbyterians in* England.

Upon the reſignation of the vice-chancellor, Dr. *Dan. Greenwood* principal of *Brazen-Noſe College*, and a preſbyterian divine, was appointed his ſucceſſor, *Octob.* 12. and on the 15th of *January* following, OLIVER CROMWELL now in *Scotland*, was choſen unanimouſly in full convocation, *chancellor of the univerſity*, in the room of the earl of *Pembroke* lately deceaſed. When the doctors and maſters who were ſent to *Edinburgh*, acquainted him with the choice, he writ a letter to the univerſity, in which after a modeſt refuſal of their favour, he adds "if theſe arguments prevail not, and that I muſt continue this honour till I can perſonally ſerve you, you ſhall not want my prayers, that piety and learning may flouriſh among you, and be rendered uſeful and ſubſervient to that great and glorious kingdom of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt of the approach O. Cromwel *choſen chanc.* Oxford. Wood's faſti, p. 92.

Common-wealth. 1650.

" of which, ſo plentiful an effuſion of the holy ſpirit upon thoſe hopeful " plants among you is one of the beſt preſages—" When the general's letter was read in convocation the houſe reſounded with chearful acclamations. Dr. *Greenwood* continued vice-chancellor two years, but was then diſplaced for his diſaffection to the government, and the honour conferred on Dr. *Owen*. Thus by degrees, the preſbyterians loſt their influence in the univerſities, and delivered them up into the hands of the independents.

Penal laws taken away. Scobel, p. 131.

To ſtrengthen the hands of the government yet further, the parliament by an ordinance bearing date *Sept.* 20. took away all the penal ſtatutes for religion. The preamble ſets forth, " that divers religious and peaceable " people, well affected to the commonwealth, having not only been mo- " leſted and impriſoned, but brought into danger of abjuring their country, " or in caſe of return to ſuffer death as felons, by ſundry acts made in the " times of former kings and queens of this nation, againſt recuſants not " coming to church, *&c.* they therefore enact and ordain,

" THAT all the clauſes, articles, and proviſo's, in the enſuing acts " of parliament (*viz.*) 1ſt *Eliz.* 23d *Eliz.* 35th *Eliz.* and all " and every branch, clauſe, article or proviſo, in any other act, or ordi- " nance of parliament, whereby any penalty or puniſhment is impoſed, or " meant to be impoſed on any perſon whatſoever, for not repairing to " their reſpective pariſh churches; or for not keeping of holy days; or " for not hearing common-prayer, *&c.* ſhall be, and are hereby wholly " repealed and made void.

" And to the end that no prophane or licentious perſons may take oc- " caſion, by the repeal of the ſaid laws, to neglect the performance of " religious duties, it is further ordained, that all perſons not having a " reaſonable excuſe, ſhall on every Lord's day, and day of public thankſ- " giving or humiliation, reſort to ſome place of public worſhip; or be pre- " ſent at ſome other place, in the practice of ſome religious duty, either " of prayer or preaching, reading or expounding the ſcriptures——"

By this law the doors were ſet open, and the ſtate was at liberty to employ all ſuch in their ſervice, as would take the oaths to the civil government, without any regard to their religious principles.

Ordinances againſt vice and prophaneneſs.

Sundry ſevere ordinances were made for ſuppreſſing of vice, error, and all ſorts of prophaneneſs and impiety. *May* 10. it was ordained, " that " *inceſt* and *adultery* ſhould be made felony; and that *fornication* ſhould " be puniſhed with three months impriſonment for the firſt offence; and " that

" that the ſecond offence ſhould be *felony* without benefit of clergy. Common " *bawds*, or perſons who keep lewd houſes, are to be ſet in the pillory; to " be whipped, and marked in the forehead with the letter B, and then " committed to the houſe of correction for three years for the firſt offence; " and for the ſecond to ſuffer death, provided the proſecution be within " twelve months." Commonwealth. 1650. Scobel, p. 121.

June 28. it was ordained, " that every *nobleman* who ſhall be convic- " ted of prophane curſing and ſwearing, by the oath of one or more wit- " neſſes, or by his own confeſſion, ſhall pay for the firſt offence thirty " ſhillings to the poor of the pariſh; a *baronet*, or *knight*, twenty ſhillings; " an *eſquire* ten ſhillings; a *gentleman* ſix ſhillings and eight pence; and all " inferior perſons three ſhillings and four pence. For the ſecond offence " they are to pay double, according to their qualities above mentioned. " And for the tenth offence they are to be judged common ſwearers and " curſers, and to be bound over to their good behaviour for three years. " The like puniſhment for women, whoſe fines are to be determined accor- " ding to their own or their huſband's quality." Ib. p. 121.

Auguſt 9. an ordinance was paſſed, for *puniſhing blaſphemous and execrable opinions*. The preamble takes notice, that " though ſeveral laws " had been made for promoting reformation in doctrines and manners, yet " there were divers men and women who had lately diſcovered monſtrous " opinions, even ſuch as tended to the diſſolution of human ſociety; the " parliament therefore, according to their declaration of *Sept.* 27. 1649. " in which they ſaid, they ſhould be ready *to teſtify their diſpleaſure* " *againſt ſuch offenders, by ſtrict and effectual proceedings againſt them who* " *ſhould abuſe and turn into licentiouſneſs, the liberty given in matters of* " *religion*, do therefore ordain and enact, *Againſt blaſphemous opinions.* Scobel, p. 124.

" THAT any perſons not diſtempered in their brains, who ſhall " maintain *any meer creature to be God*, or to be *infinite, almighty*, " &c. or *that ſhall deny the holineſs of God*; or *ſhall maintain, that all* " *acts of wickedneſs and unrighteouſneſs are not forbidden in holy ſcripture*; " or *that God approves of them. Any one who ſhall maintain, that acts* " *of drunkenneſs, adultery, ſwearing*, &c. *are not in themſelves ſhameful,* " *wicked, ſinful, and impious*; or *that there is not any real difference be-* " *tween moral good and evil*, &c. all ſuch perſons ſhall ſuffer ſix months " impriſonment for the firſt offence; and for the ſecond ſhall be baniſhed; " and if they return without licence ſhall be treated as felons."

Though

Though ſeveral ordinances had been made heretofore for the ſtrict obſervation of the Lord's day, the preſent houſe of commons thought fit to enforce them by another, dated *April* 19. 1650. in which they ordain, "that all goods cried, or put to ſale on the Lord's day, or other "days of humiliation and thankſgiving appointed by authority, ſhall be "ſeized. No waggoner or drover ſhall travel on the Lord's day on pe-"nalty of ten ſhillings for every offence. No perſon ſhall travel in boats, "horſes or coaches, except to church, on penalty of ten ſhillings. The "like penalty for being in a tavern. And where diſtreſs is not to be "made, the offender is to be put into the ſtocks ſix hours. All peace of-"ficers are required to make diligent ſearch for diſcovering offenders; "and in caſe of neglect, the juſtice of peace is fined five pounds, and "every conſtable twenty ſhillings." Such was the ſeverity of theſe times.

Commonwealth. 1650.

For ſtricter obſervation of the ſabbath. Scobel, p. 119.

The parliament having ordered the ſale of biſhops lands, and the lands of deans and chapters, and veſted the money in the hands of truſtees, as has been related, appointed this year *April* 5. part of the money to be appropriated for the ſupport and maintenance of ſuch late biſhops, deans, prebendaries, ſinging men, choriſters, and other members, officers, and perſons deſtitute of maintenance, whoſe reſpective offices, places, and livelihoods, were taken away, and aboliſhed, diſtributing and proportioning the ſame according to their neceſſities. How well this was executed I cannot determine; but it was a generous act of compaſſion, and more than the church of *England* would do for the nonconformiſts at the reſtoration.

For maintenance of ſuch clergymen belonging to cathedrals, whoſe offices were aboliſhed. Scobel, p. 111.

A motion being made in the houſe about tranſlating all law books into the *engliſh* languague, Mr. *Whitlock* made a learned ſpeech on the argument, wherein he obſerves, that "*Moſes* read the law to the *Jews* in the "*hebrew* language; that the laws of all the eaſtern nations were in their "mother tongue; the laws of *Conſtantinople* were in *greek*; at *Rome* they "were in *latin*; in *France*, *Spain*, *Germany*, *Sweden*, *Denmark*, and "other places, their laws are publiſhed in their native language. As for "our own country (ſays he) thoſe who can read the *Saxon* character may "find the laws of our anceſtors in that language. Purſuant to this regu-"lation, *William* duke of *Normandy* commonly called the *conqueror*, "commanded the laws to be publiſhed in *engliſh*, that none might pre-"tend ignorance. He obſerves further, that by 36 *Eliz. cap.* 3. it was "ordered, that all pleadings ſhould be in *engliſh*; and even in the reigns of "thoſe princes, wherein our ſtatutes were enrolled in *french*, the ſheriffs "were obliged to proclaim them in *engliſh*, becauſe the people were deep-"ly concerned to know the laws of their country, and not to be kept in "ignorance

Laws to be tranſlated into engliſh. Whitl. p. 460.

" ignorance of the rule by which their intereſts and duty were di- Common-
" rected." wealth. 1650.

The arguments in this ſpeech were ſo forcible, that the houſe agreed unanimouſly to a bill, wherein they ordain " that all books of law be Scobel, p.
" tranſlated into *engliſh*; and all proceedings in any court of juſtice, ex- 155.
" cept the court of *Admiralty*, after *Eaſter* term 1651. ſhall be in *eng-*
" *liſh* only; and all writs, *&c.* ſhall be in a legible hand, and not in
" court-hand, on forfeiture of twenty pounds for the firſt offence, half
" to the commonwealth, and the other half to them that will ſue for
" the ſame." And though this regulation ceaſed at the reſtoration, as all other ordinances did that were made in theſe times, a late parliament has thought fit to revive it.

From this time we may date the riſe of the people called QUAKERS, *Riſe of the quakers.* in whom moſt of the enthuſiaſts of theſe times centered: Their firſt leader was GEORGE FOX, born at *Drayton* in *Lancaſhire* 1624. his *Of* George Fox. father being a poor weaver, put him apprentice to a country ſhoemaker, but having a peculiar turn of mind for religion, he went away from his maſter, and wandered up and down the countries like an hermit, in a leathern doublet; at length his friends hearing he was at *London*, perſuaded him to return home, and ſettle in ſome regular courſe of employment, but after he had been ſome months in the country, he went from his friends a ſecond time, in the year 1646. and threw off all further attendance on the public ſervice in the churches: The reaſons he gave for his conduct were, becauſe it was revealed to him, that a learned education at the univerſity was no qualification for a miniſter, but that all depended on the anointing of the ſpirit, and that God who made the world did not dwell in temples made with hands. In the year 1647. he travelled into *Derbyſhire* and *Nottinghamſhire*, walking through divers towns and villages, which way ſoever his mind turned, in a ſolitary manner. He faſted Sewel's Hiſt. much (ſays my author) and walked often abroad in retired places, with no other companion but his bible. He would ſometime ſet in an hollow tree all day, and frequently walked about the fields in the night, like a man poſſeſſed with deep melancholy; which the writer of his life calls the *time of the firſt working of the Lord upon him.* Towards the latter end of this year, he began firſt to ſet up for a teacher of others, about *Duckinfield* and *Manchester*; the principal argument of his diſcourſe being, *that people ſhould receive the inward divine teachings of the Lord, and take that for their rule.*

In the year 1648. there being a diſſolution of all government both civil and eccleſiaſtical, *George Fox* waxed bold, and travelled through the counties of *Leiceſterſhire*, *Northamptonſhire*, and *Derbyſhire*, ſpeaking to the people in market-places, *&c.* about the *inward light of Chriſt with-*

in

Common-wealth. 1650.

Hiſt. Quakers, p. 18.

in them. At this time (ſays my author) he apprehended the Lord had forbid him *to put off his hat to any one*, high or low; he was required alſo, to ſpeak to the people without diſtinction in the language of THOU and THEE. He was not to bid people good-morrow, or good-night; neither might he bend his knee to the chief magiſtrate in the nation; the women that followed him would not make a courteſy to their ſuperiors, nor comply with the common forms of ſpeech. Both men and women affected a plain and ſimple dreſs, diſtinct from the faſhion of the times. They neither gave nor accepted any titles of reſpect or honour, nor would they call any man maſter on earth. They refuſed to take an oath on the moſt ſolemn occaſion. Theſe and the like peculiarities, he ſupported by ſuch paſſages of ſcriptures as theſe, *ſwear not at all*; *how can ye believe who receive honour one of another, and ſeek not the honour which comes from God only?* But theſe marks of diſtinction which *George Fox* and his followers were ſo tenacious of, unhappily brought them into a great deal of trouble, when they were called to appear before the civil magiſtrate.

His ſufferings.

In the year 1649. he grew more troubleſome, and began to interrupt the public miniſters in time of divine ſervice: His firſt eſſay of this kind was at *Nottingham*, where the miniſter preaching from thoſe words of St. *Peter*, *We have a more ſure word of prophecy*, &c. told the people, that they were to try all doctrines, opinions, and religions, by the holy ſcriptures. Upon which *George Fox* ſtood up in the midſt of the congregation and ſaid, *Oh no! 'tis not the ſcripture, but 'tis the holy ſpirit, by which opinions, and religions, are to be tried; for it was the ſpirit that lead people into all truth, and gave them the knowledge of it.* And continuing his ſpeech to the diſturbance of the congregation, the officers were obliged to turn him out of the church, and carry him to the ſheriff's houſe; next day he was committed to the caſtle, but was quickly releaſed without any other puniſhment. After this he diſturbed the miniſter of *Mansfield* in time of divine ſervice, for which he was ſet in the ſtocks, and turned out of the town. The like treatment he met with at *Market Boſworth*, and ſeveral other towns. At length the magiſtrates of *Derby* confined him ſix months in priſon, for uttering divers blaſphemous opinions, purſuant to a late act of parliament for that purpoſe. By this time there began to appear ſome other viſionaries, of the ſame make and complexion with *George Fox*, who ſpoke in places of public reſort; being moved (as they ſaid) by the Holy Ghoſt; and even ſome women, contrary to the modeſty of their ſex, went about ſtreets, and entered into churches, crying down the the *teachings of men*, and exhorting people to attend to the light within themſelves.

He is joined by others.

Common-wealth. 1650.

It was in the year 1650. that theſe wandring lights firſt received the denomination of QUAKERS, upon this ground, that their ſpeaking to the people was uſually attended with convulſive agonies, and ſhakings of the body. All their ſpeakers had theſe *tremblings*, which they gloried in, aſſerting it to be the character of a good man *to tremble before God.* When *George Fox* appeared before *Gervas Bennet* Eſq; one of the juſtices of *Derby*, *Octob.* 30. 1650. he had one of his agitations, or fits of *trembling* upon him, and with a loud voice and vehement emotion of body, bid the juſtice and thoſe about him, *tremble at the word of the Lord*; whereupon the juſtice gave him and his friends, the name of QUAKERS, which being agreeable to their common behaviour, quickly became the diſtinguiſhing *denomination* of this people.

They are firſt called quakers.

At length they diſturbed the public worſhip by appearing in ridiculous habits, with emblematical or typical repreſentations of ſome impending calamity; they alſo took the liberty of giving miniſters the reproachful names of *hirelings*, *deceivers of the people*, *falſe prophets*, &c. Some of them went through divers towns and villages *naked*, denouncing judgments and calamities upon the nation. Some have famiſhed and deſtroyed themſelves by deep melancholy; and others have undertaken to raiſe their friends from the dead. Mr. *Baxter* ſays, many *franciſcan friars* and other papiſts, have been diſguiſed ſpeakers in their aſſemblies; but little credit is to be given to ſuch reports.

Their behaviour.

Baxter, p. 77.

It can't be expected that ſuch an unſettled people ſhould have an uniform ſyſtem of rational principles. Their firſt and chief deſign, if they had any, was to reduce all revealed religion to allegory; and becauſe ſome had laid too great ſtreſs upon rights and ceremonies, theſe would have neither order nor regularity, nor ſtated ſeaſons of worſhip, but all muſt ariſe from the inward impulſe of their ſpirits. Agreeable to this rule, they declared againſt all ſorts of clergy, or ſettled miniſters; againſt people's aſſembling in *ſteeple houſes*; againſt fixed times of public devotion, and conſequently againſt the obſervation of the ſabbath. Their own meetings were occaſional, and when they met, one or another ſpake as they were *moved from within*, and ſometimes they departed without any one's being moved to ſpeak at all.

The doctrines they delivered were as vague and uncertain as the principle from which they acted. They denied the holy ſcriptures to be the only rule of their faith, calling it a *dead letter*, and maintaining that every man had a *light* within himſelf, which was a ſufficient rule. They denied the received doctrine of the trinity and incarnation. They diſowned the ſacraments of baptiſm and the Lord's ſupper; nay, ſome of them proceeded ſo far, as to deny a Chriſt *without them*; or at leaſt, to place more of their dependance upon a Chriſt *within.* They ſpake little or

Their doctrines.

Common-wealth. 1650.

nothing (ſays Mr. *Baxter*) about the depravity of nature; about the covenant of grace; about pardon of ſin and reconciliation with God; or about moral duties. But the diſturbance they gave to the public religion for a courſe of years was ſo inſufferable, that the magiſtrates could not avoid puniſhing them as diſturbers of the peace; though of late they are become a more ſober and inoffenſive people; and by the wiſdom of their managers, have formed themſelves into a ſort of body politic, and are in general very worthy members of ſociety.

Baxter, p. 77.

CHAP. II.

From the coronation of king CHARLES II. *in* Scotland, *to the protectorſhip of* OLIVER CROMWELL.

Coronation of the king Charles II. 1651.

THE coronation of king *Charles* by the *ſcots*, which had been deferred hitherto, being now thought neceſſary to give life to their cauſe, was ſolemnized at *Scone* on *New-years day* 1651. with as much magnificence as their circumſtances would admit; when his majeſty took the following oath: "I *Charles* king of *Great Britain*, *France*, "and *Ireland*, do aſſure and declare by my ſolemn oath, in the preſence "of almighty God, the ſearcher of all hearts, my allowance and appro-"bation of the national covenant, and of the ſolemn league and cove-"nant; and faithfully oblige myſelf to proſecute the ends thereof in my "ſtation and calling; and that I myſelf and ſucceſſors, ſhall conſent and "agree to all the acts of parliament enjoining the national covenant, and "the ſolemn league and covenant, and fully eſtabliſh preſbyterian go-"vernment, the directory of worſhip, confeſſion of faith, and cate-"chiſms, in the kingdom of *Scotland*, as they are approved by the "general aſſembly of this kirk, and parliament of this kingdom; and "that I will give my royal aſſent to all acts of parliament paſſed, or to "be paſſed, enjoining the ſame in my other dominions; and that I "ſhall obſerve theſe in my own practice and family, and ſhall never "make oppoſition to any of theſe, or endeavour any change thereof." This oath was annexed to the covenant itſelf, drawn up in a fair roll of parchment, and ſubſcribed by him in preſence of the nobility and gentry.

Oldm. Hiſt. Stuarts, p. 391.

His oath.

His

His majeſty alſo ſigned a declaration, in which he acknowledged the ſin of his father in marrying into an idolatrous family; and that the blood ſhed in the late wars lay at his father's door. He expreſſed a deep ſenſe of his own ill education, and of the prejudices he had drunk in, againſt the cauſe of God, of which he was now very ſenſible. He confeſſed all the former parts of his life to have been a courſe of enmity to the word of God. He repented of his *commiſſion* to *Montroſs*. He acknowledged his own ſins, and the ſins of his father's houſe, and ſays, He will account them his enemies who oppoſe the *covenants*, both which he had taken without any ſiniſter intention of attaining his own ends. He declares his deteſtation and abhorrence of all popery, ſuperſtition, idolatry, and prelacy, and reſolves not to tolerate them in any part of his dominions. He acknowledges his great ſin in making peace with the *iriſh rebels*, and allowing them the liberty of their religion, which he makes void, reſolving for the future rather to chooſe affliction than ſin; and tho' he judges charitably of thoſe who have acted againſt the covenant, yet he promiſes not to employ them for the future till they have taken it. In the concluſion, his majeſty confeſſes over again his own guilt; and tells the world, the ſtate of the queſtion was now altered, in as much as he had obtained mercy to be on God's ſide, and therefore hopes the Lord will be gracious, and countenance his own cauſe, ſince he is determined to do nothing but with advice of the kirk.

Commonwealth. 1651.

He ſigns the covenant and a declaration.

Hiſt. Stuarts, p. 387. Burnet, p. 56.

Our hiſtorians who complain of the prevarication of *Cromwell*, would do well to find a parallel to this in all hiſtory; the king took the covenant three times with this tremendous oath, *by the eternal and almighty God, who liveth and reigneth for ever, I will obſerve and keep all that is contained herein.* Mr. *Baxter* admits, that the *ſcots* were in the wrong in tempting the young king to ſpeak and publiſh that, which they might eaſily know was contrary to the thoughts of his heart; but ſurely his majeſty was no leſs to blame, to trample upon the moſt ſacred bonds of religion and ſociety. He complied with the rigors of the *ſcots* diſcipline and worſhip: He heard many prayers and ſermons of great length. "I "remember (ſays biſhop *Burnet*) in one faſt day, there were ſix ſer- "mons preached without intermiſſion. He was not allowed to walk "abroad on ſundays; and if at any time there had been any gaiety at "court, as dancing, or playing at cards, he was ſeverely reproved for "it, which contributed not a little to beget in him an averſion to "all ſtrictneſs in religion." And the *ſcots* were ſo jealous that all this was from *neceſſity*, that they would ſuffer none of his old friends to come into his preſence and councils, nor ſo much as to ſerve in the army.

Remarks.

p. 66.

p. 53.

Common-wealth. 1651.

Presbyterian plot.

While the *ſcots* were raiſing forces for the king's ſervice, a private correſpondence was, carried on with the *engliſh* preſbyterians; letters were alſo wrote, and meſſengers ſent from *London* to the king and queen mother in *France*, to haſten an accomodation with the *ſcots*, aſſuring them, that the *engliſh* preſbyterians would then declare for him the firſt opportunity. Conſiderable ſums of money were collected privately to forward an expedition into *England*; but the vigilance of the commonwealth diſcovered and defeated their deſigns. The principal gentlemen and miniſters concerned in the correſpondence, were ſome diſbanded officers who had ſerved the parliament in the late wars; as major *Adams*, *Alford*, and *Huntington*; colonel *Vaughan*, *Titus*, *Sowton*, *Jackſon*, *Bains*, *Barton*; captain *Adams*, *Potter*, *Maſſey*, *Starks*, *Far*; and Mr. *Gibbons*. The miniſters were Dr. *Drake*, Mr. *Caſe*, *Watſon*, *Heyrick*, *Jenkins*, *Jackſon*, *Jacquel*, *Robinſon*, *Cawton*, *Nalſon*, *Haviland*, *Blackmore*, and Mr. *Love*. Theſe had their private aſſemblies at major *Adams*'s, colonel *Barton*'s, and at Mr. *Love*'s houſe, and held a correſpondence with the king, who deſired them to ſend commiſſioners to *Breda* to moderate the *ſcots* demands, which ſervice he would reward when God ſhould reſtore him to his kingdoms.

But ſo numerous a confederacy was hardly to be concealed from the watchful eyes of the new government, who had their ſpies in all places. Major *Adams* being apprehended on ſuſpicion, was the firſt who diſcovered the conſpiracy to the *council of ſtate*. On his information warrants were iſſued out, for apprehending moſt of the gentlemen and miniſters abovementioned; but ſeveral abſconded, and withdrew from the ſtorm. The miniſters who were apprehended were Dr. *Drake*, Mr. *Jenkins*, *Jackſon*, *Robinſon*, *Watſon*, *Blackmore*, and *Haviland*, who after ſome time were releaſed on their petition for mercy, and promiſing ſubmiſſion to the government for the future, but Mr. *Love* and *Gibbons* were made examples, as a terror to others. Mr. *Jenkins*'s petition being expreſſed in very ſtrong terms was ordered to be printed; it was intitled *The humble Petition of* Will. Jenkins *priſoner, declaring his unfeigned ſorrow for all his late miſcarriages, and promiſing to be true and faithful to the preſent Government; with three queries, being the ground of his late petition, and ſubmiſſion to the preſent Powers.*

Mr. Love's *trial.*

The reverend Mr. *Love* was brought before a new *high court of juſtice* erected for this purpoſe, as was the cuſtom of theſe times for *ſtate criminals*, when Mr. attorney-general *Prideaux June* 20, exhibited againſt him the following charge of high treaſon; "that at ſeveral times in the years "1649, 1650, and 1651, and in ſeveral places, he, with the perſons "abovementioned, had maliciouſly combined, and contrived to raiſe forces "againſt

" againſt the preſent government — that they had declared and publiſhed " *Charles Stuart*, eldeſt Son of the late king, to be king of *England*, " without conſent of parliament —— that they had aided the *ſcots* to " invade this commonwealth —— that the ſaid *Chriſtopher Love*, at di- " vers times between the 29th of *March* 1650. and the firſt of *June* " 1651. at *London* and other places, had traiterouſly and maliciouſly " maintained correſpondence and intelligence by letters and meſſages " with *Charles Stuart*, ſon of the late king, and with the queen his mo- " ther, and with ſundry of his council —— that he did likewiſe hold " correſpondence with divers of the *ſcots* nation, and had aſſiſted them " with money, arms, and other ſupplies in the preſent war, as well as " colonel *Titus*, and others of the *engliſh* nation, in confederacy with " them, to the hazard of the public peace, and in breach of the laws of " the land. —— " Commonwealth. 1651.

To this charge Mr. *Love* after having demurred to the juriſdiction of the court, pleaded *not guilty*. The witneſſes againſt him were eight of the abovementioned gentlemen. The reverend Mr. *Jackſon* was ſummoned, but refuſed to be ſworn, or give evidence, becauſe he looked on Mr. *Love* to be a good man; ſaying, he ſhould have a hell in his conſcience to his dying day, if he ſhould ſpeak any thing that ſhould be circumſtantially prejudicial to Mr. *Love*'s life. The court put him in mind of his obligation to the public, and that the very ſafety of all government depended upon it. But he refuſed to be ſworn, for which the court ſent him to the *Fleet*, and fined him five hundred pounds.

The evidence.

But it appeared by the other witneſſes, that Mr. *Love* had carried on a criminal correſpondence both with the king and the *ſcots*. With regard to the king it was ſworn, that about a month after his late majeſty's death, ſeveral of them met at a tavern at *Dowgate*, and other places, to concert meaſures to forward the king's agreement with the *ſcots*, for which purpoſe they applied by letters to the queen, and ſent over colonel *Titus* with one hundred pounds to defray his expences. The colonel having delivered his meſſage, ſent back letters by colonel *Alsford*, which were read in Mr. *Love's* houſe; with the copy of a letter from the king himſelf, Mr. *Love* being preſent. Upon theſe and ſuch like facts, the council for the commonwealth inſiſted, that here was a criminal correſpondence to *reſtore the king*, contrary to the ordinance of *Jan.* 30. 1648. which ſays, " that " whoſoever ſhall proclaim, declare, publiſh, or any ways promote " *Charles Stuart*, or any other perſon to be king of *England*, without " conſent of parliament, ſhall be adjudged a traytor, and ſuffer the pains " of death as a traytor."

Common-wealth. 1651.

The other branch of the charge againſt Mr. *Love*, was his correſpondence with the *ſcots*, and aſſiſting them in the war againſt the parliament. To ſupport this article, captain *Potter*, *Adams*, and Mr. *Jacquel* ſwore, that letters came from *Scotland* to colonel *Bamfield* with the letter L upon them, giving a large narrative of the fight at *Dunbar*, and of the *ſcots* affairs for three months after till *Chriſtmas*. There came alſo letters from the earl of *Argyle*, *Lothian*, and *Loudon*, who propoſed the raiſing ten thouſand pounds to buy arms, and to hire ſhipping, in order to land five thouſand men in *England*. The letters were read at Mr. *Love*'s houſe; but the propoſals being diſliked, only forty pounds was raiſed for the expences of the meſſenger. At another time a letter was read from general *Maſſey*, in which he deſires them to provide arms, and mentions his own and colonel *Titus*'s neceſſities; upon which it was agreed to raiſe two or three hundred pounds by way of contribution, and every one preſent writ down what he would lend, among whom was Mr. *Love*, who not only contributed himſelf, but carried about the paper to encourage others. This was conſtrued by the council for the commonwealth, ſufficient to bring Mr. *Love* within the ordinance of *July* 1. 1649. which ſays, "that if any "ſhall procure, invite, aid, or aſſiſt, any foreigners or ſtrangers to invade "*England* or *Ireland*; or ſhall adhere to any forces raiſed by the ene-"mies of the parliament, or commonwealth, or keepers of the liber-"ties of *England*, all ſuch perſons ſhall be deemed, and adjudged guilty "of high treaſon."

Mr. Love's *defence.*

Mr. *Love* in his defence, behaved with a little too much freedom and boldneſs; he ſet too high a value upon his ſacred character, which the court was inclined to treat with neglect. He objected to the witneſſes, as being forced into the ſervice to ſave their lives. He obſerves, that to ſeveral of the facts there was only one witneſs; and that ſome of them had ſworn falſly, or at leaſt their memories had failed them in ſome things; which might eaſily happen at ſo great a diſtance of time. He called no witneſſes to confront the evidence, but at the cloſe of his defence confeſſed ingenuouſly, that there had been ſeveral meetings of the above-named perſons at his houſe, and that a commiſſion was read, but that he had diſſented from it. He acknowledged further, that he was preſent at the reading of letters, or of ſome part of them, "but I was ignorant "(ſays he) of the danger that I now ſee I am in. The act of *Aug.* 2. "1650. makes it treaſon to hold any correſpondence with *Scotland*, or "to ſend letters thither though but in a way of commerce, the two na-"tions being at war; now here my council acquaints me with my danger, "that I being preſent when letters were read in my houſe, am guilty of a "concealment, and therefore as to that, I humbly lay myſelf at your feet "and mercy."

And

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And to move the court to ſhew mercy to him, he endeavoured to ſet out his own character in the moſt favourable light; "I have been called a "*malignant and apoſtate* (ſays he) but God is my witneſs, I never carried "on a malignant intereſt; I ſhall retain my covenanting principles, from "which by the grace of God I will never depart; neither am I an *in-* "*cendiary* between the two nations of *England* and *Scotland*, but I am "grieved for their diviſions; and if I had as much blood in my veins as "there is water in the ſea, I could account it well ſpent to quench the "fire that our ſins have kindled between them. I have all along enga- "ged my life and eſtate in the parliament's quarrel, againſt the forces rai- "ſed by the late king, not from a proſpect of advantage, but from "conſcience and duty; and I am ſo far from repenting, that were it "to do again, upon the ſame unqueſtionable authority, and for the "ſame declared ends, I ſhould as readily engage in it as ever; though "I wiſh from my ſoul, that the ends of that juſt war had been better "accompliſhed.

"Nor have my ſufferings in this cauſe been inconſiderable; when I "was a ſcholar in *Oxford*, and *M.A.* I was the firſt who publicly refuſed "to ſubſcribe the canons impoſed by the late archbiſhop, for which I "was expelled the convocation-houſe. When I came firſt to *London*, "which was about twelve years ago, I was oppoſed by the biſhop of "*London*, and it was about three years before I could obtain ſo much "as a lecture. In the year 1640, or 1641. I was impriſoned in *New-* "*caſtle*, for preaching againſt the ſervice book, from whence I was removed "hither by *habeas corpus*, and acquitted. In the beginning of the war "between the late king and parliament, I was accuſed for preaching trea- "ſon and rebellion, merely becauſe I maintained in a ſermon at *Tenterden* "in *Kent*, the lawfulneſs of a defenſive war. I was again complained "of by the commiſſioners at *Uxbridge* for preaching a ſermon, which I "hear is lately reprinted; and if it be printed according to the firſt copy, "I will own every line of it. After all this, I have been three times in "trouble ſince the late change of government. Once I was committed "to cuſtody, and twice cited before the committee for plundered miniſ- "ters, but for want of proof was diſcharged. And now laſt of all, "this great trial is come upon me; I have been kept ſeveral weeks in "cloſe priſon, and am now arraigned for my life, and like to ſuffer from "the hands of thoſe for whom I have done and ſuffered ſo much, and "who have lift up their hands with me in the ſame covenant; and yet "I am not conſcious of any perſonal act proved againſt me, that brings "me within any of your laws as to treaſon.

"Upon

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"Upon the whole, though I never writ nor ſent letters into *Scotland*, "yet I confeſs, their proceedings with the king are agreeable to my "judgment, and for the good of the nation; and though I diſown the "commiſſion and inſtructions mentioned in the indictment, yet I have "deſired an ageement between the king and the *ſcots*, agreeably to the co-"venant; for they having declared him to be their king, I have deſired "and prayed as a private man, that they might accompliſh their ends, "upon ſuch terms as were conſiſtent with the ſafety of religion and the "covenant."

He concludes with beſeeching the court, that he may not be put to death for ſtate reaſons. He owns he had been guilty of a *concealment*, and begs the mercy of the court for it, promiſing for the future to lead a quiet and peaceable life. He puts them in mind, that when *Abiathar* the prieſt had done an unjuſtifiable action, king *Solomon* ſaid, he would not put him to death at that time, *becauſe he bore the ark of the Lord God before* David *his father; and becauſe he had been afflicted in all wherein his father had been afflicted*—"Thus (ſays he) I commit myſelf and my all to "God, and to your judgments and conſciences, with the words of *Jere-*"*miah* to the rulers of *Iſrael*, *as for me, behold I am in your hands, do with* "*me as ſeemeth good and meet to you; but know ye for certain, that if ye put* "*me to death, ye ſhall ſurely bring innocent blood upon yourſelves.* But I hope "better things of you, tho' I thus ſpeak."

The court allowed Mr. *Love* the benefit of council learned in the law, to argue ſome exceptions againſt the indictment; but after all that Mr. *Hales* could ſay for the priſoner, the court after ſix days hearing, on the 5th of *July*, pronounced ſentence of death againſt him as a traytor.

Great interceſſions were made for the life of this reverend perſon, by the chief of the preſbyterian party in *London*; his wife preſented ſeveral moving petitions; and two were preſented from himſelf, in one of which he acknowledges the juſtice of his ſentence, according to the laws of the commonwealth; in the other he petitions, that if he may not be pardoned, his ſentence may be changed into baniſhment; and that he might do ſomething to deſerve his life, he preſented with his laſt petition a narration of all that he knew relating to the plot, which admits almoſt all that had been objected to him at his trial.

A remarkable incident.

But the affairs of the commonwealth were now at a criſis, and king *Charles* II. having entered *England* at the head of ſixteen thouſand *ſcots*, it was thought neceſſary to ſtrike ſome terror into the preſbyterian party, by making an example of one of their favourite clergymen. Mr. *Whitlock* ſays, that colonel *Forteſcue* was ſent to general *Cromwell* with a petition on behalf of Mr. *Love*, but that both the general and the reſt of the officers declined meddling in the affair; biſhop *Kennet* and Mr. *Eachard* ſay, the

Compl. hiſt. p. 202. Each: p. 689.

general

general ſent word in a private letter to one of his confidents, that he was content that Mr. *Love* ſhould bereprieved, and upon giving ſecurity for his future good beha viourpardoned; but that the poſt-boy being ſtopt upon the road by ſome *cavaliers* belonging to the late king's army, they ſearched his packet, and finding this letter of reprieve for Mr. *Love*, they tore it with indignation, as thinking him not worthy to live, who had been ſuch a firebrand at the treaty of *Uxbridge*. If this ſtory be true, Mr. *Love* fell a ſacrifice to the ungovernable rage of the cavaliers, as Dr. *Doriſlaus* and Mr. *Aſcham* had done before. Commonwealth. 1651.

The mail arriving from *Scotland*, and no letter from *Cromwell* in behalf of Mr. *Love*, he was ordered to be executed upon *Tower-hill*, *Aug.* 22. the very day the king entered *Worceſter* at the head of his *ſcots* army. Mr. *Love* mounted the *ſcaffold* with great intrepidity and reſolution, and taking off his hat two ſeveral times to the people, made a long ſpeech, wherein he declares the ſatisfaction of his mind in the cauſe for which he ſuffered; and then adds, "I am for a regulated, mixed monarchy, which "I judge to be one of the beſt governments in the world. I oppoſed in "my place, the forces of the late king, becauſe I am againſt ſcrewing up "monarchy into tyranny, as much as againſt thoſe who would pull it down "into anarchy. I was never for putting the king to death, whoſe perſon "I did promiſe in my covenant to preſerve; and I judge it an ill way of "curing the body politic, by cutting off the political head. I die with my "judgment againſt the *engagement*; I pray God forgive them that impoſe "it, and them that take it, and preſerve them that refuſe it. Neither "would I be looked upon as owning this preſent government; I die "with my judgment againſt it. And *laſtly*, I die cleaving to all thoſe "oaths, vows, covenants, and proteſtations, that were impoſed by the "two houſes of parliament. I bleſs God I have not the leaſt trouble on "my ſpirit, but I die with as much quietneſs of mind as if I was going to "lie down on my bed to reſt. I ſee men thirſt after my blood, which "will but haſten my happineſs and their ruin; for though I am but of "mean parentage, yet my blood is the blood of a chriſtian, of a miniſter, "of an innocent man, and (I ſpeak it without vanity) of a martyr——I "conclude with the ſpeech of the apoſtle, *I am now ready to be offered up, "and the time of my departure is at hand, but I have finiſhed my courſe, I "have kept the faith, henceforth there is laid up for me a crown of righteouſ-"neſs—and not for me only, but for all them that love the appearance of our "Lord Jeſus Chriſt*, through whoſe blood I expect ſalvation, and remiſ-"ſion of ſins. And ſo the Lord bleſs you all." *His ſpeech on the ſcaffold, and execution.*

After this he prayed with an audible voice for himſelf and his fellow-ſufferer Mr. *Gibbon*, for the proſperity of *England*, for his covenanting brethren in *Scotland*, and for an happy union between the two nations, *making no*

Common-wealth. 1651.

mention of the king. He then roſe from his knees, and having taken leave of the miniſters, and others who attended him, he laid his head upon the block, which the executioner took off at one blow, before he had attained the age of forty years. Mr. *Love* was a zealous preſbyterian, a popular preacher, and highly eſteemed by his brethren. His funeral ſermon was preached by Dr. *Manton*, and publiſhed under the title of *the ſaints triumph over death*; but his memory has ſuffered very much by lord *Clarendon*'s character, who repreſents him as guilty of as much "treaſon a-"gainſt the late king as the pulpit could contain; and delighting himſelf "with the recital of it to the laſt, as dying with falſe courage, or (as he "calls it) in a raving fit of ſatisfaction, for having purſued the ends of "the ſanctified obligation the *covenant*, without praying for the king, any "further than he propagated the covenant."

Vol. III. p. 434.

Progreſs of the engliſh *army in* Scotland.

To return to more public affairs; after the battle of *Dunbar* general *Cromwell*, through the inclemency of the weather, and his great fatigues, was ſeized with an ague which hung upon him all the ſpring, but as the ſummer advanced he recovered, and in the month of *July* marched his army towards the king's at *Sterlin*; but not thinking it adviſable to attempt his camp, he tranſported part of his forces over the *Frith* into *Fife*, who upon their landing defeated the *ſcots*, killing two thouſand, and taking twelve hundred priſoners. After that, without waiting any longer on the king, he reduced *Johnſtown*, and almoſt all the garriſons in the north.

The king marches into England *with the* ſcots *army.*

While the general was employed in theſe parts, the *ſcots* committee that directed the marches of their army, fearing the ſtorm would quickly fall upon themſelves, reſolved to march their army into *England*, and try the loyalty of the *engliſh* preſbyterians; for this purpoſe colonel *Maſſey* was ſent before into *Lancaſhire*, to prepare them for a revolt; and the king himſelf entered *England* by the way of *Carliſle Auguſt* 6. at the head of ſixteen thouſand men; but when the *committee of miniſters* that attended the army, obſerved that the king and his friends, upon their entering *England*, were for dropping the *covenant*, they ſent an expreſs to *Maſſey* without the king's knowledge (ſays lord *Clarendon)*, requiring him to publiſh a declaration, to aſſure the people of their reſolution to proſecute the ends of the covenant. The king had no ſooner notice of this, but he ſent to *Maſſey*, forbidding him to publiſh the declaration, and to behave with equal civility towards all men who were forward to ſerve him; "but before this inhibition (ſays his lordſhip), the matter had taken air "in all places, and was ſpread over the whole kingdom, which made all "men fly from their houſes, or conceal themſelves, who wiſhed the king "well." But his lordſhip is ſurely miſtaken, for the king's chief hopes under *Maſſey* were from the preſbyterians, who were ſo far from being diſpleaſed with his majeſty's declaring for the covenant, that it gave them all

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all the ſpirit he could wiſh for; but when it was known that the covenant was to be laid aſide, *Maſſey*'s meaſures were broken, many of the *ſcots* deſerted and returned home; and not one in ten of the *engliſh* would hazard his life in the quarrel. Mr. *Baxter* who was a much better judge of the temper of the people than his lordſhip, ſays the *engliſh* knew that the "*ſcots* coming into *England* was rather a flight than a march. They con- "ſidered likewiſe, that the implacable cavaliers had made no preparation "of the people's minds, by propoſing any terms of a future reconciliation. "That the prelatical divines were gone further from the preſbyterians by "Dr. *Hammond*'s new way, than their predeceſſors; and that the cauſe "they contended for being not concord but government, they had given "the preſbyterian clergy and people no hopes of finding any abatement of "their former burdens; and 'tis hard to perſuade men to venture their "lives, in order to bring themſelves into a priſon or baniſhment." However, theſe were the true reaſons, ſays Mr. *Baxter*, that no more came into the king at preſent; and had the preſbyterians obſerved them at the reſtoration, they had made better terms for themſelves than they did.

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Rapin, p. 64.

Life. p. 68.

The parliament at *Weſtminſter* were quickly adviſed of the king's march, and by way of precaution expelled all delinquents out of the city; they raiſed the militia; they muſtered the trained bands, to the number of fourteen thouſand; and in a few weeks had got together an army of near ſixty thouſand brave ſoldiers. Mr. *Eachard* repreſents the parliament as in a terrible panic, and projecting means to eſcape out of the land; whereas in reality, the unhappy king was the pity of his friends, and the contempt of his enemies. General *Cromwell* ſent an expreſs to the parliament, to have a watchful eye over the preſbyterians, who were in confederacy with the *ſcots*, and told them, that the reaſon of his not interpoſing between the enemy and *England* was, becauſe he was reſolved to reduce *Scotland* effectually before winter. He deſired the houſe to collect their forces together, and make the beſt ſtand they could till he could come up with the enemy, when he doubted not but to give a good account of them. At the ſame time he ſent major-general *Lambert* with a ſtrong body of horſe to harraſs the king's forces, while himſelf with the body of the army, haſtened after, leaving lieutenant-general *Monk* with a ſufficient force to ſecure his conqueſts, and reduce the reſt of the country, which he quickly accompliſhed. Biſhop *Burnet* ſays, there was an order and diſcipline among the *engliſh*, and a face of gravity and piety that amazed all people; moſt of them were independents and baptiſts, but all gifted men, and preached as they were moved, but never above once diſturbed the public worſhip.

Preparations of the parliament.

p. 689.

Burnet, p. 58.

The earl of *Derby* was the only nobleman in *England* who raiſed 1500 men for the young king, who before he could join the royal army was

King at Worceſter.

Common-wealth. 1651.

defeated by colonel *Lilburn*, near *Wigan* in *Lancaſhire*, and his forces entirely diſperſed. The earl being wounded retired into *Cheſhire*, and from thence got to the king, who had marched his army as far as *Worceſter*, which opened its gates, and gave him an honourable reception; from hence his majeſty ſent letters to *London*, commanding all his ſubjects between the age of ſixteen and ſixty to repair to his royal ſtandard; but few had the courage to appear, the parliament having declared all ſuch rebels, and burnt the king's ſummons by the hands of the common hangman. His majeſty's affairs were now at a criſis; *Lambert* was in his rear with a great body of horſe, and *Cromwell* followed with ten thouſand foot, which together with the forces that joined him by order of parliament, made an army of thirty thouſand men. The king being unable to keep the field, fortified the city of *Worceſter*, and encamped almoſt under the walls: *September* 3. *Cromwell* attacked *Powick* bridge, within two miles of the city, which drew out the king's forces and occaſioned a general battle, in which his majeſty's army was entirely deſtroyed; four thouſand being ſlain, ſeven thouſand taken priſoners, with the king's ſtandard, and one hundred fifty-eight colours. Never was a greater rout and diſperſion, nor a more fatal blow to the royal cauſe. The account which the general gave to the parliament was, "that the battle was fought with various ſucceſs "for ſome hours, but ſtill hopeful on our part, and in the end became "an abſolute victory, the enemy's army being totally defeated, and the "town in our poſſeſſion, our men entering at the enemy's heels, and "fighting with them in the ſtreets, took all their baggage and artillery. "The diſpute was long and very often at puſh of pike from one defence "to another. There are about ſix or ſeven thouſand priſoners, among "whom are many officers and perſons of quality. This for ought I "know, may be a *crowning mercy*." All poſſible diligence was uſed to ſeize the perſon of the king; it was declared high treaſon to conceal him, and a reward of a thouſand pounds was ſet upon his head; but providence ordained his eſcape, for after he had travelled up and down the country ſix or ſeven weeks, under various diſguiſes, in company with one or two confidents, and eſcaped a thouſand dangers, he got a paſſage croſs the channel at *Brighthelmſton* in *Suſſex*, and landed at *Dieppe* in *Normandy Octob.* 16. the morning after he embarked, from whence he travelled by land to *Paris*, where his mother maintained him out of her ſmall penſion from the court of *France*.

Battle of Worceſter.

Low condition of the king and the church of England.

The hopes of the royaliſts were now expiring, for the iſlands of *Guernſey* and *Jerſey*, with all the *britiſh* plantations in *America*, were reduced this ſummer to the obedience of the parliament, in ſo much that his majeſty had neither fort nor caſtle, nor a foot of land in all his dominions. The liturgy of the church of *England* was alſo under a to-

tal eclipſe, the uſe of it being forbid not only in *England*, but even to the royal family in *France*, which had hitherto an apartment in the *Lovre* ſeparated to that purpoſe; but after the battle of *Worceſter* an order was ſent from the queen regent, to ſhut up the chapel, it being the king's pleaſure not to permit the exerciſe of any religion but the *roman* catholic in any of his houſes; nor could chancellor *Hyde* obtain more than a bare promiſe, that the queen of *England* would uſe her endeavours, that the proteſtants of the family ſhould have liberty to exerciſe their devotions in ſome private room belonging to the lodgings. Common-wealth-1651.

Upon the king's arrival in *France*, he immediately threw off the maſk of a preſbyterian, and never went once to the proteſtant church at *Charenton*, tho' they invited him in the moſt reſpectful manner; but lord *Clarendon* diſſuaded him, becauſe the *hugonots* had not been hearty in his intereſt, and becauſe it might look diſreſpectful to the old church of *England*: In truth, there being no further proſpect of the king's reſtoration by the preſbyterians, the eyes of the court were turned to the *roman* catholics, and many of his majeſty's retinue changed their religion, as appears by the *Legenda lignea*, publiſhed about this time, with a liſt of fifty-three new converts, among whom were the following names in red capitals; the *counteſs of* Derby, *lady* Kilmichin, *lord* Cottington, *Sir* Marm. Langdale, *Sir* Fr. Doddington, *Sir* Theoph. Gilby, *Capt.* Tho. Cook, Tho. Vane, *D. D.* De Creſſy, *Preb. of* Windſor, *Dr.* Bayley, *Dr.* Coſins, *jun.* D. Goffe, and many others, not to mention the *king himſelf*, of whom father *Huddleſton* his confeſſor writes in his treatiſe intitled, *A ſhort and plain way to the faith of the Church*, publiſhed 1685. that he put it into the king's hands in his retirement, and that when his majeſty had read it, he declared he could not ſee how it could be anſwered. Thus early, ſays a reverend prelate of the church of *England*, was the king's advance towards popery, of which we ſhall meet with a fuller demonſtration hereafter. *He neglects the presbyterians and turns his eyes towards the papiſts.* Clarend. p. 444.

General *Monk*, whom *Cromwell* left in *Scotland* with ſix thouſand men, quickly reduced that kingdom, which was ſoon after united to the commonwealth of *England*, the deputies of the ſeveral counties conſenting to be governed by authority of parliament, without a king or houſe of lords. The power of the kirk was likewiſe reſtrained within a narrow compaſs; for though they had liberty to excommunicate offenders, or debar them the communion, they might not ſeize their eſtates, or deprive them of their civil rights and privileges. No oaths or covenants were to be impoſed but by direction from *Weſtminſter*; and as all fitting encouragement was to be given to the miniſters of the eſtabliſhed kirk, ſo others not ſatisfied with their form of church government had liberty to ſerve God after their own manner; and all who would live peaceably, and Kennet, p. 200, 210. Rapin, p. 105. *Low condition of the kirk of* Scotland. Whitl. p. 503, 504, 498.

Common-wealth. 1651.

and yield obedience to the commonwealth, were protected in their ſeveral perſuaſions. This occaſioned a great commotion among the clergy, who complained of the loſs of their covenant, and church diſcipline; and exclaimed againſt the toleration, as opening a door to all kinds of error and hereſy: But the *engliſh* ſupported their friends againſt all oppoſition.

Engliſh *commiſſioners ſettle liberty of conſcience in that kingdom.* Whitl. p. 500, 505, 515.

The laird of *Drum* being threatened with excommunication for ſpeaking againſt the kirk, and for refuſing to ſwear that its diſcipline was of *divine authority*, fled to the *engliſh* for protection, and then writ the aſſembly word, that their oppreſſion was equal to that of the late biſhops, but that the commonwealth of *England* would not permit them to enſlave the conſciences of men any longer. The preſbytery would have proceeded to extremities with him, but *Monk* brandiſhed his ſword over their heads, and threatened to treat them as enemies to the ſtate, upon which they deſiſted for the preſent. Soon after this, commiſſioners chiefly of the independent perſuaſion, were ſent into *Scotland*, to viſit the univerſities, and to ſettle liberty of conſcience in that kingdom, againſt the coercive claim of the kirk, by whoſe influence a declaration was preſented to the aſſembly at *Edinburgh*, *July* 26. in favour of the *congregational diſcipline, and for liberty of conſcience*; but the ſtubborn aſſembly men, inſtead of yielding to the declaration, publiſhed a paper called a *Teſtimony againſt the preſent encroachments of the civil power upon the eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction*, occaſioned by a proclamation of the *engliſh* commiſſioners appointing a committee for viſiting their univerſities, which they take to be a ſpecial flower of the kirk prerogative. The ſynod of *Fife* alſo proteſted againſt the public reſolutions of the civil power, but the ſword of the *engliſh* kept them in awe; for when the ſynod of *Perth* cited before them ſeveral perſons for ſlighting the admonitions of the kirk, Mr. *Whitlock* ſays, that upon the day of appearance, their wives to the number of about one hundred and twenty, with clubs in their hands, came and beſieged the church where the ſynod ſat; that they abuſed one of the miniſters who was ſent out to treat with them, and threatened to excommunicate them; and that they beat the clerk and diſperſed the aſſembly; upon which thirteen of the miniſters met at a village about four miles diſtant, and having agreed that no more ſynods ſhould be held in that place, they pronounced the village accurſed. When the general aſſembly met again at *Edinburgh* next ſummer, and were juſt entering upon buſineſs, lieutenant-colonel *Cotterel* went into the church, and ſtanding up upon one of the benches, told them that no eccleſiaſtical judicatories were to ſit there, but by authority of the parliament of *England*; and without giving them leave to reply, he commanded them to retire, and conducted them out of the weſt gate of the city with a troop of horſe and a com-

The kirk inſulted. Whitl. p. 511, 512.

company of foot; and having taken away the commiſſions from their ſeveral claſſes, enjoined them not to aſſemble any more above three in a company. Common-wealth. 1651.

But with all theſe commotions, biſhop *Burnet* obſerves, that the country was kept in great order; the garriſons in the highlands obſerved an exact diſcipline, and were well paid, which brought ſo much money into the kingdom, that it continued all the uſurpation in a flouriſhing condition; juſtice was carefully adminiſtered, and vice was ſuppreſſed and puniſhed; there was a great appearance of devotion; the ſabbath was obſerved with uncommon ſtrictneſs; none might walk the ſtreets in time of divine ſervice, nor frequent public houſes; the evenings of the Lord's days were ſpent in catechiſing their children, ſinging pſalms, and other acts of family devotion, in ſo much that an acquaintance with the principles of religion, and the gift of prayer, encreaſed prodigiouſly among the common people. *State of* Scotland. p. 61.

The war being now ended, the parliament publiſhed an act of indemnity for all crimes committed before *June* 30. 1648. except pyrates, *iriſh* rebels, the murderers of Dr. *Doriſlaus* and Mr. *Aſcham*, and ſome others, provided they laid hold of it, and took the engagement before *Feb.* 1. 1652. In the cloſe of the year they choſe a new council of ſtate out of their own body for the next year, and continued themſelves, inſtead of diſſolving and giving way to a new parliament; the neglect of which was their ruin. *Act of indemnity, and a new council of ſtate.*

On the 26th of *Sept.* lieutenant-general *Ireton* died at *Limerick* in *Ireland*, after he had reduced that city to the obedience of the commonwealth. He was bred to the law, and was a perſon of great integrity, bold and intrepid in all his enterprizes, and never to be diverted from what he thought juſt and right by any arguments or perſuaſions. He was a thorough commonwealth's man. Biſhop *Burnet* ſays, he had the principles and temper of a *Caſſius*, and was moſt liberal in employing his purſe and hazarding his perſon in the ſervice of the public. He died in the midſt of life of a burning fever, after ten days ſickneſs. His body being brought over into *England* was laid in ſtate at *Somerſet-Houſe*, and buried in *Weſtminſter-Abbey* with a pomp and magnificence ſuited to the dignity of his ſtation; but after the reſtoration of the royal family, his body was taken out of the grave with *Cromwell*'s, and buried under the gallows. *Death of* L.G. Ireton. p. 46.

About the ſame time died Mr. *Francis Woodcock*, born in *Cheſter* 1613. and educated in *Brazen-Noſe College Oxford*, where he took a degree in arts, entered into orders, and had a cure of ſouls beſtowed upon him. In the beginning of the civil wars he ſided with the parliament, and was one of the aſſembly of divines, being then lecturer of St. *Lawrence-Jewry*. *Death of Mr.* Woodcock. Ath. Ox.

Common-wealth. 1651.

Jewry. He was afterwards, by ordinance of parliament dated *July* 10. 1646. made parſon of St. *Olave's Southwark*; having the eſteem of being a good ſcholar, and an excellent preacher. He died in the midſt of his days and uſefulneſs, *ætatis* 38.

Of Mr. George Walker. Eachard.

Mr. *George Walker* proceeded *B. D.* in St. *John's College Cambridge*. He was famous for his ſkill in the oriental languages, and was an excellent *logician* and *theologiſt*; being very much noted for his diſputations with the jeſuit *Fiſher*, and others of the *romiſh* church; and afterwards for his ſtrict ſabbatarian principles. He was a member of the aſſembly of divines, where he gained great reputation by his munificent and generous behaviour.

Of Mr. Wilſon.

Mr. *Thomas Wilſon* was born in *Cumberland* 1601. and educated in *Chriſt's College Cambridge*, where he proceeded in arts. He was firſt miniſter of *Capel* in *Surrey*, and after ſeveral other removes fixed at *Maidſtone* in *Kent*, where he was ſuſpended for refuſing to read the book of ſports, and not abſolved till the *ſcots* troubles in 1639. In 1643 he was appointed one of the aſſembly of divines at *Weſtminſter*, being reputed a good linguiſt, and well read in ancient and modern authors. He was of a robuſt conſtitution, and took vaſt pains in preaching and catechiſing; he had a great deal of natural courage, and was in every reſpect a chearful and active chriſtian, but he treſpaſſed too much upon his conſtitution, which wore him out when he was little more than fifty years old. He died comfortably and chearfully towards the end of the year 1651. Sir *Edward Deering* gave him this character in the houſe of commons; "Mr. *Wilſon* is as orthodox in doctrine, and laborious in preach-"ing, as any we have, and of an unblemiſhed life."

Low terms of conformity.

The terms of conformity in *England* were now lower than they had been ſince the beginning of the civil wars; the covenant was laid aſide, and no other civil qualification for a living required, but the *engagement*, ſo that many epiſcopal divines complied with the government; for tho' they might not read the liturgy in form, they might frame their prayers as near it as they pleaſed. Many epiſcopal aſſemblies were connived at, where the liturgy was read, till they were found plotting againſt the government; nor would they have been denied an open toleration, if they would have given ſecurity for their peaceable behaviour, and not meddling with politics.

Petition againſt tithes.

The parliament having voted in the year 1649, that *tithes ſhould be taken away* as ſoon as another maintenance for the clergy could be agreed upon, ſeveral petitions came out of the country, praying the houſe to bring this affair to an iſſue: One adviſed, that all the tithes over the whole kingdom might be collected into a treaſury, and that the miniſters might be paid their ſalaries out of it. Others looking upon tithes unlawful, would

would have the livings valued, and the pariſh engaged to pay the miniſter. This was ſuſpected to come from the ſectaries, and awakened the fears of the eſtabliſhed clergy. Mr. *Baxter* printed the *Worceſter petition* on the behalf of the miniſters, which was preſented to the houſe by colonel *Bridges* and Mr. *Foley*; and Mr. *Boreman* B. D. and fellow of *Trinity-College Cambridge*, publiſhed *The Country Man's Catechiſm, or the Church's Plea for Tithes*, dedicated to the nobility, gentry, and commons of the realm; in which he inſiſts upon their *divine right*. But the clergy were more afraid than hurt; for though the commons were of opinion with Mr. *Selden*, that tithes were aboliſhed with the old law, yet the committee not agreeing upon an expedient to ſatisfy the lay-impropriators, the affair was dropt for the preſent. Commonwealth. 1650. *Life*, p. 115,

Upon complaint of *the expence and tediouſneſs of law ſuits*, it was moved in the houſe, that courts of juſtice might be ſettled in every county, and maintained at the public charge; and that all controverſies between man and man might be heard and determined free, according to the laws of the land; and that clerks of all courts and committees might do their duty without delay, or taking any thing more than their ſettled fees. Accordingly a committee was appointed to conſider of the inconveniencies and delays of laws ſuits, and how they might be remedied. The committee came to ſeveral reſolutions upon this head; but the diſſolution of the parliament, which happened the next year, prevented their bringing it to perfection. *Attempts to regulate law ſuits.*

An act had paſſed in the year 1649. for *propagating the goſpel in Wales*; and commiſſioners were appointed for ejecting ignorant and ſcandalous miniſters, and placing others in their room; purſuant to which, Mr. *Whitlock* writes, "that by this time there were one huudred and fif-"ty good preachers in the thirteen *welſh* counties, moſt of whom preach-"ed three or four time a weeks; that in every market town there was "placed one, and in moſt great towns two ſchool-maſters, able, learn-"ed, and univerſity men; that the tithes were all employed to the "uſes directed by act of parliament; that is, to the maintenance of god-"ly miniſters; to the payment of taxes and officers; to ſchool-maſ-"ters; and the fifths to the wives and children of the ejected cler-"gy:" Of which we ſhall meet with a more particular relation in its proper place. *Propagation of the goſpel in* Wales. p. 518.

The commonwealth was now very powerful, and the nation in as flouriſhing a condition (ſays Mr. *Rapin*) as under queen *Elizabeth*. The form of government indeed was altered contrary to law, and without conſent of the people, the majority of whom were diſaffected, preferring a mixed monarchy to an abſolute commonwealth; but the adminiſtration was in the hands of the ableſt men *England* had beheld for many *State of the commonwealth.* p. 70.

Common-wealth. 1652.

years; all their enemies were in a manner ſubdued, and the two kingdoms incorporated into one commonwealth: But ſtill there were two things that gave them uneaſineſs; one was the growing power of the army, who were now at leiſure, and expected rewards ſuitable to their ſucceſſes; the other, the neceſſity they were under to diſſolve themſelves in a little time, and put the power into other hands.

War with the dutch.

With regard to the army, it was reſolved to reduce the land forces, and augment the fleet with them, in order to ſecure the nation againſt the *dutch*; for the parliament having a deſire to ſtrengthen their hands, by uniting with the commonwealth of *Holland*, ſent over *Oliver St. John*, and Sir *Walter Strickland*, with propoſals for this purpoſe; but the *dutch* treated them with neglect, as their younger ſiſter, which the parliament reſenting, demanded ſatisfaction for the damages the *engliſh* had ſuſtained at *Amboyna*, and other parts of the *Eaſt-Indies*; and to cramp them in their trade, paſſed the famous act of navigation, *prohibiting the importing goods of foreign growth in any but* engliſh *bottoms; or ſuch as were of the country from whence they came.* Upon this the *dutch* ſent over ambaſſadors, deſiring a clauſe of exception for themſelves, who were the carriers of *Europe*; but the parliament in their turn treated them coldly, and put them in mind of the murder of their envoy Dr. *Doriſlaus*. Both commonwealths being diſſatisfied with each other, prepared for war; and *Van Trump* the *dutch* admiral, with a convoy of merchant-men, meeting admiral *Blake* in the channel, and refuſing him the flag, an engagement enſued *May* 17. which continued four hours, till the night parted them. The *dutch* excuſed the accident, as done without their knowledge; but the parliament was ſo enraged, that they reſolved to humble them. In theſe circumſtances it was thought reaſonable to augment the fleet out of the land forces, who had nothing to do, and would in a little time be a burden to the nation.

Quarrel between the parliament and army.

CROMWELL who was at the head of the army, quickly diſcovered that the continuance of the war muſt be his ruin, by diſarming him of his power, and reducing him from a great general to the condition of a private gentleman. Beſides, Mr. *Rapin* obſerves, that he had ſecret information of a conſpiracy againſt his life; and without all queſtion, if the army had not agreed to ſtand by their general his ruin had been unavoidable; the officers therefore determined to combine together, and not ſuffer their men to be diſbanded or ſent to ſea, till the arrears of the whole army were paid; for this purpoſe they preſented a petition to the houſe, which they reſented, and inſtead of giving them ſoft language, and encouragement to hope for ſome ſuitable rewards for their paſt ſervices, ordered them to be reprimanded, for preſuming to meddle in affairs of ſtate that did not belong to them. But the officers proving as reſolute as their

their maſters, inſtead of ſubmitting, preſented another petition, in which, having juſtified their behaviour, they boldly ſtrike *at the parliament's continuance*, and put them in mind how many years they had ſat; that they had engroſſed all preferments and places of profit to themſelves and their friends; that it was a manifeſt injury to the gentlemen of the nation, to be excluded the ſervice of their country, and an invaſion of the rights of the people, to deprive them of the right of frequent chooſing new repreſentatives; they therefore inſiſt upon their ſettling a new council of ſtate for the adminiſtration of public affairs; and upon their fixing a peremptory day for the choice of a new parliament. Commonwealth. 1652.

This was a new and delicate criſis; the civil and military powers being engaged againſt each other, and reſolved to maintain their reſpective pretenſions: If *Cromwell* with the ſword in his hand, had ſecured the election of a free repreſentative of the people, and left the ſettlement of the nation to them, all men would have honoured and bleſſed him, for the people were certainly weary of the parliament. But when the *officers* had deſtroyed this form of government, they were not agreed what to eſtabliſh, whether a *monarchy*, or a *new republic*; the general being for a mixed monarchy, had no doubt, ſome ambitious views to himſelf, and therefore called together ſome ſelect friends of ſeveral profeſſions to adviſe on the affair, when Sir *Tho. Widdrington*, lord chief juſtice *St. John*, and the reſt of the lawyers, declared for monarchy, as moſt agreeable to the old conſtitution, and propoſed the duke of *Glouceſter* for king; but the officers of the army then preſent declared for a republic. *Cromwell* himſelf, after much heſitation, gave his opinion for ſomething of a monarchial power, as moſt agreeable to the genius of the *engliſh*, if it might be accompliſhed with ſafety to their rights and privileges as *engliſh* men and chriſtians. *Remarks.* *Debates about a new form of government.*

Some time after *Cromwell* deſired Mr. *Whitlock's* opinion upon the preſent ſituation of affairs: "My lord (ſays he) 'tis time to conſider of "our preſent danger, that we may not be broken in pieces by our particu-"lar quarrels after we have gained an entire conqueſt over the enemy." *Whitlock* replied, "that all their danger was from the army, who were "men of emulation, and had now nothing to do." *Cromwell* anſwered, "that the officers thought themſelves not rewarded according to their de-"ſerts; that the parliament had engroſſed all places of honour and truſt "among themſelves; that they delayed the public buſineſs, and deſigned "to perpetuate themſelves; that the officers thought it impoſſible to keep "them within the bounds of juſtice, law, or reaſon, unleſs there was "ſome authority or power to which they might be accountable." *Whitlock* ſaid, "he believed the parliament were honeſt men, and deſigned "the public good, though ſome particular perſons might be to blame, Cromwell's *ambitious deſigns.* Whitl. p. 524.

Common-wealth. 1652.

" but that it was abſurd for the officers, who were private men, and had " received their commiſſions from the parliament, to pretend to controul " them." " But, ſays *Cromwell*, what if a man ſhould take upon him " to be king;" *Whitlock* anſwered, " that the remedy was worſe than " the diſeaſe; and that the general had already all the power of a king " without the envy, danger and pomp of the title." " But, ſays he, " the title of KING would make all acts done by him legal; it would in- " demnify thoſe that ſhould act under him at all events, and be of ad- " vantage to curb the inſolence of thoſe whom the preſent powers could " not controul." *Whitlock* agreed to the general's reaſons, but deſired him to conſider, " Whether the title of KING would not looſe him " his beſt friends in the army, as well as thoſe gentlemen who were for " ſettling in a free commonwealth; but if we muſt have a king (ſays " he) the queſtion will be, whether it ſhall be *Cromwell* or *Stuart?*" The general aſking his opinion upon this, *Whitlock* propoſed a private treaty with the king of *Scots*, with whom he might make his own terms, and raiſe his family to what pitch of greatneſs he pleaſed; but *Cromwell* was ſo apprehenſive of the danger of this propoſal, that he broke off the converſation with ſome marks of diſſatisfaction, and never made uſe of *Whitlock* with confidence afterwards.

1653. Cromwell *diſſolves the long parliament.*

Thus things remained throughout the whole winter; the army having little to do after the battle of *Worceſter* drew near to *London*, but there was no treaty of accommodation between them and the parliament; *one* would not diſband without their full pay; nor the *other* diſſolve by the direction of their own ſervants, and voted the expedience of filling up their numbers, and that it ſhould be high treaſon to petition for their diſſolution. When the *general* heard this, he called a council of officers to *Whitehall*, who all agreed that *it was not fit the parliament ſhould continue any longer*. This was publiſhed in hopes of frightning the houſe to make ſome advances towards a diſſolution; but when colonel *Ingoldſby* informed the general next morning, that they were concluding upon an act to prolong the ſeſſion for another year, he roſe up in a heat, and with a ſmall retinue of officers and ſoldiers marched to the parliament houſe *April* 20. and having placed his men without doors, went into the houſe and heard the debates. After ſome time he beckoned to colonel *Harriſon*, on the other ſide of the houſe, and told him in his ear, that he thought the parliament was ripe for diſſolution, and that this was the time for doing it. *Harriſon* replied, that the work was dangerous, and deſired him to think better of it. Upon this he ſat down about a quarter of an hour, and then ſaid, *this is the time I muſt do it*; and riſing up in his place, he told the houſe, that he was come to put an end to their power, of which they had made ſo ill an uſe; that ſome of them were whore-maſters, looking towards *Harry Martin* and Sir *Peter Wentworth*; others

others were drunkards, and ſome corrupt and unjuſt men, who had not at heart the public good, but were only for perpetuating their own power. Upon the whole, he thought they had ſat long enough, and therefore deſired them to retire and go away. When ſome of the members began to reply, he ſtept into the middle of the houſe, and ſaid, *come, come, I will put an end to your prating; you are no parliament; I ſay you are no parliament*; and ſtamping with his foot, a file of muſqueteers entered the houſe; one of whom he commanded to take away that fool's bauble the mace. And major *Harriſon* taking the ſpeaker by the arm, conducted him out of the chair. *Cromwell* then ſeizing upon their papers obliged them to walk out of the houſe; and having cauſed the doors to be locked after them, returned to *Whitehall*. Commonwealth. 1653.

In the afternoon the general went to the *council of ſtate*, attended by major-general *Lambert* and *Harriſon*, and as he entered the room, ſaid, "gentlemen if you are met here as private perſons you ſhall not be diſ-"turbed, but if as a council of ſtate this is no place for you; and ſince "you cannot but know what was done in the morning, ſo take notice the "parliament is diſſolved." Serjeant *Bradſhaw* replied, "ſir, we have heard "what you did in the morning, but you are miſtaken to think the par-"liament is diſſolved, for no power can diſſolve them but themſelves; "therefore take you notice of that." But the general not being terrified with big words, the council thought it their wiſeſt way to riſe up and go home. *And diſmiſſes the council of ſtate.*

Thus ended the commonwealth of *England*, after it had continued four years, two months, and twenty days, which though no better than an *uſurpation*, had raiſed the credit of the nation to a very high pitch of glory and renown; and with the commonwealth ended the remains of the long parliament for the preſent; an aſſembly famous throughout all the world for its undertakings, actions, and ſucceſſes: "the acts of this parliament (ſays "Mr. *Coke*) will hardly find belief in future ages; and to ſay the truth, "they were a race of men moſt indefatigable and induſtrious in buſineſs, "always ſeeking men fit for it, and never preferring any for favour or "importunity: you hardly ever heard of any revolt from them; no ſol-"diers or ſeamen being ever preſſed. And as they excelled in civil affairs, "ſo it muſt be confeſſed, they exerciſed in matters eccleſiaſtical no ſuch ſe-"verities as others before them did upon ſuch as diſſented from them." *Character of the commonwealth.* Detect. p. 363.

But their foundation was bad, and many of their actions highly criminal; they were a packed aſſembly, many of their members being excluded by force, before they could be ſecure of a vote to put the late king to death—they ſubverted the conſtitution, by ſetting up themſelves, and continuing their ſeſſions after his majeſty's demiſe—by erecting high courts of juſtice of their own nomination for capital offences—by raiſing taxes, and *Remarks on the change of government.*

Common-wealth. 1653.

and doing all other acts of ſovereignty without conſent of the people; all which they deſigned to perpetuate among themſelves, without being accountable to any ſuperior, or giving place to a new body of repreſentatives. If then it be inquired, what right or authority general *Cromwell* and his officers had to offer violence to this parliament, it may be replied, 1. the right of ſelf-preſervation, the ruin of one or the other being unavoidable. 2. The right that every *engliſh* man has to put an end to an uſurpation when it is in his power, provided he can ſubſtitute ſomething better in its room; and if *Cromwell* could by this method have reſtored the conſtitution, and referred the ſettlement of the government to a free and full repreſentative of the people, no wiſe man would have blamed him. It was not therefore his turning out the old parliament that was criminal, but his not ſummoning a new one, by a fair and free election of the people; and yet Mr. *Rapin* is of opinion, that even this was impracticable, there being three oppoſite intereſts in the nation; the *republicans*, who were for an abſolute commonwealth; the *presbyterians*, who were for reſtoring things to the condition they were in, in 1648. and the *cavaliers*, who were for ſitting the king upon the throne, as before the civil wars; it was by no means poſſible (ſays he) to reconcile the three parties, and if they had been let looſe they would have deſtroyed each other, and thrown the whole nation into blood and confuſion; nothing therefore but giving a forcible ſuperiority to *one*, was capable to hold the *other* two in ſubjection. The king was no way intereſted in the change, for it was not *Charles Stuart*, but a *republican uſurpation* that was diſpoſſeſſed of the ſupreme power. If the *general* had failed in his deſign, and loſt his life in the attempt, the king would have received no manner of advantage, for the nation was by no means diſpoſed to reſtore him at this time. Suppoſing then it was not practicable to chooſe a free parliament, nor fit to let the *old one* perpetuate themſelves, *Oliver Cromwell* had no other choice, but to abandon the ſtate, or to take the adminiſtration upon himſelf; or put it into the hands of ſome other perſon who had no better title. How far private ambition took place of the public good in the choice, muſt be left to the judgment of every reader; but if it was neceſſary that there ſhould be a *ſupreme authority*, capable of enforcing obedience, it cannot be denied, but that general *Cromwell* was more capable of governing the ſtate in ſuch a ſtorm, than any man then living. No objection can be raiſed againſt him, which might not with more juſtice have been urged againſt any other ſingle perſon, or body of men in the nation, except the *right heir*. However, all the three parties of *cavaliers*, *presbyterians*, and *republicans*, were diſpleaſed with his conduct, loaded him with invectives, and formed conſpiracies againſt his perſon, though they could never agree in any other ſcheme, which in the preſent criſis was more practicable.

p. 88.

Ib. p. 149.

The

Commonwealth. 1653.

The parliament being thus violently diſperſed, the ſovereign power devolved on the council of officers, of which *Cromwell* was head, who publiſhed a declaration, juſtifying his diſſolution of the late parliament, and promiſing to put the adminiſtration into the hands of perſons of approved fidelity and honeſty, and leave them to form it into what ſhape they pleaſed. Accordingly *April* 30. another declaration was publiſhed, ſigned by *Oliver Cromwell*, and thirty of his officers, nominating a new council of ſtate to take care of the government, till a new repreſentative body of men could be called together; and *June* 8. the general, by advice of his council, ſent the following ſummons to one hundred and forty ſelect perſons, out of the ſeveral counties of *England*, to meet at *Weſtminſter*, in order to ſettle the nation, "I *Oliver Cromwell* captain-general, *&c.* do "hereby ſummons and require you——being one of the perſons nominat-"ed by myſelf, with the advice of my council, perſonally to appear at "the council chamber at *Whitehall*, upon the fourth of *July* next enſuing "the date hereof, to take upon you the truſt of the affairs of the common-"wealth; to which you are hereby called and appointed to ſerve as a "member for the county of——and hereof you are not to fail. Given "under my hand this 8th of *June* 1653.

G. Crom. and the council of officers aſſume the government.

O. CROMWELL.

Theſe were high acts of ſovereignty, and not to be juſtified but upon the ſuppoſition of *extreme neceſſity*. The diſſolution of the long parliament was an act of violence, but not unacceptable to the people, as appeared by the numerous addreſſes from the army, the fleet, and other places, approving the general's conduct and promiſing to ſtand by him and his council in their proceedings; but then for the general himſelf, and thirty officers, to chuſe repreſentatives for the whole nation, without intereſting any of the counties or corporations of *England* in the choice, would have deſerved the higheſt cenſure under any other circumſtances.

The little parliament.

About one hundred and twenty of the new repreſentatives appeared at the time and place appointed, when the *general* after a ſhort ſpeech, delivered them an *inſtrument* in parchment under his hand and ſeal, reſigning into their hands, or the hands of any forty of them, the ſupreme authority and government of the commonwealth, limiting the time of their continuance to *November* 3. 1654. and empowering them, three months before their diſſolution, to make choice of others to ſucceed them for a year, and they to provide for a future ſucceſſion. It was much wondered, ſays *Whitlock*, that theſe gentlemen, many of whom were perſons of fortune and eſtate, ſhould accept of the ſupreme authority of the nation, upon ſuch

p. 534.

Common-wealth. 1653.

such a ſummons, and from ſuch hands. Moſt of them were men of piety, but no great politicians, and were therefore in contempt called ſometimes the *little parliament*; and by others, *Barebone*'s parliament, from a *leatherſeller* of that name, who was one of the moſt active members. When the general was withdrawn, they choſe Mr. *Rouſe* an aged and venerable man, member in the late parliament for *Truro* in *Cornwal*, their ſpeaker, and then voted themſelves the parliament of the commonwealth of *England*. Mr. *Baxter* places them in a contemptible light, and ſays "they intended to eject all the pariſh miniſters, and to encourage "the gathering independent churches; that they caſt out all the miniſters "in *Wales*, which, though bad enough for the moſt part, were yet bet-"ter than none, or the few itinerants they ſet up in their room; and that "they attempted, and had almoſt accompliſhed the ſame in *England*." But nothing of this appears among their acts. When the city of *London* petitioned, that more learned and approved miniſters might be ſent into the country to preach the goſpel; that their ſettled maintenance by law might be confirmed, and their juſt properties preſerved; and that the univerſities might be zealouſly countenanced and encouraged; the petitioners had the thanks of that houſe; and the committee gave it as their opinion, that commiſſioners ſhould be ſent into the ſeveral counties, who ſhould have power to eject ſcandalous and inſufficient miniſters, and to ſettle others in their room. They were to appoint preaching in all vacant places, that none might live above three miles from a place of worſhip. That ſuch as were approved for public miniſters ſhould enjoy the maintenance provided by the laws; and that if any ſcrupled the payment of tithes, the neighbouring juſtices of peace ſhould ſettle the value, which the owner of the land ſhould be obliged to pay; but as for the tithes themſelves they were of opinion, that the incumbents and impropriators had a right in them, and therefore they could not be taken away till they were ſatisfied.

Their proceedings.

p. 70, 80.

Liberty of conſcience.

July 23. it was referred to a committee, to conſider of a repeal of ſuch laws as hindered the progreſs of the goſpel; that is (ſays biſhop *Kennet*) to take away the few remaining rules of decency and order; or in other language, the *penal laws*. This was done at the inſtance of the *independents*, who petitioned for protection againſt the preſbyteries; upon which it was voted, that a declaration ſhould be publiſhed, for giving proper liberty to all that feared God; and for preventing their impoſing hardſhips on one another.

Mr. *Eachard* and others of his principles, write, that this parliament had under deliberation the taking away the old *engliſh* laws, as badges of the *Norman* conqueſt, and ſubſtituting the *moſaick* laws of government in their place; and that all ſchools of learning, and titles of honour, ſhould

be extinguiſhed, as not agreeing with the chriſtian ſimplicity. But no ſuch propoſals were made to the houſe, and therefore it is unjuſt to lay them to their charge. Commonwealth. 1653.

The ſolemnizing of matrimony had hitherto been engroſſed by the clergy; but this *convention* conſidered it as a civil contract, and put it into the hands of the juſtices of peace, by an ordinance, which enacts "that after the "29th of *September* 1653, all perſons who ſhall agree to be married "within the commonwealth of *England*, ſhall deliver in their names and "places of abode, with the names of their parents, guardians, and over-"ſeers, to the regiſter of the pariſh where each party lives, who ſhall "publiſh the *bans* in the church or chapel three ſeveral lord's days, after "the morning ſervice; or elſe in the market-place three ſeveral weeks ſuc-"ceſſively, between the hours of eleven and two, on a market day, if "the party deſire it. The regiſter ſhall make out a certificate of the due "performance of one or the other, at the requeſt of the parties concerned, "without which they ſhall not proceed to marriage. *Ordinance for marriages.*

"It is further enacted, that all perſons intending to marry ſhall come "before ſome juſtice of peace within the county, city, or town corporate, "where publication has been made, as aforeſaid, with their certificate, "and with ſufficient proof of the conſent of the parents, if either party be "under age, and then the marriage ſhall proceed in this manner:

"The man to be married ſhall take the woman by the hand, and diſ-"tinctly pronounce theſe words, I *A. B.* do here in the preſence of "God, the ſearcher of all hearts, take thee *C. D.* for my wedded wife; "and do alſo in the preſence of God, and before theſe witneſſes, pro-"miſe to be to thee a loving and faithful huſband.

"Then the woman taking the man by the hand, ſhall plainly and diſ-"tinctly pronounce theſe words, I *C. D.* do here in the preſence of "God, the ſearcher of all hearts, take thee *A. B.* for my wedded huſ-"band; and do alſo in the preſence of God, and before theſe witneſſes, "promiſe to be to thee a loving, faithful, and obedient wife.

"After this, the juſtice may and ſhall declare the ſaid man and woman "to be from thenceforth huſband and wife; and from and after ſuch con-"ſent ſo expreſſed, and ſuch declaration made of the ſame (as to the form "of marriage) it ſhall be good and effectual in law; and no other mar-"riage whatſoever, within the commonwealth of *England*, after the 29th "of *Sept.* 1653, ſhall be held or accounted a marriage, according to the "law of *England*."

This ordinance was confirmed by the protector's parliament in the year 1656, except the clauſe, *that no other marriage whatſoever within the commonwealth of* England *ſhall be held, or accounted a legal marriage*; and it was wiſely done of the parliament at the reſtoration, to confirm theſe mar-

Oliver *Protector.* 1653.

marriages, in order to prevent illegitimacy, and vexatious law-ſuits in future times. But the acts of this convention were of little ſignificance, for when they found the affairs of the nation too intricate, and the ſeveral parties too ſtubborn to yield to their ordinances, they wiſely reſigned, and ſurrendered back their ſovereignty into the ſame hands that gave it them, after they had ſat five months and twelve days.

O. Cromwell *declared protector by a council of officers.*

Abſtract of the new inſtrument of government.

The *general* and his *officers* finding themſelves reinveſted with the ſupreme authority, by what they fancied a more parliamentary delegation, took upon them to ſtrike out a new form of government, a little tending towards monarchy, contained in a large inſtrument of forty two articles, entitled *the government of the commonwealth of* England, Scotland, *and* Ireland. It appoints the government to be in a ſingle perſon;—that the ſingle perſon be the general O. CROMWELL, whoſe ſtile and title ſhould be *his highneſs, lord protector of the commonwealth of* England, Scotland, *and* Ireland, *and of the dominions thereunto belonging*—that the lord protector ſhould have a council, conſiſting of no more than twenty-one perſons, nor leſs than thirteen, to aſſiſt him in the adminiſtration—A parliament was to be choſen out of the three kingdoms every three years at longeſt, and not to be diſſolved without their conſent in leſs than five months. It was to conſiſt of four hundred members for *England* and *Wales*; thirty for *Scotland*, and thirty for *Ireland*; whereof ſixty were to make a houſe. The counties of *England* and *Wales* were to chooſe two hundred thirty nine; the other elections to be diſtributed among the chief cities and market towns, without regard to ancient cuſtom. The county of *Dorſet* was to chooſe eleven members, *Cornwal* eight, *Bedfordſhire* five; the ſeveral ridings of *Yorkſhire* fourteen; *Middleſex* four; the city of *London* ſix; *Weſtminſter* two; the whole number of cities and boroughs which had privilege of election were one hundred and ten, and the number of repreſentatives to be choſen by them one hundred and ſixty——If the protector refuſed to iſſue out writs, the commiſſioners of the great ſeal, or the high ſheriff of the county, was to do it under pain of treaſon—none to have votes but ſuch as were worth two hundred pounds.—This regulation being wiſely proportioned met with univerſal approbation. Lord *Clarendon* ſays, it was fit to be more warrantably made, and in a better time—all the great officers of ſtate, as chancellor, treaſurer, *&c.* if they became vacant in time of parliament, to be ſupplied with their approbation; and in the intervals with the approbation of the council—ſuch bills as were offered to the protector by the parliament, if not ſigned in twenty days, were to be laws without him, if not contrary to this inſtrument—In the preſent criſis, the protector and his council might publiſh ordinances which ſhould have force till the firſt ſeſſions of parliament—the protector was to have power to make war and peace, to confer titles of honour, to pardon all crimes except

New model of a parliament.

except treaſon and murder; the militia was intruſted with him and his council, except during the ſeſſions of parliament, when it was to be jointly in both. In ſhort, the protector had almoſt all the royalties of a king —but then the protectorſhip was to be elective, and no protector after the preſent to be general of the army— Oliver *Protector.* 1653.

The articles relating to religion were theſe;

Art. 35. " that the chriſtian religion contained in the ſcriptures be held " forth and recommended as the public profeſſion of theſe nations, and that " as ſoon as may be, a proviſion leſs ſubject to contention, and more cer- " tain than the preſent, be made for the maintenance of miniſters; and " that till ſuch proviſion be made, the preſent maintenance continue. *Articles relating to religion.*

Art. 36. " that none be compelled to conform to the public religion by " penalties or otherwiſe; but that endeavours be uſed to win them by " ſound doctrine, and the example of a good converſation.

Art. 37. " that ſuch as profeſs faith in God by Jeſus Chriſt, though differ- " ing in judgment from the doctrine, worſhip, or diſcipline, publickly " held forth, ſhall not be reſtrained from, but ſhall be protected in the " profeſſion of their faith, and exerciſe of their religion, ſo as they abuſe " not this liberty to the civil injury of others, and to the actual diſturbance " of the public peace on their parts; provided this liberty be not extended " to popery or prelacy, or to ſuch as under a profeſſion of Chriſt hold forth " and practiſe licentiouſneſs.

Art. 38. " That all laws, ſtatutes, ordinances, and clauſes in any law, " ſtatute or ordinance, to the contrary of the aforeſaid liberty, ſhall be " eſteemed null and void."

The protector was inſtalled with great magnificence *Decemb.* 16. 1653 in the court of *chancery*, by order of the council of officers, in preſence of the lord mayor and aldermen of *London*, the judges, the commiſſioners of the great ſeal, and other great officers, who were ſummoned to attend on this occaſion. O. CROMWELL ſtanding uncovered on the left hand of a chair of ſtate ſet for him, firſt ſubſcribed the inſtrument of government in the face of the court, and then took the following oath. *Inſtalment of the protector.*

" WHEREAS the major part of the laſt parliament (judging that " their ſitting any longer as then conſtituted, would not be for " the good of the commonwealth) did diſſolve the ſame; and by a wri- " ting under their hands, dated the 12th of this inſtant *December*, reſign- " ed to me their powers and authorities. And whereas it was neceſſary " thereupon, that ſome ſpeedy courſe ſhould be taken for the ſettlement of " theſe nations, upon ſuch a baſis and foundation as by the bleſſing of " God, might be laſting, ſecure property, and anſwer thoſe great ends " of religion and liberty, ſo long contended for; and upon full and ma- *His oath.*

Oliver *Protector.* 1653.

" ture conſideration had of the form of government hereunto annexed, " being ſatisfied that the ſame, through divine aſſiſtance, may anſwer the " ends aforementioned, and having alſo been deſired and adviſed, as " well by ſeveral perſons of intereſt and fidelity in the commonwealth, as " the officers of the army, to take upon me the protection and govern- " ment of theſe nations in the manner expreſſed in the ſaid form of govern- " ment, I have accepted thereof and do hereby declare my acceptance " accordingly; and do promiſe, in the preſence of God, that I will not " violate or infringe the matters and things contained therein, but to my " power obſerve the ſame, and cauſe them to be obſerved; and ſhall in all " other things, to the beſt of my underſtanding, govern theſe nations ac- " cording to the laws, ſtatutes, and cuſtoms, ſeeking their peace, and " cauſing juſtice and law to be equally adminiſtered."

After this he ſat down in the *chair* of *ſtate* covered, and the commiſſioners delivered him the great ſeal, and the lord mayor his ſword and cap of maintenance; which he returned in a very obliging manner. The ceremony being over, the ſoldiers with a ſhout cried out, *God bleſs the lord protector of the commonwealth of* England, Scotland, *and* Ireland. In their return to *Whitehall*, the lord mayor carried the ſword before *his highneſs* uncovered, and preſently after he was proclaimed in the city of *London*, and throughout all the *britiſh* dominions.

Thus did this wonderful man, by ſurprizing management, ſupported only by the ſword, advance himſelf to the ſupreme government of three kingdoms, without conſent of parliament or people. His birth ſeemed to promiſe nothing of this kind; nor does it appear that he had formed the project, till after the battle of *Worceſter*, when he apprehended the parliament had projected his ruin by diſbanding the army, and perpetuating their authority among themſelves: which of the two uſurpations was moſt eligible muſt be left with the reader; but how he brought the officers into his meaſures, and ſupported his ſovereignty by an army of enthuſiaſts, anabaptiſts, fifth monarchy men, and republicans, will be the admiration of all poſterity; and though by this adventurous act, he drew upon himſelf the plots and conſpiracies of the ſeveral factions in the nation, yet his genius and reſolution ſurmounted all difficulties, his ſhort empire being one continued blaze of glory and renown to the *britiſh* iſles, and of terror to the reſt of *Europe*.

Remarks on the inſtrument of government.

The reader will make his own remarks upon the new *inſtrument of government*, and will neceſſarily obſerve, that it was a creature of *Cromwell's* and his council of officers, and not drawn up by a proper repreſentative of the people. How far the preſent circumſtances of the nation made this neceſſary, muſt be concluded from the remarks we have made upon the change of

of government; but the articles relating to religion can hardly be complained of, though they diſguſted all that part of the clergy who were for *church power*; the *preſbyterians* preached and writ againſt the 36th and 37th articles, as inconſiſtent with their eſtabliſhment, and ſinking it almoſt to a level with the ſectaries. The *republicans* were diſſatisfied, becauſe the *engagement* by which they had ſworn fidelity to a commonwealth, without a ſingle perſon, or houſe of lords, was ſet aſide. Biſhop *Kennet* is angry with the protector's latitude, becauſe there was no teſt or barrier to the eſtabliſhment. "How little religion was the concern, or ſo much "as any longer the pretence of *Cromwell* and his officers (ſays his lord-"ſhip), appears from hence, that in the large inſtrument of the govern-"ment of the commonwealth, which was the *magna charta* of the new "conſtitution, there is not a word of churches or ſynods, or miniſters, "nor any thing but the chriſtian religion in general, with liberty "to all differing in judgment, from the doctrine, worſhip, or diſ-"cipline, publicly held forth." Strange, that this ſhould diſpleaſe a chriſtian biſhop! But his lordſhip ſhould have remembered, that this liberty was not to extend to any kinds of immoralities, nor to ſuch as injured the civil rights of others, nor to ſuch as diſturbed the public peace. And do the ſcriptures authorize us to go further? The ſixth article provides, "that the laws in being relating to the preſbyterian reli-"gion were not to be ſuſpended, altered, abrogated or repealed; nor any "new law made, but by conſent of parliament." The 36th adds, "that until a better proviſion can be made for the encouragement and "maintenance of able and painful teachers, the preſent maintenance ſhall "not be taken away nor impeached." And TRYERS were appointed ſoon after for preventing ſcandalous and unlearned perſons invading the pulpit. This part of the inſtrument is in my opinion, ſo far from being criminal, that it breathes a noble ſpirit of chriſtian liberty, though it was undoubtedly faulty, in putting *popery*, *prelacy*, and *licentiouſneſs of manners*, upon a level. The open toleration of popery is hardly conſiſtent with the ſafety of a proteſtant government, otherwiſe conſidered merely as a religious inſtitution, I ſee not why it ſhould be cruſhed by the civil power: and licentiouſneſs of manners, is not to be indulged in any civilized nation; but if the epiſcopalians would have given ſecurity for their living peaceably under their new maſters, they ought undoubtedly to have been protected; however the protector did not in every inſtance adhere ſtrictly to the *inſtrument*.

Oliver *Protector.* 1653.

But though in point of policy the epiſcopalians were at this time excepted from a legal toleration, their aſſemblies were connived at; and ſeveral of their clergy indulged the public exerciſe of their miniſtry without the fetters of oaths, ſubſcriptions, or engagements; as Dr. *Hall*, afterwards

Epiſcopalians tolerated.

Oliver *Protector.* 1653.

wards biſhop of *Cheſter*, Dr. *Wild*, *Pearſon*, *Ball*, *Hardy*, *Griffith*, *Farringdon*, and others. Several of the biſhops who had been kept from public ſervice by the *covenant* and *engagement*, preached again publicly in the city, as archbiſhop *Uſher*, biſhop *Brownrigge*, and others. Mr. *Baxter* who was very far from being a friend of the protector's, ſays "that "all men were ſuffered to live quietly, and enjoy their properties under "his government — That he removed the terrors and prejudices which "hindered the ſucceſs of the goſpel, eſpecially conſidering that godlineſs had countenance and reputation as well as liberty, whereas before, if it did not appear in all the fetters and formalities of the "times, it was the way to common ſhame and ruin. 'Tis well known "that the preſbyterians did not approve of the *uſurpation*, but when they "ſaw that *Cromwell*'s deſign was to do good in the main, and encourage "religion as far as his cauſe would admit, they acquieſced." And then comparing theſe times with thoſe after the reſtoration, he adds, "I ſhall "for the future think that land happy, where the people have but bare "liberty to be as good as they are willing; and if countenance and maintenance be but added to liberty, and tolerated errors and ſects be but forced to keep the peace, I ſhall not hereafter much fear ſuch a toleration, "nor deſpair that truth will bear down its adverſaries." This was a conſiderable teſtimony to the *protector*'s adminiſtration from the pen of an adverſary.

p. 186.

Protector's council.

The protector's firſt council were, major-general *Lambert*, lieutenant-general *Fleetwood*, colonel *Montague*, afterwards earl of *Sandwich*; *Philip* lord viſcount *Liſle*, ſince earl of *Leiceſter*; colonel *Desborough*, Sir *Gilbert Pickering*, Sir *Anthony Aſhley Cooper*, afterwards earl of *Shaftſbury*; Sir *Charles Wooliey*, major-general *Skippon*, Mr. *Strickland*, cololonel *Sydenham*, colonel *Jones*, Mr. *Rouſe*, Mr. *Lawrence*, and Mr. *Major:* Men of great name in thoſe times; ſome of whom made a conſiderable figure after the reſtoration. The protector's wiſe conduct appeared in nothing more than in his unwearied endeavours to make all religious parties eaſy. He indulged the army in their enthuſiaſtic raptures, and ſometimes joined in their prayers and ſermons. He countenanced the *preſbyterians*, by aſſuring them he would maintain the public miniſtry, and give them all due encouragement. He ſupported the *independents*, by making them his chaplains; by preferring them to conſiderable livings in the church and univerſities; and by joining them in one commiſſion with the preſbyterians as TRYERS of all ſuch as deſired to be admitted to benefices. But he abſolutely forbid the clergy of every denomination dealing in politics, as not belonging to their profeſſion; and when he perceived the *managing preſbyterians* took too much upon them, he always found

found means to mortify them; and would ſometimes glory that he had curbed that inſolent ſect, that would ſuffer none but itſelf. Oliver *Protector.* 1653.

It was happy for the wiſe and moderate preſbyterians, that the *protector* diſarmed their diſcipline of its coercive power, for he ſtill left them all that was ſufficient for the purpoſes of religion; they had their monthly or quarterly claſſical preſbyteries in every county, for the ordination of miniſters, by impoſition of hands, according to the *directory*, to whom they gave certificates, or teſtimonials, in the following words: *State of the presbyterians.*

" WE the miniſters of the preſbytery of ——— having examin- *Copies of teſ-*
" Mr. ——— according to the tenor of the ordinance for that *timonials.*
" purpoſe, and finding him duly qualified and gifted for that holy office
" and employment, (no juſt exception having been made to his ordination)
" have approved him, and accordingly on the day and year hereafter ex-
" preſſed, have proceeded ſolemnly to ſet him apart to the office of a
" preaching preſbyter, and work of the miniſtry, with faſting and
" prayer, and impoſition of hands; and do hereby actually admit him
" (as far as concerns us) to perform all the offices and duties of a faith-
" ful miniſter of Jeſus Chriſt. In witneſs whereof we have hereunto
" ſubſcribed our names this —— day of *September* 1653."

Other teſtimonials were in this form:

" WE the miniſters of Chriſt, who are called to watch over this
" part of his flock in the city of ——— with the aſſiſtance
" of ſome others, that we might not be wanting to the ſervice of the
" church in its neceſſity, having received credible teſtimonials, under the
" hands of divers miniſters of the goſpel, and others, of the ſober,
" righteous, and godly converſation of ——— as alſo concerning his
" gifts for the miniſtry, have proceeded to make further trial of his fit-
" neſs for ſo great a work; and being in ſome good meaſure ſatisfied
" concerning his piety and ability, have upon the day of —— 1653.
" proceeded ſolemnly to ſet him apart to the office of a preſbyter, and
" work of the miniſtry, by laying on our hands with faſting and prayer;
" by virtue whereof we do eſteem and declare him a lawful miniſter of
" Chriſt, and hereby recommend him to the church of ——— In
" witneſs whereof we have ſet our hands, *&c.*"

When

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Associations of miniſters in the countries.

Baxter's life, Part II. p. 147, &c. p. 167, &c.

When the preſbyterians found that their claſſes could obtain no power to inflict pains and penalties on thoſe who refuſed to ſubmit to their diſcipline, the miniſters of the ſeveral denominations in the country, began to enter into friendly aſſociations for brotherly council and advice. Mr. *Baxter* and his brethren of *Worceſterſhire*, formed a ſcheme upon ſuch general principles as all good men were agreed in, which he communicated to the reverend Mr. *Vines* and *Gataker*; and when he had drawn up *articles of concord* he ſubmitted them to the correction of archbiſhop *Uſher*, and other epiſcopal divines, who agreed with him, that no more diſcipline ſhould be practiſed than the epiſcopalian, preſbyterian, and independent divines agreed in; that they ſhould not *meddle with politics, or affairs of civil government in their aſſemblies, nor pretend to exerciſe the power of the keys, or any church cenſures, but only to aſſiſt, adviſe, and encourage each other in propagating truth and holineſs, and in keeping their churches from prophane and ſcandalous communicants.* Their meetings were appointed to be once a month in ſome market town, where there was a ſermon in the morning; and after dinner the converſation was upon ſuch points of doctrine or diſcipline as required advice; or elſe an hour was ſpent in diſputing upon ſome theological queſtion which had been appointed the preceeding month. Doctor *Warmeſtry*, afterwards dean of *Worceſter*, and Dr. *Good* one of the prebendaries of *Hereford*, ſent Mr. *Baxter* a letter dated *Sept.* 20. 1653, wherein they teſtify their approbation of the aſſociation abovementioned, and of the articles of concord.

In the weſt of *England* Mr. *Hughes* of *Plymouth*, and Mr. *Good* of *Exeter*, prevailed with the miniſters of the ſeveral perſuaſions in thoſe parts, to follow the example of *Worceſterſhire*; accordingly they parcelled themſelves into four diviſions, which met once a quarter; and all four had a general meeting for concord once a year: The reverend Mr. *Hughes* preſided in thoſe of 1655, and 1656. The moderator began and ended with prayer, and ſeveral of the *epiſcopal* divines of the beſt character, as well as *independents*, joined with them; "The chief of the preſbyterian "and independent divines, who were weary of diviſions, and willing to "ſtrengthen each others hands, united in theſe aſſemblies, though the "exaſperated prelatiſts, the more rigid preſbyterians, and ſeverer ſort of "independents kept at a diſtance: But many remarkable advantages "(ſays Mr. *Baxter*) attended theſe aſſociations;" they opened and preſerved a friendly correſpondence among the miniſters; they removed a great many prejudices and miſunderſtandings, inſomuch that the controverſies and heats of angry men began to be allayed, their ſpirits bettered, and the ends of religion more generally promoted.

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But theſe country aſſociations were not countenanced by the more zealous preſbyterians of *London*, who met weekly at *Sion* College; they could hardly digeſt a toleration of the ſectaries, much leſs ſubmit to a coalition, but reſolved to keep cloſe to the ordinances of parliament, and to the acts of their provincial aſſembly: They wanted the ſword of diſcipline, and were impatient under the preſent reſtraint; and nothing but the piercing eye of the *protector*, whoſe ſpies were in every corner, kept them from preaching praying and plotting againſt the government. However the country miniſters being eaſy in their poſſeſſions, cultivated good neighbourhood, and ſpread the aſſociations through *Wiltſhire*, *Eſſex*, *Hampſhire*, *Dorſetſhire*, *Cumberland*, *Weſtmoreland*, and other parts; and if I am not miſinformed, there are the like brotherly aſſociations among the diſſenters, in ſeveral counties to this day.

p. 167. &c. *Not countenanced by the* London *preſbyterians.*

Death of Dr. Gouge.

This year died old Dr. *William Gouge*, born at *Stratford Bow* in the year 1575, and educated at *King's College Cambridge*, of which he was fellow. He entered into orders 1607, and the very next year was ſettled at *Black Friars London*, where he continued to his death. He commenced doctor of divinity in the year 1628, about which time he became one of the feoffees for buying up impropriations, for which he was ordered to be proſecuted in the *ſtar chamber*. In the year 1643 he was nominated one of the aſſembly of divines, and was in ſuch reputation, that he often filled the *moderator's chair* in his abſence. He was a modeſt, humble, and affable perſon, of ſtrict and exemplary piety an univerſal ſcholar, and a moſt conſtant preacher, as long as he was able to get up into the pulpit. For many years he was eſteemed the father of the *London* miniſters, and died comfortably and piouſly *December* 12. 1653, in the 79th year of his age, having been miniſter of *Black Friars* almoſt forty-ſix years.

Of Dr. Hill. Clark's *Lives.*

Doctor *Thomas Hill*, of whom mention has been made before, was born in *Worceſterſhire*, and educated in *Emanuel College Cambridge*, of which he was a fellow, and tutor to young ſcholars for many years. He was afterwards preferred to the living of *Tichmarſh* in *Northamptonſhire*, and was choſen into the aſſembly of divines for that county. While he was at *London* he preached every day at *St. Martin's in the Fields*, and was one of the morning lecturers at *Weſtminſter Abbey*. He was afterwards choſen to be maſter of *Emanuel College Cambridge*, and from thence removed to *Trinity College*; in which ſtations he behaved with great prudence and circumſpection. He was a good ſcholar, and very careful of the antiquities and privileges of the univerſity; a ſtrict *calviniſt*, a plain, powerful, and practical preacher, and of an holy and

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unblameable converſation. He died of a quartan ague *December* 18. 1653 in an advanced age, very much lamented by his acquaintance and brethren.

CHAP. III.

From the beginning of the protectorſhip of OLIVER CROMWELL *to his death.*

State of the nation.

IF the reader will carefully review the divided ſtate of the nation at this time, the ſtrength of the ſeveral parties in oppoſite intereſts, and almoſt equal in power, each ſanguine for his own ſcheme of ſettlement, and all conſpiring againſt the preſent, he will be ſurprized that any wiſe man ſhould be prevailed with to put himſelf at the head of ſuch a diſtracted body; and yet more that ſuch a genius ſhould ariſe, who without any foreign alliances, ſhould be capable of guarding againſt ſo many foreign and domeſtic enemies, and of ſteering the commonwealth through ſuch an hurricane, clear of the rocks and quickſands which threatened its ruin.

Protector gives peace to the dutch.

This was the province that the enterprizing OLIVER CROMWELL undertook, with the title and ſtile of lord protector of the commonwealth of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*. He aſſumed all the ſtate and ceremony of a crowned head; his houſhold officers and guards attended in their places, and his court appeared in as great ſplendor, and more order, than had been ſeen at *Whitehall* ſince queen *Elizabeth*'s reign. His firſt concern was to fill the courts of juſtice with the ableſt lawyers; Sir *Matthew Hale* was made lord chief juſtice of the *Common-Pleas*; Mr. *Maynard*, *Twiſden*, *Newdigate*, and *Windham*, ſerjeants at law; Mr. *Thurloe* ſecretary of ſtate; and *Monk* governor of *Scotland*. His next care was to deliver himſelf from his foreign enemies; for this purpoſe he gave peace to the *dutch*; which the fame of his power enabled him to accompliſh without the ceremony of a formal treaty; he therefore ſent his ſecretary *Thurloe* with the conditions to which they were to ſubmit; the *dutch* pleaded for abatements, but his HIGHNESS was at a point, and obliged them to deliver up the iſland of *Polerone* in the *Eaſt Indies*, to pay three hundred thouſand pounds for the affair of *Amboyna*, to abandon the inte-

intereſts of king *Charles* II, to exclude the prince of *Orange* from being ſtadtholder, and to yield up the ſovereignty of the ſeas. Oliver *Protector.* 1654.

When this was accompliſhed, moſt of the ſovereign princes in *Europe* ſent to compliment his *highneſs* upon his advancement, and to cultivate his friendſhip: The king of *Portugal* aſked pardon for receiving prince *Rupert* into his ports; the *danes* got themſelves included in the *dutch* treaty, and became ſecurity for one hundred and forty thouſand pounds damages done to the *engliſh* ſhipping; the *ſwedes* ſued for an alliance, which was concluded with their ambaſſador; the crown of *Spain* made offers which the protector rejected; but the addreſs of the *french* ambaſſador was moſt extraordinary; the protector received him in the *banquetting houſe* at *Whitehall*, with all the ſtate and magnificence of a crowned head; and the ambaſſador having made his obeiſance, acquainted his *highneſs* with the king his maſter's deſire, to eſtabliſh a correſpondence between his dominions and *England*. He mentioned the value of the friendſhip of *France*, and how much it was courted by the greateſt potentates of the earth; "and (ſays "the ambaſſador) the king my maſter communicates his reſolutions to "none with ſo much joy and chearfulneſs, as to thoſe whoſe virtuous "actions, and extraordinary merits, render them more conſpicuouſly fa-"mous, than the largeneſs of their dominons. His majeſty is ſenſible, "that all theſe advantages do wholly reſide in your HIGHNESS, and that "the divine providence, after ſo many calamities, could not deal more "favourably with theſe three nations, nor cauſe them to forget their paſt "miſeries with greater ſatisfaction, than by ſubjecting them to ſo juſt a "government.——"

His high reputation among foreign nations.

French *ambaſſador's ſpeech.*

The protector's moſt dangerous enemies were the *royaliſts*, *preſbyterians*, and *republicans* at home; the former menaced him with an aſſaſſination, upon which he declared openly, that though he would never begin ſo deteſtable a practice, yet if any of the king's party ſhould attempt it and fail, he would make an aſſaſſinating war of it, and exterminate the whole family, which his ſervants were ready to execute; the terror of this threatening, was a greater ſecurity to him than his coat of mail or guards. The protector had the ſkill always to diſcover the moſt ſecret deſigns of the royaliſts by ſome of their own number, whom he ſpared no coſt to gain over to his intereſts. Sir *Richard Willis* was chancellor *Hyde*'s chief confident, to whom he writ often, and in whom all the party confided, as in an able and wiſe ſtates-man; but the protector gained him with two hundred pounds a year, by which means he had all the king's party in a net, and let them dance in it at pleaſure. He had another correſpondent in the king's little family, one *Manning* a *roman* catholic, who gave ſecretary *Thurloe* intelligence of all his majeſty's councils and proceedings. But though the king's friends were always in one

Protector's domeſtic enemies.

Of the cavaliers.

Burn, p. 65.

Oliver *Protector.* 1654.

plot or other againſt the protector's perſon and government, he always behaved with decency towards them, as long as they kept within tolerable bounds; and without all queſtion, the ſevere laws that were made againſt the epiſcopal party, were not on the account of religion, but of their irreconcileable averſion to the government.

The presbyterians.

The whole body of the *presbyterians* were in principle for the king and the covenant, but after the battle of *Worceſter*, and the execution of Mr. *Love*, they were terrified into a compliance with the commonwealth, tho' they diſallowed their proceedings, and were pleaſed to ſee them broken in pieces; but the ſurprizing advancement of *Cromwell* to the protectorſhip, filled them with new terrors, and threatened the overthrow of their *church power*, for they conſidered him not only as an *uſurper*, but a *ſectarian*, who would countenance the free exerciſe of religion to all who would live peaceably under his government; and though he aſſured them he would continue religion upon the foot of the preſent eſtabliſhment, yet nothing would ſatisfy them, as long as their diſcipline was diſarmed of its coercive power.

The republicans.

But the protector's moſt determined adverſaries were the *commonwealth party*; theſe were divided into two branches; *one* had little or no religion, but were for a democracy in the ſtate, and univerſal liberty of conſcience in religion; the heads of them were *deiſts*, or in the language of the protector *heathens*, as *Algernoon Sidney*, *Henry Neville*, *Martin*, *Wildman*, and *Harrington*. It was impoſſible to work upon theſe men, or reconcile them to the government of a ſingle perſon, and therefore he diſarmed them of their power. The *other* were high enthuſiaſts, and fifth monarchy men, who were in expectation of *king Jeſus*, and of a glorious thouſand years reign of Chriſt upon earth. They were for pulling down churches (ſays biſhop *Burnet*), for diſcharging tithes, and leaving religion free (as they called it), without either encouragement or reſtraint. Moſt of them were for deſtroying the clergy, and for breaking every thing that looked like a national eſtabliſhment. Theſe the protector endeavoured to gain, by aſſuring them in private converſation, "that he had no manner "of inclination to aſſume the government, bnt had rather have been con- "tent with a ſhepherd's ſtaff, were it not abſolutely neceſſary to keep "the nation from falling to pieces, and becoming a prey to the common "enemy; that he only ſtept in between the living and the dead, as he ex- "preſſed it, and this only till God ſhould direct them on what bottom to "ſettle, when he would ſurrender his dignity with a joy equal to the "ſorrow with which he had taken it up." With the chiefs of this party he affected to converſe upon terms of great familiarity, ſhutting the door, and making them ſit down covered in his preſence, to let them ſee how little he valued thoſe diſtances he was bound to obſerve for form ſake with others;

p. 67.

others; he talked with them in their own language, and the converſation commonly ended with a long prayer. Oliver *Protector.* 1654.

The protector's chief ſupport againſt theſe powerful adverſaries were the *independents*, the *city* of *London*, and the *army*; the former looked upon him as the head of their party, though he was no more theirs, than as he was averſe to church power, and for an univerſal toleration. He courted the city of *London* with a decent reſpect, declaring upon all occaſions, his reſolution to confirm their privileges, and conſult meaſures for promoting trade and commerce. Theſe in return after his inſtalment, entertained him at dinner in a moſt magnificent and prince-like manner, and by degrees modelled their magiſtrates to his mind. But his chief dependance was upon the army, which conſiſting of different parties, he took care to reform by degrees, till they were in a manner entirely at his devotion. He paid the ſoldiers well, and advanced them according to their merits, and zeal for his government, without regard to their birth, or ſeniority. *His friends.* Burnet, p. 68,

It was the protector's felicity, that the parties above-mentioned had as great an enmity to each other, as to him, the *cavaliers* hated the preſbyterians and republicans, as *theſe* did the cavaliers; the *royaliſts* fancied all who were againſt the protector, muſt join with them in reſtoring the king; while the *presbyterians* were puſhing for their covenant uniformity, and the *republicans* for a commonwealth. *Cromwell* had the ſkill not only to keep them divided, but to encreaſe their jealouſies of each other, and by that means to diſconcert all their meaſures againſt himſelf. Let the reader recollect what a difficult ſituation this was; and what a *genius* it muſt require to maintain ſo high a reputation abroad, in the midſt of ſo many domeſtic enemies, who were continually plotting his deſtruction. *Remarks.*

In purſuance of the *inſtrument of government*, the protector publiſhed an ordinance *April* 12. to incorporate the two kingdoms of *Scotland* and *England*. The ordinance ſets forth, "that whereas the parliament "in 1651. had ſent commiſſioners into *Scotland*, to invite that nation to "an union with *England* under one government; and whereas the con- "ſent of the *ſhires* and *boroughs* was then obtained, therefore for com- "pleating that work, he ordains, that the people of *Scotland*, and all "the territories thereunto belonging, ſhall be incorporated into one com- "monwealth of *England*, and that in every parliament to be held ſucceſ- "ſively for the ſaid commonwealth, thirty members ſhall be called from "thence to ſerve for *Scotland*——" Shortly after *Ireland* was incorporated after the ſame manner; and from this time the arms of *Scotland* and *Ireland* were quartered with thoſe of *England*. Scotland *and* Ireland *incorporated with* England.

But

Oliver *Protector.* 1654.

Plot of the royaliſts.

But the protector was hardly fixed in his chair, before an aſſaſſination plot of the royaliſts was diſcovered, and three of the conſpirators *(viz.)* Mr. *Fox*, Mr. *Gerhard*, and Mr. *Vowel*, were apprehended, and tried before an high court of juſtice, for conſpiring to murder the lord protector as he was going to *Hampton Court*, to ſeize the guards, and the *Tower* of *London*; and to proclaim the king. Mr. *Fox* who confeſſed moſt of what was alledged againſt him, pleaded guilty, and was reprieved; but the other two putting themſelves on their trial, though they denied the juriſdiction of the court, were convicted, and executed *July* 10. *Gerhard* a young hot-headed enſign in the late king's army being beheaded; and *Vowel* a ſchool maſter at *Iſlington*, hanged at *Charing Croſs*: *Gerhard* confeſſed he knew of the plot, but *Vowel* was ſilent. Theſe commotions were the occaſion of the hardſhips the royaliſts underwent ſome time after.

Portugueze *ambaſſador's brother executed.*

Don Pantaleon Sa brother of the *Portugueze* ambaſſador, was beheaded the ſame day, upon account of a riot and murder in the *New Exchange*. *Pantaleon* had quarrelled with the above-mentioned *Gerhard*, and to revenge himſelf, brought his ſervants next day armed with ſwords and piſtols to kill him; but inſtead of *Gerhard*, they killed another man, and wounded ſeveral others. The *Portugueze* knight and his aſſociates, fled to his brother the ambaſſador's houſe for ſanctuary, but the mob followed them, and threatened to pull down the houſe, unleſs they were delivered up to juſtice. The *protector* being informed of the tumult, ſent an officer with a party of ſoldiers to demand the murderers. The ambaſſador pleaded his public character, but the *protector* would admit of no excuſe; and therefore being forced to ſurrender them, they were all tried and convicted, by a jury half *engliſh* and half foreigners; the ſervants (ſays *Whitlock*) were reprieved and pardoned; but the ambaſſador's brother, who was the principal, notwithſtanding all the interceſſion that could be made for his life, was carried in a mourning coach to *Tower Hill* and beheaded. This ſingular act of juſtice raiſed the people's eſteem of the protector's reſolution, and of the equity of his government.

p. 577.

A new parliament.

In order to a further ſettlement of the nation, the protector ſummoned a parliament to meet at *Weſtminſter September* 3. which being reckoned one of his auſpicious days, he would not alter, though it fell on a *Sunday*; the houſe met accordingly, and having waited upon the protector in the *painted chamber*, adjourned to the next day *September* 4. when his *highneſs* rode from *Whitehall* to *Weſtminſter* with all the pomp and ſtate of the greateſt monarch; ſome hundreds of gentlemen went before him uncovered; his pages and lacqueys in the richeſt liveries; the captains of his guards on each ſide his coach, with their attendants, all uncovered; then followed the commiſſioners of the treaſury, maſter of ceremonies, and other

The protector's ſtate.

other officers. The ſword, the great ſeal, the purſe, and four maces, were carried before him by their proper officers. Oliver *Protector.* 1654.

After a ſermon preached by Dr. *Tho. Goodwin*, his highneſs repaired to the *painted chamber*, and being ſeated in a chair of ſtate, raiſed by ſundry ſteps, he made a ſpeech to the members, in which he complained of the *levellers* and fifth monarchy men, who were for ſubverting the eſtabliſhed laws, and throwing all things back into confuſion. He put them in mind of the difficulties in which the nation was involved at the time he aſſumed the government. *His ſpeech.* Whitl. p. 582.

" That it was at war with *Portugal*, *Hol-*
" *land*, and *France*; which together with the diviſion among ourſelves
" (ſays he), begat a confidence in the enemy that we could not hold out
" long. In this heap of confuſion it was neceſſary to apply ſome remedy
" that the nation might not ſink; and the remedy (ſays he) is THIS
" GOVERNMENT, which is calculated for the intereſt of the people a-
" lone, without regard to any other, let men ſay what they will; I can
" ſpeak with comfort before a greater than you all, as to my own inten-
" tion. Since this government has been erected, men of the moſt known
" integrity and ability have been put into ſeats of juſtice. The *chancery*
" has been reformed. It has put a ſtop to that heady way for every man
" that will to make himſelf a preacher, by ſettling a way for approba-
" tion of men of piety and fitneſs for the work. It hath taken care to ex-
" punge men unfit for that work; and now at length, it has been inſtru-
" mental of calling a free parliament.

" A peace is now made with *Sweden*, and with the *danes*; a peace
" honourable to the nation, and ſatisfactory to the merchants. A peace
" is made with the *dutch*, and with *Portugal*; and ſuch an one that the
" people that trade thither have liberty of conſcience, without being ſub-
" ject to the bloody inquiſition." He then adviſes them to concert mea-ſures for the ſupport of the preſent government, and deſires them to believe, that he ſpoke to them not as one that intended to be a lord over them, but as one that was reſolved to be a fellow-ſervant with them for the intereſt of their country; and then having exhorted them to unanimity, he diſmiſſed them to their houſe to chuſe a ſpeaker.

William Lenthal Eſq; maſter of the rolls, and ſpeaker of the long parliament, was choſen without oppoſition. The firſt point the houſe entered on was the *inſtrument of government*, which occaſioned many warm debates, and was like to have occaſioned a fatal breach amongſt them. To prevent this, the protector gave orders *Sept.* 12. that as the members came to the houſe they ſhould be directed to attend his highneſs in the *painted chamber*, where he made the following remarkable ſpeech, which is deſerving the reader's careful attention. *Proceedings of the houſe.*

" Gentlemen, I am ſurprized
" at your conduct, in debating ſo freely the *inſtrument of government*, for
" the ſame power that has made you a parliament has appointed me PRO- *Protector's ſpeech.* Dugdale.

" TECTOR,

Oliver *Protector.* 1654.

" TECTOR, ſo that if you diſpute the one, you muſt diſown the other. " He added, that he was a gentleman by birth, and had been called to ſe- " veral employments in parliament, and in the wars, which being at an " end, he was willing to retire to a private life, and prayed to be diſmiſ- " ſed, but could not obtain it. That he had preſſed the *long parliament*, " as a member, to diſſolve themſelves; but finding they intended to conti- " nue their ſeſſions, he thought himſelf obliged to diſmiſs them, and to call " ſome perſons together from the ſeveral parts of the nation, to ſee if they " could fall upon a better ſettlement. Accordingly he reſigned up all his " power into their hands, but they after ſome time returned it back to him. " After this (ſays he) *divers gentlemen having conſulted together, framed* " *the preſent model without my privity*, and told me, that unleſs I would " undertake the ſame, blood and confuſion would break in upon them; " but I refuſed again and again, till conſidering that it did not put me into " an higher capacity than I was in before, I conſented; ſince which time Whitl. p. 587. " I have had the thanks of the *army*, the *fleet*, the *city of London*, and of " great numbers of gentry in the three nations. Now the government " being thus ſettled, I apprehend there are four fundamentals which may " not be examined into, or altered. (1.) That the government be in a " ſingle perſon and a parliament. (2.) That parliaments be not perpetual. " (3.) The article relating to the militia. And (4.) A due liberty of con- " ſcience in matters of religion. Other things in the government may be " changed as occaſion requires. For as much therefore as you have gone " about to ſubvert the fundamentals of this government, and throw all " things back into confuſion, to prevent the like for the future I am neceſ- *The recognition.* " ſitated to appoint you a *teſt*, or *recognition* of the government, by which " you are made a parliament, before you go any more into the houſe." Accordingly at their return, they found a guard at the door denying entrance to any who would not firſt ſign the following engagement. *I* A. B. *do hereby freely promiſe and engage, to be true and faithful to the lord protector of the commonwealth of* England, Scotland, *and* Ireland, *and will not propoſe or give my conſent to alter the government, as it is ſettled in one ſingle perſon and a parliament.* About three hundred of the members ſigned the recognition, and having taken their places in the houſe, with ſome difficulty confirmed the *inſtrument of government* almoſt in every thing, but the right of nominating a ſucceſſor to the preſent protector; which they reſerved to the parliament. They voted the preſent lord protector to continue for life. They continued the ſtanding army of ten thouſand horſe and twenty thouſand foot, and ſixty thouſand pounds a month for their maintenance. They gave the *protector* two hundred thouſand pounds a year for his civil liſt, and aſſigned *Whitehall*, St. *James*'s, and the reſt of the late king's houſes, for his uſe; but they were out of humour, and

were ſo far from ſhewing reſpect to the court, that they held no manner of correſpondence with it; which, together with their voting, that *no one clauſe of what they had agreed upon ſhould be binding, unleſs the whole were conſented to*, provoked the *protector*, as derogating from his power of conſenting to or refuſing particular bills, and therefore having diſcovered ſeveral plots againſt his government ready to break out, in which ſome of the members were concerned, he ſent for them into the *painted chamber Jan.* 22, and after a long and intricate ſpeech, in which, after ſome ſtrong expreſſions in favour of liberty to men of the ſame faith, though of different judgments in leſſer matters, he complained, that they had taken no more notice of him, either by meſſage or addreſs, than if there had been no ſuch perſon in being; that they had done nothing for the honour and ſupport of the government, but ſpent their time in fruitleſs debates of little conſequence, while the nation was bleeding to death; and inſtead of making things eaſy, that they had laid a foundation for future diſſatisfactions; he therefore diſſolved them, without confirming any of their acts, after they had ſat five months, according to the *inſtrument of government*, reckoning *twenty-eight days* to a month. This was deemed an unpopular action, and a renouncing the additional title the parliament would have given him; but this GREAT MAN with the ſword in his hand was not to be joſtled out of the ſaddle with votes and reſolutions; and if one may credit his ſpeech, his aſſuming the government was not ſo much the effect of his own ambition, as of a bold reſolution to prevent the nations falling back into anarchy and blood.

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Life *of* Cromwell, p. 291.

Protector diſſolves them.

Upon the riſing of the parliament, major-general *Harriſon* one of the chiefs of the *republicans*, was taken into cuſtody; and Mr. *John Wildman* who had been expelled the houſe, was apprehended as he was drawing up a paper, entitled *a declaration of the free and well affected people of* England *now in arms againſt the tyrant* OLIVER CROMWELL; which prevented the riſing of that party.

Plot of the republicans. Whitl. p. 600.

The *royaliſts* were buying up arms at the ſame time, and preparing to riſe in ſeveral parts of the kingdom. They had procured commiſſions from the young king at *Cologn*, and deſired his majeſty to be ready on the ſea coaſt by the 11th of *March*, when there would be a revolt in the army, and when *Dover caſtle* would be delivered into their hands. The king accordingly removed to *Middleburgh* in *Zealand*; but the protector had intelligence of it from his ſpies, and declared it openly as ſoon as he was arrived, which intimidated the conſpirators, and made them fear they were diſcovered: however about the time appointed, ſome ſmall parties of royaliſts got together in *Shropſhire*, with an intent to ſurprize *Shrewſbury* and *Chirk caſtle*. A cart load of arms was brought to a place of rendezvous for the northern parts, where they were to be headed by *Wilmot* earl of

And of the royaliſts. Clar. Vol. III. p. 551.

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of *Rocheſter*; but they no ſooner met, than they diſperſed for fear of being fallen upon by the regular troops. In the *Weſt* Sir *Joſeph Wagſtaffe*, colonel *Penruddock*, captain *Hugh Grove*, Mr. *Jones* and others, entered the city of *Saliſbury*, with 200 horſe well armed, in the time of the aſſizes, and ſeized the judges *Rolls* and *Nichols*, with the ſheriff of the county, whom they reſolved to hang. They proclaimed the king, and threatened violence to ſuch as would not join them; but the country not coming in according to their expectations, they were intimidated, and after 5 or 6 hours marched away into *Dorſetſhire*, and from thence to *Devonſhire*, where Captain *Crook* overtook them, and with one ſingle troop of horſe defeated and took moſt of them priſoners; *Penruddock* and *Grove* were beheaded at *Exeter*; and ſome few others were executed at *Saliſbury*, the place where they had ſo lately triumphed.

Protector's vigilance. Whitl. p. 602.

The vigilance of the protector on this occaſion is almoſt incredible; he cauſed a great many ſuſpected lords and gentlemen to be ſecured; he ſent letters to the juſtices of peace in every county, whom he had already changed to his mind, commanding them to look out, and ſecure all perſons who ſhould make the leaſt diſturbance. And his private intelligence of peoples diſcourſe and behaviour, in every corner of the land, never failed.

And ſeverity againſt them by decimation.

If the reader will duly conſider the danger ariſing from theſe commotions, and the neceſſity of ſtriking ſome terror into the authors of them, he will eaſily account for the protector's ſeverity againſt the royaliſts; when therefore the inſurrection was quaſhed, he reſolved to make the *whole party* pay the expence; and accordingly with the conſent of his council, publiſhed an order, "that all who had been in arms for the king, or had declared themſelves of the *royal party*, ſhould be decimated; that is, pay "a tenth part of their eſtates, to ſupport the charge of ſuch extrrordinary "forces as their turbulent and ſeditious practices obliged him to keep up; "for which purpoſe commiſſioners were appointed in every county, and "conſiderable ſums were brought into the treaſury." To juſtify this extraordinary proceedure, the protector publiſhed another declaration; in which he complains of the irreconcileableneſs of thoſe who had adhered to the king, towards all thoſe who had ſerved their country on the ſide of the parliament; that they were now to be looked upon as public enemies, and to be kept from being able to do miſchief, ſince it ſufficiently appeared that they were always diſpoſed to do all they could. Upon theſe accounts he thought it highly reaſonable, and declares it to be his reſolution, that if any deſperate attempts were undertaken by them for the future, the whole party ſhould ſuffer for it.

Affairs of religion.

To return to the affairs of religion: though the preſbyterian diſcipline was at a low ebb, it was ſtill the eſtabliſhed religion of the nation. The provin-

provincial aſſembly of *London* continued their ſeſſions at *Sion College* every half year, and endeavoured to ſupport the dignity of the miniſterial office. Complaint having been made that the pulpit doors were ſet open to laymen, and gifted brethren, they appointed a committee to collect materials for the vindication of the miniſterial character, which being reviſed by the ſynod, was publiſhed this ſummer under the title of *jus divinum miniſterii evangelici*: or, *the divine right of an evangelical miniſtry, in two parts. By the provincial aſſembly of* London. *With an appendix, of the judgment and practice of antiquity.* Oliver *Protector.* 1654.

In the debates of parliament upon the *inſtrument of government*, it was obſerved that by the thirty-ſeventh article, *all who profeſſed faith in God by Jeſus Chriſt ſhould be protected in their religion.* This was interpreted, to imply an agreement in *fundamentals.* Upon which it was voted, that *all ſhould be tolerated or indulged who profeſſed the fundamentals of chriſtianity*; and a committee was appointed to nominate certain divines to draw up a catalogue of *fundamentals* to be preſented to the houſe: the committee being about fourteen, named each of them a divine; among others archbiſhop *Uſher* was nominated, but he declining the affair, Mr. *Baxter* was appointed in his room: the reſt who acted, were *Attempts to ſettle fundamentals.* Baxter's *life*, Part II. p. 197.

Dr. *Owen*,	Mr. *Nye*,	*Committee to draw up the fundamentals of religion.*
Dr. *Goodwin*,	Mr. *Sydrach Simpſon*,	
Dr. *Cheynel*,	Mr. *Vines*,	
Mr. *Marſhal*,	Mr. *Manton*,	
Mr. *Reyner*,	Mr. *Jacomb.*	

Mr. *Baxter* would have perſuaded his brethren to offer the committee the *apoſtles creed*, the *Lord's prayer*, and the *ten commandments* alone, as containing the *fundamentals* of religion; but it was objected, that this would include *ſocinians* and *papiſts.* Mr. *Baxter* replied, that it was ſo much fitter for a centre of unity or concord, becauſe it was impoſſible in his opinion, to deviſe a form of words which hereticks would not ſubſcribe, when they had perverted them to their own ſenſe. Theſe arguments not prevailing, the following articles were preſented to the committee, but not brought into the houſe; under the title of, *The principles of faith preſented by Mr.* THO. GOODWIN, *Mr.* NYE, *Mr.* SYDRACH SIMPSON, *and other miniſters, to the committee of parliament for religion, by way of explanation to the propoſals for propagating the goſpel.* *Life.* Part II. p. 198.

Firſt, That *the holy ſcripture is that rule of knowing God, and living unto him, which whoſo does not believe cannot be ſaved.* *The articles.* V. P. N° 68.

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2 Theſ. ii. 10, 11, 12, 15. 1 Cor. xv. 1. 2, 3. 2 Cor. i. 13. John v. 39. 2 Peter ii. 1.

Secondly, That *there is a God, who is the creator, governor, and judge of the world, which is to be received by faith, and every other way of the knowledge of him is inſufficient.*

Heb. xi. 3, 6. Rom. i. 19, 20, 21, 22. 1 Cor. i. 21. 2 Theſ. i. 8.

Thirdly, That *this God who is the creator, is eternally diſtinct from all creatures in his being and bleſſedneſs*,

Rom. i. 18, 25. 1 Cor. viii. 5, 6.

Fourthly, That *this God is one in three perſons or ſubſiſtences.*

1 John v. 5, 6, 7, 8, 9. *compared with* John viii. 17, 18, 19, 21. Matth. xxviii. 19. *compared with* Epheſ. iv. 4, 5, 6. 1 John ii. 22, 23. 2d Epiſt. John ver. 9, 10.

Fifthly, That *Jeſus Chriſt is the only mediator between God and man, without the knowledge of whom there is no ſalvation.*

1 Tim. ii. 4, 5, 6. 2 Tim. iii. 15. 1 John ii. 22. Acts iv. 10, 12. 1 Cor. iii. 10, 11.

Sixthly, That *this Jeſus Chriſt is the true God.*

1 John v. 29, Iſaiah xlv. 21, 22, 23, 24, 25.

Seventhly, That *this Jeſus Chriſt is alſo true man.*

1 John iv. 2, 3. 2d Epiſt. John, ver 7.

Eighthly, That *this Jeſus Chriſt is God and man in one perſon.*

1 Tim. iii 16. Matth. xvi. 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18.

Ninthly, That *this Jeſus Chriſt is our redeemer, who by paying a ranſom, and bearing our ſins, has made ſatisfaction for them.*

Iſa. liii. 11. 1 Pet. ii. 24, 25. 1 Cor. xv. 2, 3. 1 Tim. ii. 4, 5, 6.

Tenthly, That *this ſame Lord Jeſus Chriſt is he that was crucified at* Jeruſalem, *and roſe again and aſcended into heaven.*

John viii. 24. Acts iv. 10, 11, 12. Acts x. 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43. 1 Cor. xv. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8. Acts xxii. 8. Acts ii. 36.

Eleventhly, That *this ſame Jeſus Chriſt, being the only God and man in one perſon, remains for ever a diſtinct perſon from all ſaints and angels, notwithſtanding their union and communion with him.*

Col. ii. 8, 9, 10, 19. 1 Tim. iii. 16.

Twelfthly, That *all men by nature are dead in ſins and treſpaſſes; and no man can be ſaved unleſs he be born again, repent and believe.*

John iii. 3, 5, 6, 7, 10. Acts xvii. 30, 31. Acts xxvi. 17, 18, 19, 20. Luke xxiv. 47. Acts xx. 20, 21. John v. 24, 25.

Thirteenth, That *we are juſtified and ſaved by grace, and faith in Jeſus Chriſt, and not by works.*

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Acts xv. 24. *compared with* Gal. i. 6, 7, 8, 9. Gal. v. 2, 4, 5. Rom. ix. 31, 32, 33. Rom. x. 3, 4. Rom. i. 16, 17. Gal. iii. 11. Epheſ. ii. 8, 9, 10.

Fourteenth, That *to continue in any known ſin, upon what pretence or principle ſoever, is damnable.*

Rom. i. 32. Rom. vi. 1, 2, 15, 16. 1 John i. 6, 8. 1 John iii. 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8. 2 Pet. ii. 19, 20. Rom. viii. 13.

Fifteenth, That *God is to be worſhipped according to his own will; and whoſoever ſhall forſake and deſpiſe all the duties of his worſhip cannot be ſaved.*

Jer. x. 15. Pſalm xiv. 4. Jude, ver. 18, 19, 20, 21. Rom. x. 13.

Sixteenth, That *the dead ſhall riſe; and that there is a day of judgment, wherein all ſhall appear, ſome to go into everlaſting life, and ſome into everlaſting condemnation.*

1 Tim. i. 19, 20. *compared with* 2 Tim. ii. 17, 18. Acts xvii. 30, 31. John v. 28, 29. 1 Cor. xv. 19.

Mr. *Baxter* ſays Dr. *Owen* worded theſe articles; that Dr. *Goodwin*, Mr. *Nye*, and Mr. *Simpſon*, were his aſſiſtants; that Dr. *Cheynel* was ſcribe; and that Mr. *Marſhal* a ſober worthy man, did ſomething; but that the reſt were little better than paſſive. He adds, that twenty of their propoſitions were printed, though in my copy, licenſed by *Scobel*, there are only ſixteen: However the parliament being abruptly diſſolved they were all buried in oblivion. *Life*, p. 205.

Remarks. It appears by theſe articles, that theſe divines intended to exclude, not only *deiſts*, *ſocinians*, and *papiſts*, but *arians*, *antinomians*, *quakers*, and others. Into ſuch difficulties do wiſe and good men fall, when they uſurp the kingly office of Chriſt, and pretend to reſtrain that liberty which is the birthright of every reaſonable creature. 'Tis an unwarrantable preſumption for any number of men to declare what is fundamental in the chriſtian religion, any further than the ſcriptures have expreſsly declared it. 'Tis one thing to maintain a doctrine to be true, and another to declare, that without the belief of it no man can be ſaved: None may ſay this but God himſelf. Beſides, why ſhould the civil magiſtrate protect none but thoſe who profeſs *faith in God by Jeſus Chriſt?* If a colony of *engliſh* merchants ſhould ſettle among the *mahometans* or *chineſe*, ſhould we not think that the government of thoſe countries ought to protect them in their religion, as long as they invaded no man's property, and paid obedience and ſubmiſſion to the government under which they lived? Why then ſhould chriſtians deny others the ſame liberty?

The

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Protector for univerſal liberty. p. 193.

The protector and his council were in more generous ſentiments of liberty, as will appear hereafter. Mr. *Baxter* ſays, the protector and his friends gave out, that *they could not underſtand what the magiſtrates had to do in matters of religion; they thought that all men ſhould be left to the liberty of their own conſciences, and that the magiſtrate could not interpoſe without enſnaring himſelf in the guilt of perſecution.* And were not theſe juſt and noble ſentiments, though the parliament would not accept them? His highneſs therefore, in his ſpeech at their diſſolution, reproaches them in theſe words; —— "How proper is it to labour for li-

Life of Cromwell, p. 307.

"berty, that men ſhould not be trampled upon for their conſciences? "Had we not lately laboured under the weight of perſecution; and is it "fit then to ſit heavy upon others? Is it ingenuous to aſk liberty and not "to give it? What greater hypocriſy, than for thoſe who were oppreſſed "by the biſhops, to become the greateſt oppreſſors themſelves ſo ſoon as "their yoke is removed? I could wiſh, that they who call for liberty now "alſo, had not too much of that ſpirit, if the power were in their hands. "As for prophane perſons, blaſphemers, ſuch as preach ſedition, con-"tentious railers, evil-ſpeakers, who ſeek by evil words to corrupt good "manners, and perſons of looſe converſation; puniſhment from the ci-"vil magiſtrate ought to meet with them; becauſe if theſe pretend "conſcience, yet walking diſorderly, and not according but contrary to "the goſpel and natural light, they are judged of all, and their ſins be-"ing open, make them the ſubject of the magiſtrates ſword, who "ought not to bear it in vain ——"

Agreeable to theſe principles, Dr. *George Bates* an eminent royaliſt, and a great enemy of *Cromwell*'s, writes "that the protector indulged "the uſe of the common-prayer in families, and in private conventicles; "and though the condition of the church of *England* was but melancho-"ly, yet (ſays the doctor) it cannot be denied, but they had a great deal "more favour and indulgence than under the parliament; which would "never have been interrupted had they not inſulted the protector, and "forfeited their liberty by their ſeditious practices, and plottings againſt "his perſon and government."

The approbation of public miniſters had been hitherto reſerved to the ſeveral preſbyteries in city and country; but the protector obſerving ſome inconvenience in this method, and not being willing to entruſt the qualification of candidates all over *England*, to a number of *presbyterians* only, who might admit none but thoſe of their own perſuaſion, contrived a middle way of joining the ſeveral parties together, and entruſting the affair with certain commiſſioners of each denomination, men of as known abilities and integrity as any the nation had. This was done by an ordinance of council, bearing date *March* 20. 1653-4, the preamble to which ſets forth, "that whereas for ſome time "paſt,

Baxter's *Life*, p. 72. *Ordinance appointing commiſſioners for approbation of public preachers.* Scobel, p. 279.

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" paſt, there had not been any certain courſe eſtabliſhed for ſupplying " vacant places with able and fit perſons to preach the goſpel, by reaſon " whereof the rights and titles of patrons were prejudiced, and many " weak, ſcandalous, popiſh, and ill-affected perſons had intruded themſelves, or been brought in; for remedy of which it is ordained, by his " highneſs the lord protector, by and with the conſent of his council, " that every perſon who ſhall after the 25th of *March* 1654 be preſented, nominated, choſen, or appointed to any benefice with care of " ſouls; or to any public ſettled lecture in *England* or *Wales*, ſhall before he be admitted, be examined and approved by the perſons hereafter named, to be a perſon, for the grace of God in him, his holy " and unblameable converſation, as alſo for his knowledge and utterance, " able and fit to preach the goſpel." Among the commiſſioners were eight or nine laymen, the reſt miniſters; their names were

Francis Rouſe Eſq;
Alderman *Titchbourn*,
Mark Hildeſly Eſq;
Thomas Wood Eſq;
John Sadler Eſq;
William Goffe Eſq;
Thomas St. Nicholas Eſq;
William Packer Eſq;
Edward Creſſet Eſq;

The Reverend
Dr. *John Owen*,
Dr. *Thomas Goodwin*,
Dr. *Arrowſmith*,
Dr. *Tuckney*,
Dr. *Horton*,
Thankful Owen M. A.
Mr. *Joſeph Caryl*,
Mr. *Philip Nye*,
Mr. *William Carter*,
Mr. *Sydrach Simpſon*,

The Reverend
Mr. *William Greenhill*,
Mr. *William Strong*,
Dr. *Thomas Manton*,
Mr. *Samuel Slater*,
Mr. *William Cooper*,
Mr. *Stephen Marſhall*,
John Tombes B. D.
Mr. *Walter Craddock*,
Mr. *Samuel Fairclough*,
Mr. *Hugh Peters*,
Mr. *Peter Sterry*,
Mr. *Samuel Bamford*,
Thomas Valentine, of *Chaford*, B. D.
Mr. *Henry Jeſſe*,
Mr. *Obadiah Sedgwick*,
Mr. *Nicolas Lockyer*,
Mr. *Dan. Dike*,
Mr. *James Ruſſel*,
Mr. *Nath. Campfield*.

Theſe were commonly called TRYERS; in all thirty-eight; of whom ſome were preſbyterians, others independents, and two or three were baptiſts. Any five were ſufficient to approve; but no number under nine had power to reject a perſon as unqualified. In caſe of death or removal

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removal of any of the commiſſioners, their numbers were to be filled up by the protector and his council; or by the parliament if ſitting. But ſome of the preſbyterian divines declined acting, for want of a better authority; or becauſe they did not like the company; though the authority was as good as any theſe times could produce, till the next ſeſſions of parliament. By an ordinance of *Sept.* 2. 1654, I find the reverend Mr. *John Rowe*, Mr. *John Bond*, Mr. *George Griffith* of the *Charter-Houſe*, Mr. *John Turner*, and *Godfrey Boſville* Eſq; added to the commiſſioners above-mentioned.

Scobel, p. 366.

Their inſtructions.

To ſuch as were approved, the commiſſioners gave an *inſtrument* in writing under a common ſeal for that purpoſe, by virtue of which they were put into as full poſſeſſion of the living to which they were nominated or choſen, as if they had been admitted by inſtitution and induction.

It was further provided, that all who preſented themſelves for approbation, ſhould produce a certificate ſigned by three perſons at leaſt of known integrity, one of whom to be a preacher of the goſpel in ſome ſettled place, teſtifying on their perſonal knowledge, the holy and good converſation of the perſon to be admitted; which certificate was to be regiſtered and filed. And *all penalties for not ſubſcribing, or reading the articles of religion, according to the act of* 13*th* Eliz. *were to ceaſe and be void.*

And for as much as ſome perſons might have been preferred to livings within the laſt twelvemonth, when there was no ſettled method of approbation, the ordinance looks back, and ordains "that no perſon "who had been placed in any benefice or lecture ſince *April* 1. "1653, ſhould be allowed to continue in it, unleſs he got him-"ſelf approved by the 24th of *June*, or at furtheſt the 23. of *July* "1654."

Remarks.

'Tis obſervable that this ordinance provides no ſecurity for the civil government, the commiſſioners not being impowered to adminiſter an oath of allegiance or fidelity to the protector. By this means ſome of the ſequeſtered clergy taking advantage of the act of oblivion in 1651, paſſed their trials before the commiſſioners and returned to their livings. The protector being adviſed of this defect, by advice of his council, publiſhed an additional ordinance *Sept.* 2. 1654, requiring the commiſſioners not to give admiſſion to any who had been ſequeſtered from their eccleſiaſtical benefices for delinquency, 'till by experience of their conformity, and ſubmiſſion to the preſent government, his *highneſs* and his council ſhould be ſatisfied of their fitneſs to be admitted into eccleſiaſtical promotions; and the ſame to be ſignified to the ſaid commiſſioners. Both theſe ordinances were confirmed by parliament in the year 1656, with this

Additional ordinance. Scobel, p. 366.

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this proviſo, " that the commiſſioners appointed by his *highneſs* in the " intervals of parliament, ſhould afterwards be confirmed by the ſuc- " ceeding parliament." Another defect in the ordinance was, that it did not appoint ſome ſtandard or rule for the TRYERS to go by; this would have taken off all odium from themſelves, and prevented a great many needleſs diſputes; but as matters now ſtood, mens qualifications were perhaps left too much to the arbitrary opinions and votes of the commiſſioners. After examination, they gave the candidate a copy of the preſentation in theſe words: " Know all men by theſe preſents, that the " —— day of ——— in the year there was exhibited to the " commiſſioners for examination of public miniſters, a preſentation of " Mr. ——— to the rectory of ——— in the county of ——— " made to him by Mr. ——— the patron thereof, under his hand " and ſeal, together with a teſtimony of his holy and godly converſa- " tion. Upon peruſal and due conſideration of the premiſes, and finding " him to be a perſon qualified, as in and by the ordinance for ſuch quali- " fications is required, the commiſſioners above-mentioned have adjudged " and approved the ſaid Mr. ——— to be a fit perſon to preach the " goſpel, and have granted him admiſſion, and do admit the ſaid Mr. " ——— to the rectory of ——— aforeſaid, to be full and perfect " poſſeſſor and incumbent thereof: And do hereby ſignify to all perſons " concerned therein, that he is hereby intitled to all the profits and per- " quiſites, and to all rights aud dues incident and belonging to the ſaid " rectory, as fully and effectually as if he had been inſtituted and inducted, " according to any ſuch laws and cuſtoms, as have in this caſe formerly " been made or uſed in this realm. In witneſs whereof they have cauſed " the common ſeal to be hereunto affixed, and the ſame to be atteſted by " the hand of the regiſter, by his *highneſs* in that behalf appointed. Da- " ted at ——— the —— day of ——— in the year ———

Calamy, Vol. II. p. 247.

(*L. S.*) *John Nye*, Reg.

Loud complaints have been made againſt theſe TRYERS; Mr. *Collier* objects to there being eight laymen among the commiſſioners, and that any five having power to act, it might ſometimes happen, that none but ſecular men might determine the qualifications of ſuch, who were to preach and adminiſter the ſacraments.

Complaints againſt the tryers.

Mr. *John Goodwin* an independent divine of *arminian* principles, obſerves, the *tryers* made their own narrow *calvinian* ſentiments in divinity, the door of admiſſion to all church preferments; and that their power was greater than that of the biſhops, becauſe the laws had provided a remedy againſt their arbitrary proceedings, by a *quare impedit*; or if the biſhop

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might determine abſolutely of the qualifications of the *candidate* or *clerk* to be admitted into a living, yet theſe qualifications were ſufficiently ſpecified, and particularized in the eccleſiaſtical laws or canons, and the biſhop might be obliged, by due courſe of law, to aſſign the reaſons of his refuſal; whereas the determinations of theſe commiſſioners for *approbation* were final; nor were they obliged ſo much as to ſpecify any reaſon for their rejecting any perſon, but only their vote, *not approved.*

It was further complained of as a very great hardſhip, that "there "was but one ſet of *tryers* for the whole nation, who reſided always "at *London*, which muſt occaſion great expence, and long journies, to "ſuch as lived in the remoter countries." But to remedy this incoveni-
Walker, p. 172. ence, Dr. *Walker* ſays, they appointed ſub-commiſſioners in the remoter countries. And (according to Mr. *Baxter*) if any were unable to come to *London*, or were of doubtful qualifications, the commiſſioners of *London* uſed to refer them to ſome miniſters in the country where they lived; and upon their teſtimonial they approved or rejected them. Amidſt ſuch a variety of ſentiments, it was next to impoſſible to pleaſe all parties; when there were no *tryers* the complaint was, that the pulpit doors were left open to all intruders, and now they cannot agree upon any one method of examination. And it muſt be left to every one's judgment, whether a biſhop and his chaplain, or a claſſis of preſbyters, or the preſent mixture of *laity* and *clergy*, be moſt eligible.

Objections to their management.

The chief objections againſt theſe TRYERS has been to the manner of executing their powers. Biſhop *Kennet* ſays, "that this holy inquiſition
Compl. Hiſt. p. 209. "was turned into a ſnare to catch men of probity and ſenſe, and found "divinity, and to let none eſcape but ignorant, bold, canting fellows; "for theſe *tryers* (ſays the biſhop) aſked few or no queſtions in know-"ledge or learning, but only about converſion, and the grace of God in "the heart, to which the readieſt anſwers would ariſe from infatuation in "ſome, and the trade of hypocriſy in others. By this means the rights "of patronage were at their pleaſure, and the character and abilities of di-"vines whatever they pleaſed to make them, and churches were filled "with little creatures of the ſtate." But the biſhop has produced no examples of this; nor were any of theſe *canting little creatures* turned out for inſufficiency at the reſtoration. Dr. *George Bates* an eminent royaliſt, with a little more temper and truth, ſays, "that they enquired "more narrowly into their affection to the preſent government, and "into the internal marks and character of the grace of God in "their hearts, than into their learning; by which means many ig-"norant laicks, mechanicks, and pedlars, were admitted to livings, "when perſons of greater merit were rejected." But it may be obſerved again, that ignorant as they were, not one of the *mechanicks* or *pedlars* who conformed at the reſtoration, was ejected for inſufficiency. When

the

the commiſſioners had to do with perſons of known learning, ſobriety, reputed orthodoxy, and a peaceable behaviour, they made but little enquiry into the marks of their converſion; as appears from the example of Mr. *Fuller* the hiſtorian, who being preſented to a living, was approved by the *tryers*, without giving any other evidence of the grace of God in him than this, *that he made conſcience of his thoughts.* Oliver *Protector.* 1654.

Dr. *Walker* has publiſhed the examinations of two or three clergymen, who were notorious for their malignity and diſaffection to the government, whom the commiſſioners puzzled with dark and abſtruſe queſtions in divinity, that they might ſet them aſide, without encountering their political principles; for when they had private intimations, of *notorious malignants* to come before them, they frequently had recourſe to this method; though 'tis not unlikely that upon ſome other occaſions, they might lay too great ſtreſs upon the internal characters of regeneration, the truth of which depend entirely upon the integrity of the reſpondent. But I believe not a ſingle inſtance can be produced, of any who were rejected for inſufficiency, without being firſt convicted either of immorality, of obnoxious ſentiments in the *ſocinian* or *pelagian* controverſy, or of diſaffection to the preſent government. Mr. *Sadler* who was preſented to a living in *Dorſetſhire*, but rejected by the *tryers*, publiſhed his examination in a pamphlet, which he calls, *Inquiſitio Anglicana*, wherein he endeavours to expoſe the commiſſioners in a very contemptuous manner; but Mr. *John Nye* clerk to the commiſſioners, followed him with an anſwer, intitled, *Sadler examined; or his diſguiſe diſcovered:* Shewing the groſs miſtakes, and moſt notorious falſehoods, in his dealings with the commiſſioners for approbation of public preachers, in his *Inquiſitio Anglicana.* To which Mr. *Sadler* never replied. *Their proceedings.* Ath. Ox.

Doctor *George Bates* and Dr. *Walker*, have charged the *tryers* with ſimony, upon no other proof, but that *Hugh Peters* ſaid once to Mr. *Camplin*, a clergyman of *Somerſetſhire*, upon his applying to him by a friend, for diſpatch, *has thy friend any money?* A ſlender proof of ſo heavy a charge. They who are acquainted with the jocoſe humour of *Hugh Peters*, will not wonder at ſuch an expreſſion. But I refer the reader to the names and characters of the commiſſioners, moſt of whom were men of unqueſtionable probity, for a ſufficient anſwer to this calumny.

No doubt the *tryers* did commit ſundry miſtakes, which it was hardly poſſible to avoid in their ſtation. I am far from vindicating all their proceedings; they had a difficult work on their hands, lived in times when the extent of chriſtian liberty was not well underſtood, had to deal with men of different principles in religion and politics; and thoſe who were *not approved*, would of courſe complain. Had this power been *Remarks.*

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lodged with the biſhops of theſe times, or their chaplains, or with the high preſbyterians; would they not have had their *ſhibboleth*, for which ill-natured men might have called them an *holy inquiſition?* but Mr. *Baxter* has given a very fair and candid account of them; his words are theſe,

Mr. Baxter's *opinion of them.* Baxter's *life*, p. 72.

"becauſe this aſſembly of *Tryers* is moſt heavily accuſed and reproached "by ſome men, I ſhall ſpeak the truth of them, and ſuppoſe my word "will be taken, becauſe moſt of them took me for one of their boldeſt "adverſaries: the truth is, though their authority was null, and though "ſome few over rigid and over buſy *independents* among them, were too ſe-"vere againſt all that were *arminians*, and too particular in enquiring af-"after evidences of ſanctification in thoſe whom they examined; and "ſomewhat too lax in admitting of unlearned and erroneous men, that "favoured *antinomianiſm* or *anabaptiſm*; yet to give them their due, "they did abundance of good to the church. They ſaved many a con-"gregation from ignorant, ungodly, drunken teachers, that ſort of men "who intend no more in the miniſtry than to ſay a ſermon, as readers "ſay their common prayers on *Sundays*, and all the reſt of the week go "with the people to the ale-houſe and harden them in ſin; and that ſort "of miniſters who either preached againſt a holy life, or preached as men "that were never acquainted with it. Theſe they uſually rejected, and "in their ſtead, admitted of any that were able, ſerious preachers, and "lived a godly life, of what tolerable opinion ſoever they were; ſo that "though many of them were a little partial for the independents, ſepara-"tiſts, fifth monarchy men, and anabaptiſts, and againſt the prelatiſts "and arminians, yet ſo great was the benefit above the hurt which they "brought to the church, that many thouſands of ſouls bleſſed God for "the faithful miniſters whom they let in, and grieved when the prelatiſts "afterwards caſt them out again."

The commiſſioners were not empowered to look further back than one year, before the date of the ordinance that conſtituted them. All who were in poſſeſſion of livings before that time were out of their reach; nor would the *protector* have given theſe any diſturbance, had he not received certain information of their ſtirring up the people, to join the inſurrection that was now on foot for the reſtoration of the king. They continued ſitting at *Whitehall* till the protector's death, or the year 1659. and were then diſcontinued.

New ordinance for ejecting ſcandalous miniſters. Scobel, p. 335, 340.

But to humble the clergy yet further, and keep them within the bounds of their ſpiritual function, his highneſs, by the advice of his council, publiſhed an ordinance, bearing date *Aug.* 28. 1654 entitled, an ordinance for ejecting *ſcandalous, ignorant, and inſufficient miniſters and ſchool-maſters.* The ordinance appoints and nominates certain *lay-commiſſioners* for every county, and joins with them ten or more, of the graveſt, and moſt noted miniſters,

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miniſters, as their aſſiſtants, and empowers any five, or more of them, to call before them any public preacher, lecturer, parſon, vicar, curate, or ſchool-maſter, who is or ſhall be reputed *ignorant*, *ſcandalous*, *inſufficient*, *or negligent*; and to receive all articles or charges that ſhall be exhibited againſt them on this account; and to proceed to the examination and determination of ſuch offences, according to the following rules.

"Such miniſters and ſchool-maſters ſhall be accounted *ſcandalous* in "their lives and converſations, as ſhall hold or maintain ſuch blaſphemous "or atheiſtical opinions, as are puniſhable by the act, entitled an act "againſt ſeveral blaſphemous and atheiſtical opinions, *&c.* or that ſhall "be guilty of prophane ſwearing and curſing, perjury, and ſubornation "of perjury; ſuch as maintain any popiſh opinions, required to be ab-"jured by the oath of abjuration; or are guilty of adultery, fornication, "drunkenneſs, common haunting of taverns, or ale-houſes; frequent "quarrellings or fightings; frequent playing at cards or dice; prophan-"ing of the ſabbath; or that do allow and countenance the ſame in their "families, or in their pariſhes. *Such as have frequently read or uſed the "common prayer book in public ſince the firſt of* Jan. *laſt; or ſhall at any "time hereafter do the ſame.* Such as publicly and prophanely ſcoff at "the ſtrict profeſſion, or profeſſors of godlineſs. Such as encourage or "countenance *whitſon-ales*, *wakes*, *morrice-dancing*, *may-poles*, *ſtage-plays*, "or ſuch like licentious practices. Such as have declared, or ſhall declare "by writing, preaching, or otherwiſe publiſhing, their diſaffection to "the preſent government.

"Such miniſters ſhall be accounted *negligent*, as omit the public exer-"ciſe of preaching and praying on the Lord's day (not being hindered by "neceſſary abſence or infirmity of body;) or that are or ſhall be non-re-"ſidents. Such ſchool-maſters ſhall be accounted *negligent*, as abſent them-"ſelves from their ſchools, and wilfully neglect to teach their ſcholars.

"Such miniſters or ſchool-maſters ſhall be accounted *ignorant* and *in-"ſufficient*, as ſhall be ſo declared and adjudged by the commiſſioners in "every county, or any five of them, together with five of the miniſters "mentioned in the ordinance."

Their inſtructions.

The lay-commiſſioners were to proceed upon oath, both for and againſt the perſon accuſed; but in caſes of *ignorance* or *inſufficiency*, they were to be joined by five of the aſſiſtant clergy at leaſt; and if ten of the commiſſioners, whereof five to be miniſters, gave it under their hands, that the party was *ignorant* or *inſufficient*, then the ſaid miniſter or ſchool-maſter was to be ejected, and the ſaid *judgment* entered in a regiſter book *with the reaſons thereof.* After ejectment, the party might not preach or teach ſchool in the pariſh from whence he was ejected; but convenient time was to be allowed for his removal, and the *fifths* reſerved for the ſupport of his family.

Common-wealth. 1654.

family. The rightful patron was to preſent to the vacant living an approved preacher; and in caſe of lapſe it fell to the protector and his council.

This ordinance being confirmed by the parliament of 1656, gave great offence to the old clergy; Mr. *Gatford* the ſequeſtered rector of *Denningtон*, publiſhed a pamphlet, entitled *a petition for the vindication of the public uſe of common-prayer*, &c. occaſioned by the late ordinance for ejecting ſcandalous miniſters; as alſo thirty ſeven queries concerning the ſaid ordinance; which he preſented to the parliament, which met *Sept.* 3. 1654; but they took no notice of it.

Objections againſt it.

Mr. *Gatford* obſerves, that the protector and his council had no legal authority to make this, or any other ordinance, without conſent of a parliament: whereas the *inſtrument of government* empowered them to provide for the ſafety of the ſtate by making laws, till the parliament ſhould meet. He obſerves further, that ſuch a proceeding muſt juſtify his late Majeſty and Council in all their illegal proceedings before the civil wars; that it would juſtify the high commiſſion court; and that by the ſame authority, an ordinance might be publiſhed to eject freeholders out of their eſtates.

He complains, that the power of the commiſſioners is final, and admits of no appeal; that it looks back to crimes antecedent to the law for a twelvemonth; whereas it ought only to declare, that for the future ſuch offences ſhall be puniſhed with deprivation.

That the commiſſioners who were to ſit in judgment upon the clergy were all *laymen*, the miniſters being called in only in caſes of ignorance and inſufficiency; that the ordinance admits of the oath of one witneſs, provided it be ſupported with other concurrent evidence, which is contrary to the laws of God and man.

That ſome crimes in the ordinance were none at all, and others of a very doubtful nature; as how often a miniſter omitting to pray and preach in his pulpit ſhould render him *negligent*; and what ſhould be deemed *non-reſidence*. Above all, he complains that the public reading of the common-prayer ſhould be ranked with the ſins of ſwearing and drunkenneſs, and be an evidence of a ſcandalous life and converſation; which obſervation was unqueſtionably juſt.

Dr. Pordage *ejected.*

To give the reader an example or two of the proceedings of the commiſſioners: thoſe for *Berkſhire* ſummoned Dr. *Pordage* rector of *Bradfield*, to appear before them at *Speenham-Land*, near *Newbury*, to anſwer to divers articles of *blaſphemy and hereſy*. After ſeveral days hearing, and witneſſes produced on both ſides, the commiſſioners determined *Dec.* 8. 1654. that the ſaid doctor was guilty of denying the deity of Chriſt; the merits of his precious blood and paſſion; and ſeveral other ſuch like opinions. It is further declared under the hands of ſix of the commiſſioners, and a ſufficient number of *miniſters* their aſſiſtants, that the ſaid doctor was ignorant, and inſufficient for the work of the miniſtry; it is therefore ordered,

that

that the ſaid doctor be, and he is hereby ejected out of the rectory of *Bradfield*, and the profits thereof; but the ſaid commiſſioners do grant him time, till the 2d of *Feb.* to remove himſelf, his family, his goods and chattels, out of the ſaid parſonage houſe; and further time to remove his corn out of the barns, till the 23d of *March*. Oliver *Protector.* 1654.

The *Oxford* hiſtorian ſays, this *Pordage* was a Dr. by *Charientiſmus*, and had been preacher of St. *Lawrence church* in *Reading* before he came to *Bradfield*. That he was a myſtic enthuſiaſt, and uſed to talk of the *fiery deity of Chriſt dwelling in the ſoul, and mixing itſelf with our fleſh*. He dealt much in *aſtrology*, and pretended to converſe with the world of ſpirits. After his ejectment he writ againſt the commiſſioners, a pamphlet entitled, *innocency appearing*; which was anſwered by Mr. *Chriſtopher Fowler*, vicar of St. *Mary Reading*, in his *demonium meridianum*. However the doctor was reſtored to his living at *Bradfield* at the reſtoration.

The *Wiltſhire* commiſſioners ſummoned Mr. *Walter Buſhnel*, vicar of *Box* near *Malmſbury*, before them, to anſwer to a charge of *drunkenneſs, prophanation of the ſabbath, gaming, and diſaffection to the government*; and after a full hearing, and proof upon oath, they ejected him. The vicar prepared for the preſs, a narrative of the proceedings of the commiſſioners appointed by *O. Cromwell* for ejecting ſcandalous and ignorant miniſters, in the caſe of *Walter Buſhnel*, &c. but it was not printed till the king's reſtoration; and even then the commiſſioners did themſelves juſtice in a reply, which they entitled, *a vindication of the* Marlborough *commiſſioners, by the commiſſioners themſelves*. And Dr. *Chambers*, who was reproached by the ſaid *Buſhnel*, did himſelf juſtice in a diſtinct vindication. However the *vicar* was reſtored to his vicarage in a lump with the reſt at the reſtoration. *And Mr.* Buſhnel.

Upon the whole, the induſtrious Dr. *Walker* ſays, he can find no footſteps of the numbers of clergy that were ejected by the commiſſioners, though he imagines they might be conſiderable. But I am well ſatisfied, there were none of any conſiderable character; for there were not a great many zealous loyaliſts in livings at this time; and thoſe that were, had the wiſdom to be ſilent about public affairs, while they ſaw the eyes of the government were upon them in every corner of the land. The commiſſioners continued to act till ſome time after the protector's death, and were a greater terror to the *fanatics and viſionaries of thoſe times*, than to the regular clergy of any denomination.

The protector and his council paſſed another ordinance *Auguſt* 30, for the ſervice of *Wales*, appointing Sir *Hugh Owen*, and about eighteen other commiſſioners, for the ſix counties of *South Wales*, with the county of *Monmouth*; and *Matthew Morgan* with about twelve other commiſſioners, for the ſix counties of *North Wales*; any three of which were empowered to call before them, all ſuch who by authority of the *act for propagating* *Commiſſioners for* Wales. Scobel, p. 347.

Oliver *Protector.* 1654.

propagating the goſpel in Wales, had received or diſpoſed of any of the profits of the rectories, vicarages, *&c.* in that principality; and to give an account upon oath, of all ſuch rents and profits; and the ſurplus money in the hands of the commiſſioners, to be be paid into the *exchequer*.

Sad ſtate of that principality. Calamy's comp. of church and diſſenters.

To ſet this affair before the reader in one view; the principality of *Wales*, by reaſon of the poverty of the people, and the ſmall endowments of church livings, was never well ſupplied with a learned or pious clergy; the people were generally very ignorant, and only one remove from heathens. In 1641 a petition was preſented to the king and parliament, which declares, that there were not ſo many conſcientious and conſtant preachers in *Wales* as there were counties; and that theſe were either ſilenced, or much perſecuted. The civil wars had made their condition worſe; for as they generally adhered to the king, and received great numbers of *iriſh* papiſts into their country, their preachers went into his majeſty's ſervice, or fled from their cures, when the parliament forces took poſſeſſion of it. After the king's death the parliament paſſed the ordinance already mentioned, for the better propagating the preaching of the goſpel in *Wales*, and for ejecting ſcandalous miniſters and ſchool-maſters, and for redreſs of ſome grievances; it bears date *Feb.* 22. 1649, and empowers the commiſſioners therein mentioned, or any twelve of them, to receive and diſpoſe of all and ſingular rents, iſſues, and profits of all eccleſiaſtical livings, impropriations, and glebe lands, within the ſaid counties, which then were, or afterwards ſhould be under ſequeſtration, or in the diſpoſal of the parliament, and out of them to order and appoint a conſtant yearly maintenance for ſuch perſons as ſhould be recommended, and approved for the work of the miniſtry, or education of children; and for ſuch other miniſters as were then reſiding in the ſaid counties. The ordinance to continue in force for three years, from *March* 25. 1650.

Ordinance for propagating the goſpel in Wales. Calamy's comp. of church and diſſenters. p. 46.

By virtue of this ordinance many clergymen were ejected, but not all, for in *Montgomeryſhire* eleven or twelve remained, as did ſeveral in other counties; but all who were ejected for manifeſt ſcandal. Afterwards complaints being made, that the people were turning *papiſts* or *heathens*, for want of the word of God, ſeveral were ſent into *Montgomeryſhire*, where there were at leaſt ſixteen preachers, of which ten were univerſity men, the meaneſt of whom were approved and ſettled in pariſhes at the reſtoration. The commiſſioners were empowered to examine into the behaviour of ſuch as were reputed *ignorant*, *inſufficient*, *non-reſident*, *ſcandalous*, *or enemies to the preſent government*. And it being impoſſible to fill up the vacant livings with ſuch as could preach in the *welch* language, the revenues were to be collected and brought into a common treaſury, out of which one hundred pounds *per annum*, was to be given to ſundry itenerant preachers in each county.

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Dr. *Walker* ſays, that from the account drawn up by the commiſſioners themſelves in *April* 1652 it appears, that there had been ejected in *South Wales*, and *Monmouthſhire*, one hundred ſeventy-five miniſters; that is, fifty-ſix from the year 1645 to the time when this act took place, and one hundred and nineteen by the preſent commiſſioners. Mr. *Vavaſor Powel*, who had a chief hand in the ſequeſtrations, ſays, that by virtue of this act between fifty and ſixty of the old clergy were diſpoſſeſſed of their livings when he writ. Upon the whole, the commiſſioners who continued to act as long as the protector lived, charge themſelves with between three hundred and twenty, and three hundred and thirty ſeveral and diſtinct livings; but there could not be an equal number of ſequeſtered clergymen, becauſe in the compaſs of ſeven years a great many muſt die; ſome fled, or were killed in the wars; in many pariſhes the tithes were not duly paid by reaſon of the confuſion of the times, and the livings being but from five to ten or twenty pounds a year, moſt of the incumbents were pluraliſts. It is computed that about one half of the church lands and revenues in the principality of *Wales*, by the ſeveral accidents of death, deſertion, ſequeſtration, *&c* fell into the hands of the government before the expiration of this ordinance in 1653, the profits of which, if duly collected and paid, muſt amount to a very conſiderable ſum. There were thirteen counties in *North* and *South Wales* within the limits of the commiſſion; but the largeſt ſum that the ſequeſtrators and agents charge themſelves with for the county of *Brecknockſhire*, in any one year, till the year 1658, when the propagation had ſubſiſted eight years, is one thouſand five hundred forty-three pounds, by which the reader may make a tolerable computation of the whole; and if we may believe Mr. *Whitlock*, who lived through theſe times, that in the year 1653. there were one hundred and fifty good preachers in the thirteen *welch* counties, moſt of whom preached three or four times a week; that in every market town there was a ſchool-maſter, and in moſt great towns two able, learned, and univerſity men; and that the tithes were all employed to the uſes directed by act of parliament; there can be no great reaſon to complain of the negligence of the commiſſioners.

Numbers ejected.

p. 518

The crime for which the old clergy were ejected, were *malignancy*, *inſufficiency*, *drunkenneſs*, and *negligence of their cures*. Mr. *Vavaſor Powel* ſays, that *of all the men they had put out in* North Wales, *be knew not any that had the power of godlineſs, and very few the form; but that moſt of them were unpreaching curates, or ſcandalous in their morals.* The commiſſioners affirm, that *of the ſixteen they had diſpoſſeſſed in* Cardiganſhire, *there were but three that were preachers, and theſe moſt ſcandalous livers.* And Mr. *Baxter* admits, that *they were all weak, and bad enough for the moſt part.* But the writers on the other ſide ſay, that the commiſſioners had

Their crimes.

Oliver *Protector.* 1654.

no regard to ability in preaching, or ſobriety in converſation. And Dr. *Walker* thinks, the ſequeſtered *welch* clergy need no other vindication than to let the world know, *that many of them were graduates in the univerſity*; as if every graduate muſt of courſe be poſſeſſed of all miniſterial qualifications. There might poſſibly be ſome few pious and induſtrious preachers among the ejected *welch* clergy; but they who will argue very ſtrenuouſly in favour of the body of them, muſt know very little of the country, or their manner of life.

Their method of ſupplying the vacancies.

It was not in the power of the commiſſioners to find a ſucceſſion of pious and learned preachers in the *welch* language; but to remedy this in the beſt manner they could, they appointed ſix itinerant preachers of univerſity education for each county, to whom they allowed one hundred pounds a year; beſides which, they ſent out thirty-two miniſters, of whom twenty-four were univerſity men, and ſome of the reſt good ſcholars; but theſe were but too few for the work, though they were indefatigable in their labours. To ſupply what was further wanting, they approved of ſeveral *gifted laymen*, members of churches, to travel into the neighbourhood, and aſſiſt the people's devotions, and to theſe they allowed from ſeventeen to twenty pounds *per annum*. In an article of the ſequeſtrators accompts, there appears three hundred and forty pounds *per annum* diſtributed among godly members of the church of *Lanvacles*, and *Mynthiſt Loyn*, who had been ſent out to exerciſe their gifts among the *welch* mountaineers, and to help forward the work of the Lord. Many others of the ſame quality were approved by the commiſſioners, who went through great difficulties and hardſhips in their work. Mr. *Powel* ſays, that ſome hundreds, if not thouſands, had been converted and reformed by the *propagators*. After all it muſt be confeſſed, that at firſt the number of itinerants, both ſcholars and others, was by no means equal to their work, the pariſhes in that mountainous country are large and wide, and there being but one *itinerant* to ſeveral of thoſe pariſhes, the people muſt have been neglected, and their children too much without inſtruction; but this was owing to the neceſſity of the times.

Calamy's Comp. p. 48.

Petitions againſt the commiſſioners.

When the commiſſioners had acted about two years, a petition was preſented to the parliament by the inhabitants of *South Wales*, ſigned by above a thouſand hands, in favour of the old ejected clergy, ſetting forth the numbers that had been diſpoſſeſſed, and the want of a competent number of preachers in their places, upon which account the country was reduced to a very miſerable condition. They therefore pray the houſe to take ſome courſe for a future ſupply of godly and able preachers; and to call thoſe perſons to account, who had received all the profits of church livings into their hands. The houſe received the petition, and referred it to the *committee for plundered miniſters*, who were empowered to exa-

Walker, p. 168.

examine witneſſes, and to authorize other commiſſioners in the country to examine witneſſes upon oath, touching the matters contained in the petition. The committee ordered the commiſſioners to bring in their accounts in a month's time, which they did accordingly. And the petitioners were ordered to deliver in the particulars on which they deſired witneſſes might be examined, within two days; but not being provided, they deſired liberty to make good their allegations in the country; to which the commiſſioners willingly agreed. But this taking up ſome time, the long parliament was diſſolved, and the proſecution of this enquiry ſuſpended for the preſent; but as ſoon as the protector was fixed in his government, he publiſhed an ordinance *Aug.* 20. 1654, to bring the *propagators* to an account; purſuant to which the ſequeſtrators and treaſurer for *South Wales* delivered in their accounts for the years 1650, 1651, 1652, which was all the time the ordinance continued in force; and the commiſſioners appointed by the protector having received and examined them, after a full enquiry allowed and paſſed them *Aug.* 10. 1655.

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It is hard to read with temper, the reproaches caſt upon theſe commiſſioners by our angry hiſtorians, who have charged them with all manner of corruption, as if they had got great eſtates out of the revenues of the church, though without producing a ſingle example. Mr. *Powel*, who took more pains among them than any man of his time, declares, that he never received for all his preaching in *Wales*, by ſalary, above ſix or ſeven hundred pounds; that he never had any thing from the tithes; and whereas it was ſaid, that he had inriched himſelf by purchaſing ſome thouſands a year of crown lands, he proteſts, that he never purchaſed above ſeventy pounds a year, which he loſt at the reſtoration. And if Mr. *Powel* did not inrich himſelf, I apprehend, none of his brethren could. Beſides if this had been true, the protector's commiſſioners would have diſcovered them; or if they had eſcaped the protector's enquiry, their enemies would have expoſed them at the reſtoration, when king *Charles* appointed a commiſſion to make the ſtricteſt enquiry into their management. "All perſons who had acted as commiſſioners for propagating the goſpel, "were by his majeſty's inſtructions to be ſummoned before his commiſ- "ſioners; and all that acted under them as farmers, tenants, *&c.* all "that had ſucceeded in the ſequeſtered livings, or received any of the pro- "fits; all pariſhoners, who had kept any of the tithes in their hands; the "heirs, executors, or adminiſtrators, of any of the aforeſaid perſons; and "all credible perſons who could give evidence of any of theſe matters. "They were likewiſe to enquire after books and writings; and to ſig- "nify to all perſons concerned, that if they would forthwith apply to his "majeſty's commiſſioners, they might compound for what they ſtood "charged with, and ſo avoid the expence of a law ſuit." But after all this

Further complaints againſt them.

Calamy's Comp. p. 46.

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this mighty outcry and ſcrutiny, nothing of any conſequence appeared, and therefore it was thought proper to drop the commiſſion, and bury the whole affair in ſilence. Mr. *Vavaſor Powel* abovementioned, was cruelly handled by the *welch* clergy, but he did himſelf juſtice in a pamphlet, entitled *examen & purgamen Vavaſoris*, publiſhed 1653, wherein he vindicates his proceedings in the *propagation*. And when he was in the Fleet after the reſtoration, he publiſhed a brief narrative concerning the proceedings of the commiſſioners in *Wales* againſt the ejected clergy, occaſioned by a report that he had been thrown into that priſon for ſome of the revenues; which was never anſwered.

Walker, p. 149.

Ordinance for uniting ſmall livings, and dividing greater. Scobel, p. 353.

By an ordinance of *September* 2. commiſſioners were appointed to enquire into the yearly value of all eccleſiaſtical livings and benefices without cure of ſouls; what perſon or perſons received the profits, and who was the patron; and to certify the ſame into *chancery*; and if upon a careful conſideration of things, it ſhall be found convenient and advantagious, to unite two pariſhes or more into one, and that the whole eccleſiaſtical revenues, tithes, and profits belonging to the ſaid pariſhes ſo united, ſhould be applied for a proviſion for one godly and painful miniſter, to preach in the ſaid united pariſhes; then the truſtees, or commiſſioners appointed by this act ſhall repreſent the ſame to his HIGHNESS and *council*, upon whoſe approbation they ſhall, by an inſtrument under the hands and ſeals of any five, or more of them, declare, that they do thereby unite ſuch pariſhes into one; which *inſtrument* being enrolled in *chancery*, the ſaid pariſhes from thenceforth ſhall be adjudged and taken to be conſolidated into one. If there happen to be more patrons than one in the pariſhes thus united, the patrons ſhall preſent by turns; but the union ſhall not take place till the avoidance of one of the livings by the death of the incumbent.

On the other hand, where pariſhes were too large, the truſtees for the augmentation of poor livings were empowered to divide them into two or more, upon their avoidance by death.

Further, if when two or more pariſhes were united into one, the income or ſalary did not amount to one hundred pounds *per annum*, the truſtees for receiving impropriations, tithes, firſt fruits, and tenths, *&c.* were directed to make up the deficiency; and where there was a conſiderable ſurplus they might take off the augmentations formerly granted. Provided this ordinance be not conſtrued to reſtrain the ſaid truſtees from granting augmentations to preachers in cities and market towns, where there ſhall ſhall be cauſe, to a greater proportion, with the conſent of the protector and his council. This was a noble and generous deſign; and if the protector had lived to have carried it into execution, muſt have been of general ſervice to the body of the clergy.

Though his HIGHNESS himſelf was no great ſcholar, he was a patron of learning and learned men. He ſettled one hundred pounds a a year on a divinity profeſſor in *Oxford*; and gave twenty-four rare manuſcripts to the *Bodleian* library; he erected and endowed a college in *Durham* for the benefit of the northern counties, Mr. *Frankland* M. A. being one of the firſt fellows. But theſe and ſome other deſigns that he had formed for the advancement of learning, died with him.

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Protector for encouraging learning. Whitl. p. 588.

In order to ſecure the education of youth, he took care to regulate both univerſities, by appointing new viſitors, the former ceaſing with the diſſolution of the long parliament., *viz.*

For the univerſity of Oxford,
The *vice-chancellor* for the time being.

Dr. *Harris* preſident of *Trinity College*,
Dr. *Rogers* principal of *New Inn Hall*,
Dr. *T. Goodwin* preſident of *Magdalen College*,
Dr. *John Owen* dean of *Chriſt-Church*,
Dr. *Hen. Wilkinſon Marg.* profeſſor of divinity,
Dr. *Peter French* prebend of *Chriſt Church*,
Dr. *John Conant* rector of *Exeter College*,
Dr. *Jonathan Goddard* Ward. of *Merton College*,
Dr. *Thankful Owen* Preſ. of St. *John's*,
Mr. *Stephens* principal of *Hart Hall*,
Mr. *James Baron* of *Magdalen College*,
Mr. *Francis Howel* fellow of *Exeter College*,
William Viſc. *Say* and *Seal*,
Nathaniel Fiennes Eſq;
Bulſtrode Whitlock Comm. of the *Great Seal*,
Samuel Dunch Eſq;
Sir *John Dryden*,
Rich. Ingoldſby,
John Crew,
George Fleetwood,
John Bright,
——*Jenkinſon*,
——*Greenfield*,
} Eſqs;

Viſitors for the univerſities. Scobel, p. 366.

For the univerſity of Cambridge,
The *vice-chancellor* for the time being.

Dr. *Tuckney* maſter of St. *John's College*,
Dr. *Arrowſmith* maſter of *Trinity College*,
Dr. *Horton* preſident of *Queen's College*,
Dr. *Sam. Bolton* maſter of *Chriſt's College*,
Dr. *Law. Seaman* maſter of *Peter Houſe*,
Dr. *Lightfoot* maſter of *Katherine Hall*,

Mr.

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Mr. *John Sadler* maſter of *Magdalen College*,
Dr. *Whichcot*,
Dr. *Cudworth*,
Mr. *Worthington* maſter of *Jeſus College*,
Mr. *Dillingham* maſter of *Emanuel College*,
Mr. *Simpſon* maſter of *Pembroke Hall*,
Mr. *Templer* fellow of *Trinity College*,
Mr. *Mowbrey* fellow of St. *John*'s *College*,
Mr. *William Moſes* fellow of *Pembroke Hall*,
Mr. *Wood* fellow of *Magdalen College*,
Henry Cromwell,
Henry Lawrence lord preſident of his highneſs's council,
J. Lambert, *J. Deſborough*, } Eſqs;
Sir *Gilbert Pickering*,
Col. *Ed. Montague*, *Francis Rouſe*, } Eſqs;
Oliver St. John lord Ch. juſtice of *Com. Pleas*,
J. Thurloe, *Robert Caſtle*, *Tho. Bendiſh*, *Rob. Viner*, *Griffith Loyd*, } Eſqs;
Sir *William Strickland*.

Any ſeven or more of the commiſſioners above-named, were authorized to viſit all *colleges* and *halls* within their reſpective univerſities; to examine what ſtatutes were fit to be abrogated, altered, or added, and to exhibit the ſame to his HIGHNESS, and the PARLIAMENT. They are further authorized, to explain ſuch ſtatutes as are ambiguous and obſcure; to determine appeals; and are to be aſſiſted upon all occaſions by the mayor, ſheriffs, and juſtices of peace. The ſaid *viſitors*, or any four of them, are authorized to viſit *Weſtminſter School*, *Winchеſter School*, *Merchant Taylor's School*, and *Eaton College*; and to conſider of ſuch ſtatutes of the ſaid ſchools as are fit to be abrogated, and of others that may be proper to be added, for the well government of the ſaid ſchools and colleges.

Their influence. The viſitors diſcharged their duty with great fidelity; and the heads of colleges had a watchful eye over their ſeveral houſes; drunkenneſs, ſwearing, gaming, and all kinds of immorality, were ſeverely puniſhed; all ſtudents, graduates, and others, were obliged to be at home in proper hours; the public houſes weare ſearched; and the practice of religion in the ſeveral colleges enforced with rigor. One of the profeſſors writes, that there was more frequent practical preaching in the colleges than ever had been known. On the Lord's day at different hours, there were three or four ſermons in ſeveral churches; and on the week days, lectures on *Tueſdays*, *Thurſdays*, *Fridays*, and *Saturdays*. The tutors were very diligent

diligent in diſcharge of their duty; the public lecturers were well attended, and the ſtudents under ſtrict diſcipline; learning revived, and the muſes returned to their ſeats, as appears by the numbers of learned men who flouriſhed in the reign of king *Charles* II, and owed their education to theſe times. Oliver *Protector.* 1654.

The protector zeal for the Pr. religion. Hiſt. Stuarts, p. 423.

The protector's zeal for the welfare of the proteſtant churches abroad deſerves a particular notice, and was highly valued by all the reformed in foreign countries. He took all imaginable care to appear at the head of that intereſt on all occaſions, and to ſhew his power in protecting them. The prince of *Tarente* having writ a reſpectful letter to the protector, his highneſs returned him the following anſwer, "that it was with extreme "pleaſure he had learned by letters, his inviolable zeal and attachment to "the reformed churches, for which his praiſe was the greater, in as much as "he ſhewed that zeal at a time, and in a place, where ſuch flattering "hopes were given to perſons of his rank if they would forſake the or-"thodox faith; and where thoſe who continue ſtedfaſt, are threat-"ened with ſo many troubles. He rejoices that his own conduct in reli-"gion was ſo pleaſing to him; he calls God to witneſs, that he deſired "nothing ſo much as an opportunity to anſwer the favourable opinion "the churches have of his zeal and piety, by endeavouring to propagate "the true faith, and procure reſt and peace for the church. He exhorts the "prince to hold out firm to the end in the orthodox religion which he re-"ceived from his fathers; and adds that nothing would bring him greater "glory, than to protect it as much as lay in his power." What projects the protector formed for this purpoſe will be ſeen hereafter.

State of the royal family. Compl. Hiſt. p. 203. Kennet's Chron. p. 599.

But the royal intereſt abroad was enclining towards popery; the duke of *York* was already perverted to the *romiſh* faith; no attempts were uneſſayed by the queen mother, the queen of *France* and others to gain the young duke of *Glouceſter*, who had been under the inſtruction of parliamentary tutors till the laſt year: But this young prince was too well eſtabliſhed in his religion to be perverted at preſent, upon which the queen forbid him her preſence; and the marquiſs of *Ormond* conducted him to his brother at *Cologne*. The king was a man of no religion, and having little to do, devoted his leiſure hours to the ladies, and other private pleaſures. His majeſty had ſome trial (ſays biſhop *Kennet*) of his conſcience and courage in reſiſting the little arguments, or rather importunities of popery. The papiſts put him in mind, that all his hopes from the proteſtant party were at an end; that the biſhops were dead, except a very few; and the church lands ſold; and that ſince the late defeat at *Worceſter* the preſbyterian power was deſtroyed; all his hopes therefore muſt be from the *roman* catholicks, from whoſe aſſiſtance only he could now hope for his reſtoration. But the proſpect was ſo diſtant, that the king, Compl. Hiſt. p. 213.

by

Oliver *Protector.* 1653.

by advice of lord *Clarendon*, was prevailed with not to declare himſelf openly at preſent.

Death of Mr. Selden. Ath. Ox.

On the laſt of *November* died the learned Mr. *John Selden*, the glory of the *engliſh* nation: He was born in *Suſſex Dec.* 6, 1584, and educated in *Hart Hall Oxford*, after which he was tranſplanted to the *Inner-Temple*, where he became a prodigy in the moſt uncommon parts of ſcience. He was a great philologiſt, antiquary, herald, linguiſt, ſtateſman, and lawyer, but ſeldom appeared at the bar. He was choſen burgeſs for ſeveral parliaments, where he diſplayed his profound erudition in ſpeeches and debates in favour of the liberties of his country; for which he was impriſoned, and ſeverely fined with Mr. *Pym* in the parliament of 1618, and 1628. He was choſen again in the long parliament, and appeared againſt the *prerogative* as he had formerly done. He was one of the lay members of the aſſembly of divines, and by his vaſt ſkill in the oriental learning, and *jewiſh* antiquities, frequently ſilenced the moſt able divines. He wrote on various ſubjects, which gained him the title among foreigners, of the *dictator of learning in the* engliſh *nation*. Among other remarkable pieces, we may reckon his *Hiſtory of Tithes*, publiſhed 1618, in which he proves them not to bedue to the chriſtian clergy by divine inſtitution: For this he was ſummoned before the *high commiſſion court*, and obliged to make a public recantation. But after ſome time his reputation was ſo great, that it was thought worth while to gain him over to the court; and upon the new civilities he received at *Lambeth*, he was prevailed with to publiſh his *Mare clauſum* againſt *Hugo Grotius*, which was eſteemed ſuch an invaluable treaſure, that it was ordered to be laid up in the court of records. The archbiſhop offered him preferments, but he would accept of nothing. Upon the firſt preſſures againſt the biſhops, he publiſhed his *Eutychus* in *greek* and *latin*, with notes, in which he proves, that *biſhops and presbyters differ only in degree*. He afterwards anſwered his majeſty's declaration about the *commiſſion of array*, and was made maſter of the *rolls* by the *long parliament*. He had a large and curious library of books, in the frontiſpiece of each he uſed to write this motto, Περὶ παντὸς ἐλευθερίαν, *above all* LIBERTY. At length being worn out with age, and hard ſtudy, he died at his houſe in the *White-Fryars* aged ſeventy years, and was magnificently interred in the *Temple church* on the ſouth ſide of the round walk, *according to the directory*, in the preſence of all the judges, ſome parliament men, benchers, and great officers. His funeral ſermon was preached by archbiſhop *Uſher*, who acknowledged he was not worthy to carry his books after him. His works are lately collected, and printed together in ſix volumes folio.

Mr. *Thomas Gataker* was born in *London* 1574, and was educated in St. *John's college Cambridge*, where he proceeded *M. A*, and was afterwards

wards removed to *Sidney College*, where he became remarkable for his ſkill in the *hebrew* and *greek* languages. After his ordination he was choſen miniſter of *Lincoln's-Inn*, and occupied that ſtation ten years; but in the year 1611. he was preſented to the rectory of *Rotherhithe*, where he continued till his death. In the year 1643 he was choſen a member of the aſſembly of divines, and was an ornament and reputation to it. When the earl of *Mancheſter* viſited and reformed the univerſity of *Cambridge*, he offered Mr. *Gataker* the maſterſhip of *Trinity College*, but he refuſed it on the account of his health. Mr. *Gataker* was a very learned man, and a conſiderable critic and linguiſt, as appears by his writings, which were very numerous, conſidering his infirm ſtate of health. He was a conſtant preacher, of a moſt holy and examplary deportment, but withal of great modeſty. It is hard, ſays Mr. *Eachard*, to ſay, which was moſt remarkable his exemplary piety and charity, his polite literature, or his humility and modeſty in refuſing preferments. He maintained a correſpondence with *Salmaſius*, *Hornbeck*, and other learned foreigners, and was in high eſteem both at home and in the *Low Countries*, where he had travelled. He died of age, and a complication of infirmities, *July* 27, 1654, in the eightieth year of his age.

Oliver *Protector.* 1654.

Mr. *William Strong* was educated in *Katherine Hall Cambridge*, of which he was fellow. He was afterwards rector of *More Chrichel* in *Dorſetſhire*, where he continued till he was forced to fly from the cavaliers; he then came to *London* and was choſen one of the aſſembly of divines, and miniſter of St. *Dunſtan*'s in the *Weſt*. After ſome time he became preacher at *Weſtminſter Abbey*, where he died ſuddenly in the vigor of life, and was buried in the *Abbey Church July* 4, 1654. His funeral ſermon was preached by Mr. *Ob. Sedgwick*, who ſays that he was ſo plain in heart, ſo deep in judgment, ſo painful in ſtudy, ſo exact in preaching, and in a word, ſo fit for all the parts of the miniſterial ſervice, that he did not know his equal. But after the reſtoration his bones were dug up, and removed to St. *Margaret's Church-Yard*, with thoſe of other eminent preſbyterian divines. He publiſhed ſeveral ſermons, and theological treatiſes in his lifetime; and after his death there was a poſthumous one *upon the covenants*, in the preface to which Mr. *Theophilus Gale* obſerves, that the author was a wonder of nature for natural parts, and a miracle of grace for his deep inſight into the more profound myſteries of the goſpel. His thoughts were ſublime, but clear and penetrating, eſpecially in interpreting difficult texts.

Of Mr. Strong. Ath. Ox. p. 218.

Mr. *Andrew Pern*, was educated in *Cambridge*, and from thence removed to *Welby* in *Northamptonſhire*, where he maintained the character of a zealous laborious and ſucceſsful preacher, for twenty ſeven years. In

Of Mr. Pern.

Oliver. Protector. 1654.

the year 1643 he was choſen a member of the aſſembly of divines at *Weſtminſter*. When he was at *London* he was offered ſeveral conſiderable preferments, but refuſed them, reſolving to return to his people at *Welby*, who honoured him as a father; for by his awakening ſermons, and exemplary life and converſation, he accompliſhed a great reformation of manners in that town. He was full of ſpiritual warmth (ſays the preacher of his funeral ſermon), filled with an holy indignation againſt ſin, active in his work; and never more in his element than in the pulpit. As his life was holy ſo his death was comfortable. He bleſſed God that he was not afraid to die; nay he earneſtly deſired to be gone, often crying out in his laſt ſickneſs, *when will that hour come? One aſſault more and this earthen veſſel will be broken, and I ſhall be with God.* He died the beginning of *December* 1654, before he was arrived to the age of ſixty.

Mr. Ainſworth.

Of Dr. Bolton.

Dr. *Samuel Bolton* was educated in *Cambridge*, and from thence removed to the living of St. *Martin's Ludgate*. Upon his coming to the city, he was choſen one of the additional members of the aſſembly of divines, being a perſon of great name and character for learning, and practical preaching. He was a burning and ſhining light (ſays Mr. *Clarke*), an interpreter one of a thouſand, an admirable preacher, and his life was an excellent commentary upon his ſermons. Upon the death of Dr. *Bainbrigge*, he was choſen maſter of *Chriſt College Cambridge*, which he governed with great wiſdom and prudence till his death, which happened about the 10th of *October* 1654. He was buried with great ſolemnity in his pariſh church of *Ludgate* on the 16th of the ſame month, very much lamented by the *London* clergy of thoſe times.

Of Mr. Whitaker.

Mr. *Jer. Whitaker* was born at *Wakefield* in *Yorkſhire* 1599, and educated in *Sidney College Cambridge*, where he proceeded in arts. He taught the free ſchool at *Oakham* in *Rutlandſhire* ſeven years, and then became miniſter of *Stretton* in the ſame county, where he continued thirteen years. In 1643 he was nominated one of the aſſembly of divines at *Weſtminſter*, which brought him to *London*, where he was choſen to the rectory of St. *Mary Magdalen Bermondſey*, in *Southwark*. He preached three or four ſermons every week; two in *Southwark*, one at *Weſtminſter*, and one at *Chriſt Church London*. He never withdrew from any opportunity of preaching if he was in health; and though he preached often, his ſermons were ſolid and judicious. He was an univerſal ſcholar, both in arts and languages; well acquainted with the fathers and ſchoolmen, an acute diſputant, and inferior to none in his acquaintance with the holy ſcriptures. He was of the *preſbyterian* perſuaſion, and had a chief hand in compoſing the *Defence of the Goſpel Miniſtry*, publiſhed this year by the provincial ſynod of *London*. He refuſed the *engagement*, and lamented the wars

wars between *England*, *Scotland*, and *Holland*. No man was more beloved by the *preſbyterian* miniſters of *London* than Mr. *Whitaker*. When he was ſeized with the violent and acute pain of the ſtone about the beginning of *November*, many days of prayer and faſting were obſerved for his recovery, but the diſtemper was incurable. He bore his pains with uncommon patience, fearing nothing more than to diſhonour God by unreaſonable complaints. When his diſtemper was moſt violent, he would deſire his friends to withdraw, that they might not be affected with his roarings. At length nature being quite ſpent, he cheerfully reſigned his ſoul into the hands of his Redeemer, about the fifty-fifth year of his age. His funeral ſermon was preached by Mr. *Calamy*, who gave him a large and deſerved encomium. Oliver *Protector.* 1654.

Mr. *Richard Vines*, of whom mention has been made already, was born at *Blazon* in *Leiceſterſhire*, educated in *Magdalen College Cambridge*, where he commenced *M.A.* He was firſt ſchool-maſter at *Hinckley*, then miniſter of *Weddington* in *Warwickſhire*. At the beginning of the civil war he was driven from his pariſh, and forced to take ſhelter in *Coventry*. When the aſſembly of divines was convened, he was choſen one of their number; and, as *Fuller* ſays, was the champion of their party. While he was at *London* he became miniſter of St. *Clements Danes*; afterwards he removed to *Watton* in *Hertfordſhire*, and was choſen maſter of *Pembroke Hall* in *Cambridge*, but reſigned that, and his living of St. *Lawrence Jewry*, on account of the *engagement*. He was a ſon of thunder, and therefore compared to *Luther*; but moderate and charitable to them who differed from him in judgment. The parliament employed him in all their treaties with the king; and his majeſty, though of a different judgment, valued him for his ingenuity, ſeldom ſpeaking to him without touching his hat, which Mr. *Vines* returned with moſt reſpectful language and geſtures. He was an admirable ſcholar; holy and pious in his converſation, and indefatigable in his labours, which waſted his ſtrength and brought him into a conſumption, when he had lived about fifty ſix years. He was buried in his own pariſh church *Feb.* 7, 1655; his funeral ſermon being preached by Dr. *Jacomb*, who gave him his juſt commendation. He was a perfect maſter of the *greek* tongue, a good philologiſt, and an admirable diſputant. He was a thorough *calviniſt*, and a bold honeſt man without pride or flattery. Mr. *Newcomen* calls him *diſputator acutiſſimus*, *concionator felicisſimus*, *theologus eximius*. Many funeral poems and elegies were publiſhed on his death. *Mr.* Rich. Vines. Fuller's Worthies, p. 134.

The protector having diſſolved his ſecond parliament without confirming their acts, was obliged ſtill to rely on the military arm; this, together with the inſurrections in ſeveral parts of the country, induced him for his greater ſecurity, to canton the nation into eleven diſtricts, and place *The protector appoints major-generals.*

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over them *major-generals*, whoſe commiſſion was to inſpect the behaviour of the inferior commiſſioners within their diſtricts; to commit to priſon all ſuſpected perſons; to take care of collecting the public taxes; and to ſequeſter ſuch as did not pay their decimation. They were to enquire after all private aſſemblies of ſuſpected perſons, and after ſuch as bought up arms; after vagabonds and idle perſons; after ſuch as lived at an higher rate than they could afford; and after ſuch as frequented taverns and gaming houſes, and after ſcandalous and unlearned miniſters and ſchool-maſters; and there was no appeal from them but to the protector and his council. They were ordered to liſt a body of *reſerves* both horſe and foot at half-pay, who were to be called together upon any ſudden emergence, and to attend ſo many days at their own expence, but if they were detained longer to have full pay; by which means the protector had a ſecond army in view, if any diſaſter ſhould befal the firſt; but theſe officers became ſo ſevere and arbitrary, that *his highneſs* found it neceſſary after ſome time to reduce their power, and when affairs were a little more ſettled to diſſolve them.

Enters into an alliance with France,

Having provided for the ſecurity of his government at home, the protector concluded an alliance with *France Octob.* 23, in which it is remarkable that *Lewis* XIV. is not allowed to ſtile himſelf himſelf king of *France*, but king of the *french*, his *highneſs* claiming the protectorſhip of that kingdom among his other titles; and which is more ſurprizing, the name of OLIVER ſtands in the treaty before that of the *french* king. At the ſame tine he ſent admiral *Blake* with a fleet into the *Mediterranean*, who ſpread the terror of the *engliſh* name over all *Italy*, even to *Rome* itſelf; proceſſions being made, and the hoſt expoſed for forty hours, to avert the judgments of heaven, and preſerve the patrimony of the church. But *Blake's* commiſſion was only to demand ſixty thouſand pounds of the duke of *Tuſcany*, for damages ſuſtained by the *engliſh* merchants while he harboured prince *Rupert*, which he paid immediately. The admiral releaſed all the *engliſh* ſlaves on the coaſt of *Barbary* to the number of four hundred, and obtained ſatisfaction for the ſhips taken by the pirates of *Algiers*, *Tunis*, &c. Upon the whole, he brought home ſixteen ſhips laden with booty, which ſailed up the river *Thames* to the port of *London*, as a grateful ſpectacle of triumph to the people.

and ſends Ad. Blake *into the* Mediterranean.

Jamaica *taken from the* ſpaniards.

While *Blake* was in the *Mediterranean*, admiral *Pen* and *Venables* with thirty men of war, and ſome land forces, ſailed to the *Weſt Indies*, with a deſign to ſurprize the town of *Hiſpaniolia*; but miſcarrying in the attempt, they re-imbarked and took poſſeſſion of the iſland of *Jamaica*, which is in poſſeſſion of the crown of *Great Britain* to this day.

The

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The protector did not commiſſion *Blake* to aſſault the *ſpaniſh* coaſts in the *Mediterranean*, becauſe there was no open rupture between the two nations in *Europe*; but the *Weſt Indies* not being included in the treaty, he thought himſelf at liberty in thoſe parts; which occaſioned a declaration of war, on the part of *Spain*, with all the *engliſh* dominions; upon which *Blake* was ordered to cruiſe upon the *ſpaniſh* coaſts, and to wait for the return of the plate fleet, of which he gave a very good account the next ſummer.

To ſupport theſe additional expences, the protector by advice of his council, raiſed ſome extraordinary taxes before the parliament met, which he knew to be illegal, and did not pretend to juſtify on any other foot than *the abſolute neceſſity of the public ſafety*; *the diſtracted condition of the nation*; *that it was impracticable in the preſent juncture to call a parliament, or to proceed in the ordinary courſe of law*; *and that in extraordinary caſes, wherein all was at ſtake, ſome extraordinary methods were allowable.* How far this reaſoning will excuſe the protector, or vindicate his conduct, muſt be left with the reader. But 'tis agreed on all hands, that in things that did not affect the very *being* of his government he never interpoſed, but let the laws have their free courſe. He had a zeal for trade and commerce beyond all his predeceſſors, and appointed a ſtanding committee of merchants for advancing it, which met for the firſt time in the *painted chamber Nov.* 27, 1655, and continued to his death.

Proceedings of the provincial aſſembly.

The provincial aſſembly of *London* finding their attempts to eſtabliſh *their diſcipline* ineffectual, employed themſelves this year in promoting the religious education of youth; for which purpoſe they publiſhed an *exhortation to catechiſing*; with the following directions for the more orderly carrying it on.

1. "That the miniſters on ſome Lord's day prove in their ſermons, the "neceſſity and uſefulneſs of ſuch a work, and exhort all parents, and "maſters of families, to prepare their children and ſervants for it, by ca- "techiſing them at home, that they may more readily make their an- "ſwers in public.

2. "That the catechiſm to be uſed be the *leſſer catechiſm* of the "aſſembly of divines. This catechiſm excelling all others in this "reſpect, that every anſwer is a perfect propoſition without the queſ- "tion.

3. "That the perſons to be catechiſed be children and ſervants, that "have not been admitted to the Lords ſupper by the elderſhip.

4. "That

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4. "That the time of catechiſing be on the Lord's day in the after-
" noon, before the ſermon, to the end that the whole congregation may
" receive benefit thereby.

5. "That the catechiſm may be explained *briefly* at the firſt going
" over, that the people may in a ſhort time have a notion of the whole
" body of divinity.

6. "That the pariſh be deſired at the common charge, to provide cate-
" chiſms for the poorer ſort, who cannot well provide for them-
" ſelves, and that the diſtribution of them be referred to the reſpective
" miniſters.

7. "'Tis deſired that an account in writing, what progreſs is made in
" the premiſes, may be returned from the claſſes to the provincial aſ-
" aſſembly, within forty days after the receipt hereof.

"Signed in the name, and by the appointment of the aſſembly,

Edmund Calamy, Moderator.
William Harriſon, } Scribes.
William Blackmore, }

Theſe inſtructions were ſent to the ſeveral claſſes of *London*; and after their example, the aſſociated miniſters in the ſeveral counties of *England* publiſhed the like exhortations to their brethren.

Account of Mr. Biddle.

The occaſion of this proceeding, was the publiſhing two catechiſms of Mr. *John Biddle*, one called a *ſcripture catechiſm*; and the other, a *brief ſcripture catechiſm, for the uſe of children.* Complaints of which being made to the laſt parliament, they were ordered to be burnt by the hands of the common hangman, and the author to be impriſoned in the *Gate-Houſe*. Mr. *Biddle* had been in cuſtody for his opinions before the late king's death. While he was there, he had publiſhed twelve queſtions or arguments againſt the deity of the holy ſpirit, in quarto, 1647, which were anſwered by Mr. *Pool*, and the book ordered to be burnt. Next year, being ſtill in priſon, he publiſhed ſeven articles againſt the deity of Chriſt, with the teſtimonies of ſeveral of the fathers on this head; upon which ſome zealots in the aſſembly moved, that he might be put to death as an heretic; but he went on, and being ſet at liberty in the year 1651, he compoſed and publiſhed the catechiſms abovementioned, in which he maintains, "(1.) That God is confined to a certain place. (2.) That he
" has a bodily ſhape. (3.) That he has paſſions. (4.) That he is
" neither omnipotent nor unchangeable. (5.) That we are not to believe
" three perſons in the godhead. (6.) That Jeſus Chriſt has not the na-
" ture

" ture of God, but only a divine lordſhip. (7.) That he was not a " prieſt while upon earth, nor did reconcile men to God: And, (8.) " That there is no deity in the holy Ghoſt." Theſe propoſitions were condemned by the parliament, and the author committed to the *Gate-Houſe*. But as ſoon as the protector had diſſolved his parliament he gave him his liberty. Oliver *Protector*, 1654.

After this being of a reſtleſs ſpirit, he challenged Mr. *Griffin*, a baptiſt preacher, to diſpute with him in St. *Paul's Cathedral*, on this queſtion *whether Jeſus Chriſt be the moſt High, or Almighty God?* This occaſioning new diſturbances, the council committed him to *Newgate*; but the protector thought it beſt to ſend him out of the way, and accordingly tranſported him to *Scilly*, and allowed him one hundred crowns a year for his maintenance. Here he remained till the year 1658, when the noiſe being over, he was ſet at liberty; his catechiſms having been anſwered by Dr. *Owen*, in a learned and elaborate treatiſe, entitled *Vindiciæ Evangelicæ*, &c.

After the protector's death, *Biddle* ſet up a private conventicle in *London*, which continued till the reſtoration, when the church being reſtored to its coercive power, he was apprehended while preaching, and committed to priſon, where he died in *September* 1662, and was buried in the burying ground in *Old Bedlam*. He had ſuch a prodigious memory (ſays *Wood*), that he could repeat all St. *Paul's* epiſtles in *greek*, and was reckoned by thoſe of his perſuaſion a ſober man, and ſo devout, that he ſeldom prayed without lying proſtrate on the ground.

Though it was well known by this, as well as other examples, that the protector was averſe to all acts of ſeverity on the account of religion, yet ſuch was the turbulent behaviour of the loyaliſts, who threatened an aſſaſſination, publiſhed the moſt daring libels againſt the government, and were actually in arms, that he thought it neceſſary to cruſh them, and therefore an order was publiſhed *November* 24, " that no perſons after " *Jan.* 1, 1655-6, ſhall keep in their houſes or families as chaplains or " ſchool-maſters, for the education of their children, any ſequeſtered or " ejected migiſter, fellow of a college, or ſchool-maſter, nor permit their " children to be taught by ſuch. That no ſuch perſons ſhall keep ſchool " either publicly or privately, nor preach in any public place, or private " meeting, of any others than thoſe of his own family; nor ſhall admi- " niſter baptiſm, or the Lord's ſupper, or marry any perſons, or uſe the " book of common-prayer, or the forms of prayer therein contained, on " pain of being proſecuted, according to the orders lately publiſhed by " his highneſs and council, for ſecuring the peace of the commonwealth. " *Nevertheleſs his highneſs declares, that toward ſuch of the ſaid perſons as* " *have ſince their ejectment or ſequeſtration, given or hereafter ſhall give, a* " *real*

A ſevere ordinance againſt the old ſequeſtered clergy. Hughes's *exact abridgment of public acts and ordinances*, 4to. p. 597.

Oliver *Protector.* 1654.

" *real teſtimony of their godlineſs, and good affection to the preſent govern-*
" *ment, ſo much tenderneſs ſhall be uſed, as may conſiſt with the ſafety and*
" *good of the nation.*"

This was a ſevere and terrible order upon the epiſcopalians, and abſolutely unjuſtifiable in itſelf; but the title of the act, which is *an ordinance for ſecuring the peace of the commonwealth*, as well as the laſt clauſe, ſhews it was made *for the ſafety of the government*, againſt a number of men who were undermining it, and was publiſhed chiefly *in terrorem*, for no perſon was proſecuted upon it; and the parliament which met next year, not confirming it, it became abſolutely void.

Protector is willing to diſpence with the ordinance

Dr. *Gauden* preſented a petitionary remonſtrance to the protector againſt this order; and archbiſhop *Uſher* was deſired to uſe his intereſt with his *highneſs* in behalf of the epiſcopal clergy; upon which (ſays the writer of the archbiſhop's life) the protector promiſed either to recal his declaration, or to prevent its being put in execution, *provided the clergy were inoffenſive in their language and ſermons, and ſtood clear in meddling with matters of ſtate.* His HIGHNESS accordingly laid the matter before his council, who were of opinion, that it was not ſafe for him to recal his declaration, and give open liberty to men who were *declared enemies to his government*, but that he ſhould ſuſpend the execution of it as far as their behaviour ſhould deſerve; ſo that in the event here was no great cauſe of complaint, for notwithſtanding this ordinance, the ſober epiſcopal clergy preached publicly in the churches, at *London* and in the country, as Dr. *Hall*, afterwards biſhop of *Cheſter*, Dr. *Ball*, Dr. *Wild*, Dr. *Hardy*, Dr. *Griffith*, Dr. *Pearſon*, biſhop of *Cheſter*, and others. Remarkable are the words of biſhop *Kennet* to this purpoſe; " It is certain, " ſays his lordſhip, that the protector was for liberty, and the utmoſt " latitude to all parties, *ſo far as conſiſted with the peace and ſafety of his* " *perſon and government*, and therefore he was never jealous of any cauſe " or ſect on the account of hereſy and falſhood, but on his wiſer ac- " counts of political peace and quiet; and even the prejudice he had " againſt the epiſcopal party was more for their being royaliſts, than for " being of the good old church. Dr. *Gunning* afterwards biſhop of *Ely*, " kept a conventicle in *London*, in as open a manner as diſſenters " did after the toleration; and ſo did ſeveral other epiſcopal di- " vines."

Conf. Plea, part IV. p. 410. Compl. Hiſt. p. 223.

Reaſons of his ſeverity againſt the papiſts.

For the ſame reaſons his *highneſs* girt the laws cloſe upon the papiſts, not upon account of their religion, but becauſe they were enemies to his government; for in the month of *May*, a proclamation was publiſhed for the better executing the laws againſt jeſuits and prieſts, and for the conviction of popiſh recuſants; the reaſon of which the protector gives in his declaration of *Octob.* 31ſt, publiſhed with the advice of his council in theſe

words; *becauſe it was not only commonly obſerved, but there remains with us ſomewhat of proof, that jeſuits have been found among diſcontented parties of this nation, who are obſerved to quarrel, and fall out with every form of adminiſtration in church and ſtate.* The protector gave notice of the like kind to the *republicans, fifth monarchy men, levellers,* and to the *presbyterians,* that they ſhould ſtand upon the ſame foot with the royaliſts, in caſe of any future delinquencies. Oliver *Protector.* 1654. Compl. Hiſt. p. 255. in margin.

Such was the protector's latitude that he was for indulging the *jews,* who petitioned for liberty of their religion, and for carrying on a trade in *London. Manaſſeh Ben Iſrael* one of their chief rabbi's, with ſome others, came from *Amſterdam* to *Whitehall* for this purpoſe, whom the protector treated with reſpect, and ſummoned an aſſembly of divines, lawyers, and merchants, to conſult upon the affair: the divines were to conſider it as a caſe of conſcience; the lawyers to report how far it was conſiſtent with the laws of *England*; and the merchants, whether it was for the advantage of trade and commerce. Biſhop *Burnet* apprehends, that the protector deſigned the *jews* for ſpies in the ſeveral nations of *Europe*; however, he was of opinion, that their admiſſion under certain limitations might be for the advantage of commerce; and told the divines, that ſince there was a promiſe in holy ſcripture of the converſion of the *jews,* he did not know but the preaching of the chriſtian religion, as it was then in *England,* without idolatry or ſuperſtition, might conduce to it. But the aſſembly not agreeing in their opinions, the affair was dropt, and the petitioners returned to *Holland,* where *Manaſſeh Ben Iſrael* writ a handſome letter now before me, which he calls *an anſwer to certain queſtions propounded by a noble and learned gentleman, touching the reproaches caſt upon the nation of the* jews, *wherein all objections are candidly and fully ſtated.* The famous Mr. *Prynne* and Mr. *Dury* a preſbyterian miniſter writ fiercely againſt the admiſſion of the *jews*; but other divines whom the protector conſulted, were for admitting them with ſome limitations. I ſhall report their reſolution on this point in their own language. *He is for encouraging the* jews.

Queſtion, *Whether the* jews, *at their deſire, may be admitted into this nation to traffick and dwell among us, as providence ſhall give occaſion.*

The anſwer of thoſe who were againſt it, was, that they could not think it lawful, for the following reaſons.

1. " Becauſe the motives on which *Manaſſeh Ben Iſrael,* in his book " lately printed, deſires their admiſſion into this commonwealth, are ſuch " as we conceive, to be very ſinful. *Arguments for and againſt it.*

Oliver *Protector.* 1654.

2. "The danger of seducing the people of this nation, by their admission, is very great.

3. "Their having synagogues, or any public meetings for the exercise of their religion, is not only evil in itself, but likewise very scandalous to other christian churches.

4. "Their customs and practices concerning marriage and divorce are unlawful, and will be of very evil example amongst us.

5. "The principles of not making conscience of oaths made, and injuries done to christians in life, chastity, goods, or good name, have been very notoriously charged upon them by valuable testimony.

6. "Great prejudice is like to arise to the natives of this commonwealth in matters of trade, which, besides other dangers here mentioned, we find very commonly suggested by the inhabitants of the city of *London*."

Other divines were of opinion, that the civil magistrate might tolerate them under the following limitations.

1. "That they be not admitted to have any public judicatories civil or ecclesiastical.

2. "That they be not permitted to speak, or do any thing to the defamation, or dishonour of the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, or of the christian religion.

3. "That they be not permitted to do any work, or any thing to the open prophanation of the Lord's day, or christian sabbath.

4. "That they be not permitted to have any christians dwell with them as their servants.

5. "That they have no public office nor trust in this commonwealth.

6. "That they be not allowed to print any thing in our language against the christian religion.

7. "That so far as may be, they be not suffered to discourage any of their own from using any proper means, or applying themselves to any who may convince them of their errror, and turn them to christianity. And that some severe penalty be imposed upon them who shall apostatize from christianity to judaism."

Remarks. P. 736.

Mr. archdeacon *Eachard* says, *the* jews *offered the protector two hundred thousand pounds provided they might have St.* Paul's *cathedral for a settlement.* And he adds the following malicious reflection, that "*the money made his highness look upon it as the cause of God, but that both the clergy and laity so declaimed against them, that the religious juggle would not take place.*" This the archdeacon himself could not believe, as being quite

out of character, for he knew that the protector did not inrich his family, nor value money, but for the public ſervice. He concludes, that "*the* jews *could never be permitted to live long in a well ſettled monarchy.*" What then does he call the monarchy of *England*; where the *jews* have been indulged the free exerciſe of their religion, without doing any damage to the religion or commerce of the nation, for above ſixty years? Oliver *Protector.* 1654.

The protector's zeal for the reformed religion, made him the refuge of of perſecuted proteſtants in all parts of the world. The duke of *Savoy*, at the inſtance of his dutcheſs, ſiſter to the queen of *England*, determined to oblige his reformed ſubjects in the valleys of *Piedmont*, to embrace the *roman catholic* religion or depart the country. For this purpoſe he quartered an army upon them, which eat up their ſubſtance. The proteſtants making ſome little reſiſtance to the rudeneſs of the ſoldiers, the duke gave orders, that all the proteſtant families in the valley of *Lucern* ſhould go into baniſhment, which ſome obeyed, while the reſt ſent deputies to the court of *Turin*, to implore mercy; but the *pope*, and the princes of *Italy*, adviſed the *duke* to improve the preſent opportunity for extirpating the reformed, and making all his ſubjects of one religion. The *duke* accordingly ſent expreſs orders to his general, to drive them all out of the country, with their wives and children, and to put to death ſuch as ſhould remain. This was executed with great ſeverity *April* 20, 1655. Thoſe who eſcaped the ſword fled into the mountains, from whence, being ready to periſh with hunger and cold, they ſent their agents to the *lord protector of England*, and other proteſtant powers for relief. It was the beginning of *May* when his *highneſs* was firſt made acquainted with their diſtreſs, whereupon he appointed a general faſt, and charitable contributions throughout all *England* for their preſent aſſiſtance; and ſuch was the compaſſion of the people, that the collection amounted to *thirty-ſeven thouſand and ninety-ſeven pounds, ſeven ſhillings and three pence.* About thirty thouſand pounds, was remitted to their deputies at ſeveral payments, in this and the next year; but the confuſions which followed upon the protector's death, prevented the clearing the whole account, till the convention parliament at the reſtoration, who ordered the remaining ſeven thouſand pounds to be paid. The protector applied to the proteſtant kings of *Sweden* and *Denmark*, to the ſtates of *Holland*, the cantons of *Switzerland*, and the reformed churches of *Germany* and *France*; and by his powerful inſtances procured large contributions from thoſe parts. He writ to the king of *France*, and to cardinal *Mazarine*; and being glad of an opportunity to ſtrike terror into the *roman catholic* powers, he ſent *Samuel Moreland* Eſq; with a letter to the duke of *Savoy*, in which having repreſented the cruelty and injuſtice of his behaviour towards the proteſtants in the the valleys, he tells him, "that he was pierced with grief at the *He aſſiſts the proteſtants in the valleys.*

Oliver *Protector.* 1654.

" news of the ſufferings of the *Vaudois*, being united to them not only by " the common ties of humanity, but by the profeſſion of the ſame faith, " which obliged him to regard them as his brethren; and he ſhould " think himſelf wanting in his duty to God, to charity, and to his reli- " gion, if he ſhould be ſatisfied with pitying them only, (whoſe miſerable " condition was enough to raiſe compaſſion in the moſt barbarous minds;) " unleſs he alſo exerted himſelf to the utmoſt of his ability to deliver " them out of it." This awakened the popiſh powers, inſomuch that *Mazarine* writ in the moſt preſſing language to the court of *Turin*, to give the protector immediate ſatisfaction; with which the dutcheſs reproached him, becauſe he had made no terms for the *engliſh* papiſts; but his eminence replied, " We muſt leave to God the care of defending the " catholics whoſe cauſe is moſt juſt; but that of the heretics needs for its " ſupportthe clemency of princes." Upon this the perſecution immediately ceaſed; the duke recalled his army out of the valleys, and reſtored their goods; the poor people returned to their houſes, and recovered all their antient rights and privileges. But to ſtrike ſome further terror into the pope, and the little princes of *Italy*, the protector gave out, that for as much as he was ſatisfied they had been the promoters of this perſecution, he would keep it in mind, and lay hold of the firſt opportunity to ſend his fleet into the *Mediterranean* to viſit *Civita Vecchia*, and other parts of the eccleſiaſtical territories; and that the ſound of his canon ſhould be heard in *Rome* itſelf. He declared publicly that he would not ſuffer the proteſtant faith, to be inſulted in any part of the world; and therefore procured liberty to the reformed in *Bohemia* and *France*; nor was there any potentate in *Europe* ſo hardy, as to riſk his diſpleaſure by denying his requeſts.

Burnet, p. 76.

Original of the ſociety for the ſons of the clergy.

The charitable ſociety for the relief of the widows and children of clergymen, ſince known by the name of the *corporation for the ſons of the clergy*, had its beginning this year; the firſt ſermon being preached by the reverend Mr. *George Hall*, ſon of the famous *Joſeph Hall* biſhop of *Exeter*, then miniſter of *Alderſgate*, afterwards archdeacon of *Canterbury*, and biſhop of *Cheſter*. The ſermon was entitled, *God's appearing for the tribe of* Levi, *improved in a ſermon preached at St.* Paul's, November 8 1655, *to the ſons of* MINISTERS *then ſolemnly aſſembled*, from *Numb.* xvii. 8. *The Rod of* Aaron *budded, and bloomed bloſſoms, and yielded almonds.* The preacher's deſign was to inforce the neceſſity and uſefulneſs of a ſettled miniſtry; and tho' there were ſome paſſages that diſcovered him to be a *prelatiſt*, the main part of the ſermon breathes moderation; " Let thoſe ill-invented terms " (ſays he) whereby we have been diſtinguiſhed from each other, be " ſwallowed up in that name which will lead us hand in hand to heaven, " the name of CHRISTIANS. If my ſtomach, or any of yours, riſe

" againſt

"againſt the name of brotherly communion, which may conſiſt with "our ſeveral principles retained, not differing in ſubſtantials, God "take down that ſtomach, and make us ſee how much we are concern- "ed to keep the unity of the ſpirit in the bond of peace —— Why "ſhould ſome in the height of their zeal for a liturgy, ſuppoſe there can "be no ſervice of God but where that is uſed? Why ſhould others, again, "think their piety concerned and treſpaſſed upon, if I prefer, and think "fit to uſe a ſet form? There muſt be abatements and allowances of each "other; a coming down from our punctilioes, or we ſhall never give up "a good account to God ——" From this time ſermons have been preached annually, and large contributions made for the ſervice of this charity. In the reign of king *Charles* II, they became a *body corporate*; and their preſent grandeur is ſufficiently known to the whole nation. Oliver *Protector.* 1654.

On the 21ſt of *March* this year, died the moſt reverend and learned archbiſhop *Uſher*, born in *Dublin* 1580, and educated in *Trinity College*. He proceeded *M.A.* in the year 1600, and next year was ordained deacon and prieſt by his uncle *Henry Uſher*, then archbiſhop of *Armagh*. In the year 1620 he was made biſhop of *Meath*, and four years after archbiſhop of *Armagh*; in which ſtation he remained till the diſſolution of the hierarchy during the civil wars. In his younger years he was a *calviniſt*, but in his advanced age he embraced the middle way between *Calvin* and *Arminius*. He was one of the moſt moderate prelates of his time, and allowed of the ordinations of foreign proteſtants; which none but he and biſhop *Davenant*, and one or two more among the biſhops of thoſe times, would admit. The archbiſhop having loſt all his revenues by the *iriſh* rebellion, the king conferred upon him the biſhopric of *Carliſle* in commendam. In 1643 he was nominated one of the aſſembly of divines at *Weſtminſter*, but did not appear among them. As long as the king was at *Oxford* he continued with him, but when the war was ended, he returned to *London* and lived privately, without any moleſtation. He aſſiſted at the treaty of the *Iſle of Wight*, but could do no ſervice, the contending parties being then at too great a diſtance to be reconciled. A little before the king's death, the archbiſhop was choſen preacher to the honourable ſociety of *Lincoln's-Inn*, preaching conſtantly all term time, till his eyes failing, he quitted that poſt, about a year and a half before his death, and retired with the counteſs of *Peterborough* to her houſe at *Rygate*. The protector had a high eſteem for this excellent prelate, and conſulted him about proper meaſures, for advancing the proteſtant intereſt at home and abroad: He allowed him a penſion, and promiſed him a leaſe of part of the lands of his archbiſhopric in *Ireland* for twenty-one years; but his death prevented the accompliſhment of his deſign. About the middle *Death of abp.* Uſher.

Oliver *Protector.* 1654.

middle of *Feb.* the archbiſhop went down to *Rygate*, and on the 20th of *March* was ſeized with a pleuriſy, of which he died the next day, in the ſeventy-ſixth year of his age, having been fifty-five years a preacher, four years biſhop of *Meath*, and thirty-one years archbiſhop of *Armagh*. The archbiſhop was one of the moſt learned men of his age; he had a penetrating judgment, a tenacious memory; above all, he was a moſt pious, humble, exemplary chriſtian. His body was of the ſmaller ſize, his complexion ſanguine, but his preſence always commanded reverence. The protector did him the honour of a public funeral, and buried him at his own expence, in king *Henry* the VII's chapel.

Of Mr. Marſhall.

Stephen Marſhall B. D. was born at *Godmancheſter* in *Huntingdonſhire*, and was educated in *Cambridge*, and afterwards beneficed at *Finchingfield* in *Eſſex*, where he acquired ſuch reputation by his preaching, that he was often called to preach before the long parliament, who conſulted him in all affairs relating to religion. He was one of the aſſembly of divines, and employed in moſt, if not all the treaties between the king and parliament. Mr. *Eachard*, according to his uſual candor, calls him "a famous incendiary, and aſſiſtant to the parliamentarians, their trumpet in their faſts, their confeſſor in their ſickneſs, their counſellor in their aſſemblies, their chaplain in their treaties, and their champion in their diſputations;" and then adds, "This great *Shimei* being taken with a deſperate ſickneſs departed the world mad and raving." An unjuſt aſperſion! for he was a perſon of ſober and moderate principles, inſomuch that Mr. *Baxter* uſed to ſay, that if all the biſhops had been of the ſpirit and temper of archbiſhop *Uſher*, the preſbyterians of the temper of Mr. *Marſhall*, and the independents like Mr. *Jer. Burroughs*, the diviſions of the church would have been eaſily compromiſed. When he was taken ill, and obliged to retire into the country for the air, the *Oxford Mercury* ſaid he was diſtracted, and in his rage conſtantly cried out, that he was damned for adhering to the parliament in their war againſt the king. But he lived to confute the calumny, and publiſhed a treatiſe, to prove the lawfulneſs of defenſive arms in caſes of neceſſity. He was an admired preacher, and far from running into the extremes of the times. In the decline of his life he retired from the city, and ſpent the two laſt years of his life in *Ipſwich*. The reverend Mr. *G. Firmin*, in a preface to one of Mr. *Marſhall*'s poſthumous ſermons, writes, that he had left few ſuch labourers as himſelf behind him; that he was a chriſtian by practice as well as profeſſion; that he lived by faith, and died by faith, and was an example to the believers in word, in converſation, in charity, in faith, and purity. That when he and others were talking with Mr. *Marſhall* about his death, he replied, *I cannot ſay, as he, I have not ſo lived that I ſhould now be afraid to die; but this I can ſay, I have ſo learned*

Chriſt, that I am not afraid to die. He enjoyed the full uſe of his underſtanding to the laſt; but loſt the uſe of his hands and appetite, in ſo much that he could eat nothing for ſome months before he died. Mr. *Fuller* ſays, that he performed his exerciſe for batchelor of divinity with general applauſe; that he was a good preacher, but ſo ſupple, that he break not a joint in all the alteration of the times; and although ſome ſuſpected him of deſerting his preſbyterian principles, yet upon his death-bed he gave them full ſatisfaction that he had not. His remains were ſolemnly interred in *Weſtminſter-Abbey*, but were dug up again at the reſtoration.

Oliver *Protector.* 1654.

Fuller's Worthies, Book II. p. 53.

The protector having as yet no better than a military title to his high dignity, reſolved to obtain a more legal one as ſoon as the times would admit. He had now cut his way through a great many difficulties, and the ſucceſs of his arms this ſummer, having raiſed his reputation to an uncommon pitch of greatneſs, he reſolved to ſummon a new parliament to meet at *Weſtminſter*, *Sept.* 17, to confirm his title to the protectorſhip; and the *republicans* being his moſt dangerous enemies, the protector ſent for Sir *H. Vane* and major-general *Ludlow*, to give ſecurity not to act againſt the preſent government. He aſked *Ludlow*, what made him uneaſy? or what he would have? *Ludlow* anſwered, He would have the nation governed by its own conſent. I am, ſaid the protector, as much for a government by conſent as any man; but where ſhall we find that conſent; Among the prelatical, preſbyterian, independent, anabaptiſt, or levelling parties? The *other* replied, among thoſe of all ſorts who have acted with fidelity and affection to the public. The *protector* apprehending that he was for throwing all things back into confuſion, told him, that all men now enjoyed as much liberty and protection as they could deſire, and that he was reſolved to keep the nation from being embrued again in blood. "I deſire not ſays he, to put any more hardſhips upon you "than upon myſelf; nor do I aim at any thing by this proceeding but the "public quiet and ſecurity. As to my own circumſtances in the world, I "have not much improved them, as theſe gentlemen (pointing to his "council) well know." But *Ludlow*, Sir *Henry Vane*, and colonel *Rich*, perſiſting in their refuſal to give ſecurity, were taken into cuſtody. Biſhop *Burnet* ſays, that others ſollicited him to reſtore the young king, and that the earl of *Orrery* told him, he might make his own terms; but that *Cromwell* replied, *that the ſon could never forgive his father's blood; and that he was ſo debauched he would undo every thing.* It was therefore reſolved to ſet him aſide, and proceed upon the preſent plan.

1656. *Protector calls a new parliament.* *Life of* Cromwell, p. 340.

When

Oliver *Protector.* 1656.

When the parliament met according to appointment, the reverend Dr. *Owen* preached before them, his text was, *Iſa.* xiv. 32. *What ſhall one then anſwer the meſſengers of the nation? that the Lord hath founded* Zion, *and the poor of his people ſhall truſt in it.* From the *Abbey*, the protector went with the members to the *painted chamber*, where he made a ſpeech and then diſmiſſed them to their houſe; but to prevent their entering into debates about his title, a guard was placed at the door, with a paper of RECOGNITION for each member to ſubſcribe, wherein they promiſe, *not to act any thing prejudicial to the government as it was eſtabliſhed under a* PROTECTOR. Upon their ſubſcribing this, if they were under no diſqualification, they had a certificate of their return, and *of their being approved by his* HIGHNESS *and* COUNCIL. This meaſure was certainly inconſiſtent with the freedom of parliaments; for if the crown has a negative upon the return of the members, they are tools of the crown, and not repreſentatives of the people; becauſe, though they are legally choſen and returned by the proper officer, a ſuperior tribunal may ſet them aſide. Beſides, if the parliament was to give a ſanction to the new government, the *recognition* was abſurd, becauſe it obliged them to conſent to that which they had no liberty to debate. It muſt therefore be allowed, that CROMWELL's *protectorſhip* was built ſolely upon the authority of the *council of officers:* This being one of thoſe *fundamentals* which his highneſs would not ſuffer any of his parliaments to debate. But 'tis highly probable, that theſe ſtretches of power might be abſolutely unavoidable at this time, to maintain government under any form, and that without them the ſeveral parties would have fallen to pieces, and involved the nation in confuſion and a new war. The parliament in their *humble petition and advice*, guarded againſt the excluſion of their members for the future, except by a vote of the houſe, which the protector freely conſented to, ſo that this was only a temporary expedient, and not to be made a precedent of; but at preſent almoſt *one hundred members* refuſed to ſubſcribe, and were therefore excluded. Theſe preſented a petition to the ſitting members for redreſs, and were anſwered, that the *protector* had promiſed to relieve them, if they could ſhew cauſe of complaint. But inſtead of this, they appealed to the people in a ſevere remonſtrance, charging *his highneſs* with invading their fundamental rights and liberties, and preventing the free meeting of the repreſentatives of the people in parliament. To which it was replied, that if they would not ſo much as own the *protector*, they had no colour or pretence to call themſelves members of parliament.

They are obliged to recognize the government. Whitl. p. 640.

Their acts. The ſitting members having choſen Sir *Thomas Widdrington* their ſpeaker, approved of the war with *Spain*, and voted ſupplies to ſupport his *highneſs*

neſs in the proſecution of it. They renounced and diſanulled the title of CHARLES STUART; and paſſed an act, making it high treaſon to compaſs or imagine the death of the LORD PROTECTOR. They reviewed the orders and ordinances of the protector, and his council, in the intervals of parliament, and confirmed moſt of them. They abrogated the authority and power of the *major-generals*, conceiving it inconſiſtent with the laws of *England*, and liberties of the people. Theſe, and ſome other acts hereafter mentioned, were preſented to his highneſs, *Nov.* 27, for confirmation; and as he was pleaſed to confirm them all, he told them, *that as it had been the cuſtom of the chief governors to acknowledge the care and kindneſs of the commons upon ſuch occaſions, ſo he did very heartily and thankfully acknowledge their kindneſs therein.* But the parliament continued ſitting till next year, when we ſhall meet with more important tranſactions. Oliver *Protector.* 1656.

The act for ſecurity of the protector's perſon was no ſooner paſſed, than a plot was diſcovered againſt his life. *Miles Syndercomb* a leveller, a bold reſolute man, having been diſbanded in *Scotland*, combined with one *Cecil*, and another of the protector's life-guards, to aſſaſſinate him as he was going to *Hampton-Court*; but being diſappointed once and again by ſome unexpected accidents, the other conſpirators betrayed the deſign. *Syndercomb* put himſelf on his trial, and was condemned on the ſtatute 25th of *Edward* III. the chief juſtice *Glynne* declaring, that by the word *king* in the ſtatute, any chief magiſtrate was underſtood. But *Syndercomb* prevented the execution, for the very morning he was to ſuffer, he was found dead in his bed; whereupon his body was tied to a horſe's tail, and drag'd naked to the ſcaffold on *Tower-Hill*, and then buried with a ſtake driven through it, However a day of public thankſgiving was appointed for the protector's deliverance, *Feb.* 20, when his highneſs gave the ſpeaker and members of parliament, a ſplendid entertainment at the *banqueting-houſe*. Synder-comb's *plot.*

The war with *Spain* this ſummer was attended with vaſt ſucceſs, for no ſooner had the king of *Spain* ſeized the effects of the *engliſh* merchants in his country, than the *protector* ordered his admirals, *Blake* and *Montague*, to block up the harbour of *Cadiz*, and look out for the plate fleet, which captain *Stayner*, who was left with ſeven men of war upon the coaſt, while the admirals were gone *to Portugal* for freſh water, diſcovered; conſiſting of eight men of war making directly for *Cadiz*; *Stayner* bore up to them with all the ſail he could make, and engaged them within four leagues of their port; the *ſpaniſh* admiral run his ſhip aſhore with ſix hundred thouſand pieces of eight; but the vice-admiral, with twelve hundred thouſand pieces of eight, and another galleon, were fired and ſunk; the rear admiral, with two millions of plate in her, was taken; Spaniſh *plate fleet taken.*

Oliver *Protector.* 1656.

and upon the whole, ſix of the eight ſhips were deſtroyed; the plate to the value of two millions, was brought to *Portſmouth*, and conveyed in carts to *London*, and carried through the city to the *Tower* to be coined. Admiral *Blake*, with the reſt of the fleet, wintered upon the coaſt of *Spain*, and deſtroyed another fleet of much greater value the next ſummer.

Hiſtory of the quakers continued.

After the diſcovery of *Syndercomb*'s plot, the *prelatiſts*, *preſbyterians*, and *levellers*, were pretty quiet, but the quakers began to be very troubleſome. The reader has been informed under the year 1650, that *George Fox* travelled the countries, declaiming in the market places, and in churches, againſt all ordained miniſters, and placing the whole of religion *in an inward light, and an extraordinary impulſe of the holy ſpirit.* In the year 1652 the quakers ſet up ſeparate aſſemblies in *Lancaſhire*, and the adjacent parts. In 1654 they opened the firſt ſeparate meeting of the people called *quakers* in the houſe of *Robert Dring*, in *Watlin-ſtreet London.* Theſe unwary people, by interrupting public worſhip, and refuſing to pay any reſpect to the magiſtrate, frequently expoſed themſelves to ſufferings. One of them in a letter to the protector, ſays, "that though there are no penal laws in force, obliging men to comply "with the eſtabliſhed religion, yet the quakers are expoſed upon other "accounts; they are fined and impriſoned for refuſing to take an oath; "for not paying their tithes; for diſturbing the public aſſemblies, and "meeting in the ſtreets, and places of public reſort; ſome of them "have been whipped for vagabonds, and for their plain ſpeeches to the "magiſtrate." But the *quakers* were ſo far from being diſcouraged, that they opened a public meeting under favour of the toleration, at the *Bull and Mouth inn*, in *Alderſgate-ſtreet*, where women as well as men ſpake as they were moved; and when none were moved, there was no ſpeaking at all. The novelty of this aſſembly drew great numbers of people thither out of curioſity; nor did any give them diſturbance, as long as they continued quiet within themſelves; but in ſeveral places where they had no buſineſs, the extravagance of their ſpeakers was inſufferable; one of them interrupted the miniſter in *Whitechapel* church, and diſturbed the whole aſſembly. A female came into *Whitehall chapel, ſtark naked*, in the midſt of public worſhip, the lord protector himſelf being preſent. Another came into the parliament houſe with a trenchard in her hand, which ſhe broke in pieces, ſaying, *thus ſhall ye be broke in pieces. Thomas Adams* having complained to the protector of the impriſonment of ſome friends in the country, and not finding redreſs, he took off his cap and tore it in pieces, ſaying, *ſo ſhall thy government be torn from thee, and thy houſe.* Several pretending an extraordinary meſſage from heaven, went about the ſtreets of *London*, denouncing the judgments of God againſt the protector and his council. One came to the door of the parlia-

Their extravagancies. Sewel's Hiſt. p. 401.

parliament houſe with a *drawn ſword*, and wounded ſeveral who were preſent, ſaying, *he was inſpired by the Holy Spirit to kill every man that ſat in the houſe*. Others in their prophetic raptures denounced judgments on the whole nation, and frequently diſturbed the public aſſemblies where the *chief magiſtrate himſelf* was preſent. Many opened their ſhops on the Lord's day, in defiance of the laws, and were ſo very obſtinate and intractable, that it was impoſſible to keep the peace without ſome marks of ſeverity. Oliver *Protector.* 1656. Whitl. p. 592.

But the moſt extravagant quaker that appeared at this time was *James Naylor*, formerly an officer in major-general *Lambert*'s troop in *Scotland*, a man of good natural parts, and an admired ſpeaker among theſe people; ſome of whom had ſuch a veneration for him, that they ſtiled him in blaſphemous language, the *everlaſting ſun of righteouſneſs*; *the prince of peace*; *the only begotten ſon of God*; *the faireſt among ten thouſand*. Some of the *friends* kiſſed his feet in the priſon at *Exeter*, and after his releaſe went before him into the city of *Briſtol*, after the manner of our Saviour's entrance into *Jeruſalem*: one walked bareheaded; another of the women led his horſe; others ſpread their ſcarves and handkerchiefs before him in the way, crying continually as they went on, *holy, holy, holy, is the Lord God of Hoſts*; *Hoſanna in the higheſt*; *holy, holy, is the Lord God of Iſrael*. Upon this the magiſtrates of *Briſtol* cauſed him to be apprehended, and ſent up to the parliament, who appointed a committee to examine witneſſes againſt him, upon a charge of blaſphemy; (1.) For admitting religious worſhip to be paid to him. And (2.) For aſſuming the names and incommunicable titles and attributes of our bleſſed Saviour, as the name JESUS, *the faireſt amongſt ten thouſand, the only begotten Son of God, the prophet of the moſt High, the king of* Iſrael, *the everlaſting ſun of righteouſneſs, the prince of Peace*. All which he confeſſed, but alledged in his own defence, that theſe honours were not paid to him, but to *Chriſt who dwelt in him*. Of James Naylor.

The committee aſked him, why he came in ſo extraordinary manner into *Briſtol*? To which he replied, that *he might not refuſe any honours which others who were moved by the Lord gave him*. Being further aſked whether he had reproved the perſons who gave him thoſe titles and attributes? He anſwered, *if they had it from the Lord, what had I to do to reprove them? If the Father has moved them to give theſe honours to Chriſt, I may not deny them; if they have given them to any other but to Chriſt, I diſown them*. He concluded his defence thus; *I do abhor that any honours due to God ſhould be given to me as I am a creature; but it pleaſed the Lord to ſet me up as a ſign of the coming of the righteous one, and what has been done to me paſſing through the town, I was commanded by the*

Oliver *Protector.* 1656.

power of the Lord to ſuffer to be done to the outward man, as a ſign; but I abhor any honour as a creature.

From the committee, he was brought to the bar of the houſe, where the report being read, he confeſſed it; upon which the houſe voted him guilty of *blaſphemy*, and ordered him to be ſet in the pillory two hours at *Weſtminſter*, and two hours at the *Old Exchange*; that he ſhould be whipped through the ſtreets from *Weſtminſter* to the *Old Exchange*; that his tongue ſhould be bored through with an hot iron, and his forehead ſtigmatized with the letter *B*; he was afterwards to be ſent to *Briſtol*, and to ride through the city with his face to the horſe's tail, and to be whipped the next market day after he came thither. Laſt of all, he was to be committed to *Bridewell* in *London*, to be reſtrained from company, and to be put to hard labour till he ſhould be releaſed by parliament; during which time he was to be debarred from pen, ink, and paper, and to have no ſuſtenance but what he got by his daily labour. A ſentence much too ſevere for ſuch a wrong-headed obſtinate creature.

His ſufferings.

December 18, *James Naylor* ſtood in the pillory in the *Palace-Yard Weſtminſter*, and was whipped to the *Old Exchange*; the remainder of his ſentence being reſpited for a week, in which time the reverend Mr. *Caryl*, *Manton*, *Nye*, *Griffith*, and *Reynolds*, went to him, in order to bring him to ſome acknowledgment of his crime, but not being able to reclaim him, the remainder of his ſentence was executed *December* 27, when ſome of his followers licked his wounds, and paid him other honours both ridiculous and ſuperſtitious. He was afterwards ſent to *Briſtol*, and whipped from the middle of *Thomas-ſtreet*, over the bridge to the middle of *Broad-ſtreet*. From *Briſtol* he was brought back to *Bridewell London*, where he remained ſullen for three days, and would not work, but then begged for victuals, and was content to labour.

At length after two years impriſonment, he recanted his errors ſo far as to acknowledge, that the honours he received at his entrance into *Briſtol* were wrong; "and all thoſe ranting, wild ſpirits which gathered "about me (ſays he) at that time of darkneſs, with all their wild acts, "and wicked works againſt the honour of God, and his pure ſpirit, and "people, I renounce. And whereas I gave advantage, through want "of judgment, to that evil ſpirit, I take ſhame to myſelf." After the protector's death *James Naylor* was releaſed out of priſon, and writ ſeveral things in defence of the *quakers*, who owned him as a *friend*, notwithſtanding his extravagant behaviour; but he did not long ſurvive his enlargement, for retiring into *Huntingdonſhire*, he died there towards the latter end of the year 1660, about the forty-fourth year of his age. Mr. *Whitlock* obſerves very juſtly, that many thought he was too furiouſly proſecuted by ſome rigid men.

Other

Oliver *Protector.* 1656.

Other extravagancies of this people about this time, are recorded by our hiſtorians. The protector was continually teized with their importunities; they waited for him on the road, and watched about his palace, till they got an opportunity to ſpeak to him. *George Fox* and others, writ letters filled with denunciations of divine judgments, unleſs he would pull down the remains of antichriſt, by which they underſtood *church miniſters*, and *church maintenance*. To which the protector paid no regard.

Ordinance for better obſervation of the ſabbath. Scobel, p. 438.

As new inroads were made upon the ordinances for obſervation of the ſabbath, the parliament took care to amend them. This year they ordained, that "the ſabbath ſhould be deemed to extend from twelve of "the clock on *Saturday* night, to twelve of the clock on *Lord's day* "night; and within that compaſs of time they prohibited all kinds of "buſineſs and diverſions, except works of neceſſity and mercy. No "election of magiſtrates is to be on the Lord's day; no holding of courts, "or return of writs, but if, according to their charters, they fall upon "the Lord's day, they are to be deferred to *Monday*. It is further enacted, "That all perſons not having a reaſonable excuſe, to be allowed by a "juſtice of peace, ſhall reſort to ſome church or chapel, where the true "worſhip of God is performed, or to ſome meeting-place of chriſtians "not differing in matters of faith from the public profeſſion of the na-"tion, on penalty of two ſhillings and ſix pence for every offence. It is "further ordained, that no miniſter ſhall be moleſted, or diſturbed in "the diſcharge of his office on the Lord's day, or on any other day, "when he is performing his duty, or in going or coming from the "place of public worſhip. Nor ſhall any wilful diſturbance be given to "the congregation, on penalty of five pounds, or being ſent to the "workhouſe for ſix months, provided the information be within one "month after the offence is committed." This ordinance to be read in every church or chapel of this nation annually, the firſt Lord's in every *March*.

Againſt papiſts.

The oath of abjuration, for diſcovering popiſh recuſants, not being effectual, it was now further ordained, "that all juſtices of peace at "the quarter ſeſſions, ſhould charge the grand juries to preſent all per-"ſons whom they ſuſpected to be popiſhly affected; and that every "ſuch perſon ſhould appear at the next quarter ſeſſions, and take and "ſubſcribe the following oath of abjuration, on penalty of being ad-"judged popiſh recuſants convict, to all intents and purpoſes what-"ſoever."

"I *A. B.*

Oliver *Protector.* 1656.

Their oath. Scobel, p. 444.

"I *A. B.* do abjure and renounce the pope's ſupremacy and authority over the catholic church in general, and over myſelf in particular. And I do believe the church of *Rome* is not the true church; and that there is not any tranſubſtantiation in the ſacrament of the Lord's ſupper, or in the elements of bread and wine after conſecration thereof, by any perſon whatſoever. And I do alſo believe, that there is not any purgatory; and that conſecrated hoſts, crucifixes, or images, ought not to be worſhipped; neither that any worſhip is due unto them. And I alſo believe, that ſalvation cannot be merited by works. And I do ſincerely teſtify and declare, that the pope, neither himſelf, nor by any authority of the church or ſee of *Rome*, or by any other means, with any other, hath any power or authority to depoſe the chief magiſtrate of theſe nations, or to diſpoſe of any of the countries or territories thereunto belonging; or to authorize any foreign prince or ſtate to invade or annoy him, or them; or to diſcharge any of the people of theſe nations from their obedience to the *chief magiſtrate*; or to give licenſe or leave to any of the ſaid people to bear arms, raiſe tumults, or to offer any violence or hurt to the perſon of the ſaid *chief magiſtrate*, or to the ſtate or government of theſe nations, or to any of the people thereof. And I do further ſwear, that I do from my heart abhor deteſt and abjure, this damnable doctrine and poſition, that princes rulers or governors, which be excommunicated, or deprived by the pope, may, by virtue of ſuch excommunication or deprivation, be killed, murdered, or depoſed from their rule or government; or any outrage or violence done to them by the people that are under them; or by any other whatſoever upon ſuch pretence. And I do further ſwear, that I do believe that the pope, or biſhop of *Rome*, hath no authority, power, or juriſdiction whatſoever, within *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*, or any or either of them, or the dominions or territories thereunto belonging, or any or either of them. And all doctrines in affirmation of the ſame points I do abjure and renounce, without any equivocation, mental reſervation, or ſecret evaſion whatſoever, taking the words by me ſpoken, according to the common and uſual meaning of them. And I do believe no power derived from the pope or church of *Rome*, or any other perſon, can abſolve me from this mine oath. And I do renounce all pardons and diſpenſations to the contrary. So help me God."

Upon refuſal of this oath, the protector and his ſucceſſors might by proceſs in the *Exchequer*, ſeize upon two thirds of their eſtates both real and perſonal,

perſonal, for the uſe of the public, during the time of their recuſancy; but after their deceaſe, the ſame were to return to the right heir, provided they took the abovementioned oath. It was further ordained, "that no "ſubject of this commonwealth ſhall at any time be preſent at maſs, in "the houſe of any foreign ambaſſador, or agent, or at any other place, "on penalty of one hundred pounds, and impriſonment for ſix "months, half to the protector, and half to the informer." How far theſe ſeverities were needful or juſtifiable I leave with the judgment of the reader. Oliver *Protector.* 1656.

Protector aſſiſts the proteſtants of Niſmes.

The protector had an opportunity this year, of appearing for the proteſtants of *France*, as he had done laſt year for thoſe of the *Valleys*; there happened a quarrel between the burghers of *Niſmes*, who were moſtly *hugonots*, and the magiſtrates and biſhop of the city; the *intendent* of the province being informed of it, repaired thither to prevent an inſurrection; but the *burghers* ſtanding in their own defence raiſed a tumult, of which the intendent ſent an account to court. The burghers being ſoon ſenſible of their folly, ſubmitted and begged pardon; but the *court* laying hold of the opportunity, reſolved to ruin them. Upon which they diſpatched a meſſenger privately to CROMWELL, and begged his interpoſition. The *protector* having heard the whole account, bid the meſſenger ſtay and refreſh himſelf, and before he could return to *Paris*, his buſineſs ſhould be done. Accordingly an expreſs was immediately diſpatched with a letter to the king of *France*, under cover of the following to cardinal *Mazarine*.

To his eminence the LORD CARDNAL MAZARINE.

"HAVING thought neceſſary to diſpatch this gentleman to the "king with the incloſed letter, I commanded him to ſalute your "*eminence* on my part; and have charged him to communicate to you "certain affairs which I have entruſted him with: I therefore pray your "highneſs to give credit to what he ſhall ſay, having an entire confi-"dence in him.

Your eminence's moſt affectionate,

Whitehall,
Dec. 28th, 1656.

O. CROMWELL, *protector of the Commonwealth of* England, *&c.*

The protector added the following poſtſcript with his own hand; "I "have been informed of the tumult at *Niſmes*, I recommend to your "highneſs the intereſt of the *reformed*." And in his inſtructions to his ambaſ-

Oliver *Protector.* 1656.

ambaſſador *Lockhart*, he commanded him to inſiſt peremptorily, *that the tumult of* Niſmes *be forgiven*, or elſe to leave the court immediately: *Mazarine* complained of this uſage, as too high and imperious; but his eminence ſtood in too much awe of the protector to quarrel with him, and therefore ſent orders to the *intendent* to make up the matter as well as he could. Mr. *Welwood* ſays, the cardinal would change countenance whenever he heard the name of the PROTECTOR, inſomuch that it became a proverb in *France*, that *Mazarine* was not ſo much afraid of the devil as of O. CROMWELL. Such was the terror of this great man's name in the principal courts of *Europe!*

The death of Dr. Hall *bp. of* Norwich.

This year died the right reverend and pious Dr. *Joſeph Hall* biſhop of *Norwich*, whoſe practical works have been in great eſteem among the diſſenters. He was born at *Aſhby de la Zouch* in *Leiceſterſhire*, and educated in *Emanuel College Cambridge*. When he left the univerſity, he travelled with Sir *Edmund Bacon* to the *Spaw* in *Germany*. Upon his return, he was taken into the ſervice of prince *Henry*, and preferred to the rectory of *Waltham* in *Eſſex*, which he held twenty-two years. King *James* ſent him to the ſynod of *Dort* with other *engliſh* divines, where he preached a *latin* ſermon; but was forced to retire to *England* before the ſynod broke up, on the account of his health. Some time after his return, he was preferred to the biſhopric of *Exeter*, and from thence tranſlated to *Norwich*. At the beginning of the troubles between the king and parliament, the biſhop publiſhed ſeveral treatiſes in favour of dioceſan epiſcopacy, which were anſwered by *Smectymnuus*, as has been already related. He was afterwards impriſoned in the *Tower* with the reſt of the *proteſting* biſhops; upon his releaſe he retired to *Norwich*, the revenues of which biſhopric being ſoon ſequeſtered, together with his own real and perſonal eſtate, he was forced to be content with the fifths. The ſoldiers uſed him ſeverely, turning him out of his palace, and threatening to ſell his books, if a friend had not given bond for the money, at which they were appraiſed. The biſhop complained very juſtly of this uſage, in a pamphlet entitled *hard meaſure*. At length the parliament to make him ſome amends, voted him 40 *l. per annum*; and when the war was ended, in the year 1647, they took off the ſequeſtration from his eſtate, and the biſhop lived peaceably upon it afterwards, ſpending his ſolitude in acts of charity and divine meditation. He was a learned and pious man, and of great humility and goodneſs in converſation; but his being the tool of archbiſhop *Laud* in ſupporting the *divine right* of dioceſan epiſcopacy, leſſened him in the eſteem of the parliament. Mr. *Fuller* ſays, he was frequently called our *engliſh Seneca*, for the pureneſs, plainneſs, and fulneſs of his ſtile. He was more happy in his practical than polemical writings. There is one remarkable paſſage in his will, which is this, after having deſired a private funeral, he adds, *I do not hold God's houſe a meet repoſi-*

Fuller's Worthies, Book II. p. 130.

repoſitory for the dead bodies of the greateſt ſaints. In his laſt ſickneſs he was afflicted with violent pains of the ſtone and ſtrangury, which he bore with wonderful patience, till death put an end to all his troubles, *Sept.* 8, 1656, in the eighty ſecond year of his age. Oliver *Protector.* 1656.

Towards the latter end of this year died the reverend Mr. *Richard Capel*, born at *Glouceſter* 1584, and educated in *Magdalen College Oxon*, where he proceeded *M. A.* His eminence in the univerſity (ſays the *Oxford* hiſtorian) was great; he had divers learned men for his pupils, who were afterwards famous in the church, as *Accepted Frewen*, archbiſhop of *York*, *William Pemble*, and others. He left the univerſity for the rectory of *Eaſington* in his own country, where he became celebrated for his painful and practical preaching, as well as for his exemplary life. When the book of ſports came out 1633, he refuſed to read it, but reſigned his rectory, and commenced phyſician. In 1641 he cloſed with the parliament, and was choſen one of the aſſembly of divines, but declined ſitting among them, chuſing to reſide at his living at *Pitchcomb*, near *Stroud*, where he was in great reputation as a phyſician and divine, preaching gratis to his congregation. He publiſhed ſeveral valuable treatiſes, and among others a celebrated one, *of temptations, their nature, danger, and cure.* He was a good old *puritan*, of the ſtamp of Mr. *Dod*, *Cleaver*, and *Hilderſham*; and died at *Pitchcomb* in *Glouceſterſhire*, *Sept.* 21, 1656, aged ſeventy two years. *Of Mr.* Capel. Fuller's Worthies. p. 260.

The parliament which met *Sept.* 17, continued ſitting till the next year, having before them an affair of the greateſt conſequence, which was confirming the government under CROMWELL as LORD PROTECTOR, or changing it for the title KING. Colonel *Jephſon* one of the members from *Ireland*, moved, that the protector might have the crown, with the title of KING, and was ſeconded by alderman *Pack*, one of the repreſentatives for the city of *London*; but the republicans in the houſe oppoſed it with great vehemence; however upon putting the queſtion, it was carried for a *king*; moſt of the lawyers, as ſerjeant *Glyn*, *Maynard*, *Fountain*, *St. John*, and others, being on that ſide. *April* 4, a petition was preſented to the *protector*, recommending the title and office of a KING, as beſt fitted to the laws and temper of the people of *England*; and upon his deſiring time to conſider of it, a committee was appointed to give him ſatisfaction in any difficulties that might ariſe, who urged, that "the name of *protector* was unknown to our *engliſh* conſtitution— "that his highneſs had already the office and power of a king, and "therefore the diſpute was only about a name.—That his perſon would "never be ſecure till he aſſumed it, becauſe the laws did not take no- "tice of him as *chief magiſtrate*, and juries were backward to find per- "ſons guilty of treaſon where there was no *king*.—They urged the ad- 1657. *Debates about the title of king.* Whitl. p. 646.

Oliver *Protector.* 1657.

" vantages of a mixed monarchy, and inſiſted on the ſafety and ſecurity " of himſelf and his friends—That by the laws of *Edw.* IV, and *Hen-* " *ry* VII, whatever was done by a king in poſſeſſion, with the conſent " of a houſe of lords and commons, was valid, and all that ſerved un- " der him were exempt from puniſhment—That without this title all the " grants and ſales that had been made were null and void; and all who " had collected the public moneys were accountable—In ſhort, that the " inclinations of the nation were for a *king*—That his not accepting the " office would occaſion the changing many ancient laws, cuſtoms, and " formalities—That there would be no laſting ſettlement till things re- " verted to this channel—To all which they added, that it was the ad- " vice and opinion of the repreſentatives of the three nations; and ſince " the parliament of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, adviſed and deſired " him to accept the title, he ought not in reaſon or equity to decline it."

The protector's reaſons for declining it. Burnet. p. 68. 70.

The protector attended to theſe arguments, and would no doubt have complied, if he could have relied upon the army, but the chief officers remonſtrated ſtrongly againſt it, and many of his old friends, among whom was his own ſon-in-law *Fleetwood*, threatened to lay down their commiſſions. All the republicans declaimed loudly againſt his accepting the crown, and preſented a petition to the houſe againſt it, drawn up by Dr. *Owen*, and preſented by lieutenant-general *Maſon:* They ſaid, " they " had pull'd down monarchy with the monarch, and ſhould they now " build it up?—They had appealed to God in the late war, who had " anſwered in their favour, and ſhould they now diſtruſt him?—They " had voted to be true to the commonwealth, without king or kingſhip, " and ſhould they break their vows, and go back to *Egypt* for ſecurity? " —They thought it rather their happineſs to be under a *legal danger*, " which might make them more cautious and diligent——Some ſaid, if " they muſt have a king, why not the legal one."—Upon theſe grounds they ſtood out, and rejected with ſcorn all limitations of the prerogative under a monarchy. So that whatever might be the protector's inclination, he judged it moſt prudent to decline the crown at preſent; and accordingly, *May* 8, he ſent for the houſe, and acquainted them, that *as the circumſtances of affairs then ſtood, he could not undertake the government with the title of* KING.

Remarks. Whitl. p. 646.

Some have been of opinion, that the protector's *great genius* forſook him in this affair; but it is impoſſible, at this diſtance of time, to judge of the ſtrength of the reaſons that determined him the other way. Had he aſſumed the title of KING, the *army* would have revolted; the *cavaliers* would have joined the republicans to have pulled him down from the throne, the whole nation would in all probability have been thrown into confuſion, and himſelf have been the ſacrifice. The protector had made

made large advances in power already, and he might apprehend it not worth while at preſent, to riſk *the whole* for the ſake of a *name*; though I make no queſtion, but if he had lived to ſee his government eſtabliſhed, and the ſpirits of the people calmed, he would in a proper time have accepted of the ſtile and title, as he had already done the *office* of KING. Nay Mr. *Welwood* ſays, that a crown was actually made, and brought to *Whitehall* for that purpoſe. Oliver *Protector.* 1657. p. 111.

Upon *Cromwell*'s declining the title of *king*, the parliament concluded upon an humble *petition and advice*, which was preſented to the protector *May* 25, containing among others, the following articles.—" That " his *highneſs* would exerciſe the office of chief magiſtrate of this na- " tion under the title of LORD PROTECTOR; and that during life he " would declare his ſucceſſor—That for the future he would be pleaſed " to call parliaments, conſiſting of two houſes, to meet once in three " years, and oftner, if there be occaſion—That the antient liberties of " parliament may be preſerved; and that none who are choſen may be " excluded but by the judgment and conſent of the houſe of which " they are members——That no papiſt, no perſon that has borne arms " againſt the parliament, unleſs he has ſince given proof of his good af- " fection to the commonwealth; no clergyman, no atheiſt, or openly " prophane perſon, be qualified to be choſen member of parliament— " That the other houſe of parliament be not more than ſeventy, nor leſs " than forty, of which twenty one to make a houſe—That they may " not vote by proxy—That as any of them die, no new ones be ad- " mitted but by conſent of the houſe it ſelf, but the nomination to be in " the protector; and that they may not proceed in any criminal cauſes but " by impeachment of the commons—That no laws be abrogated, " ſuſpended, or repealed, but by act of parliament; and that no perſon " be compelled to contribute to any gift, loans, benevolences, or taxes, " without conſent of parliament—That the number of his *highneſs*'s " council be not more than twenty one, of which ſeven to be a *quorum*; " and that no privy counſellor be removed but by conſent of parliament; " though in the intervals of parliament they may be ſuſpended—That " the chancellor, or keeper of the great ſeal, the commiſſioners of the " treaſury, and other chief officers of ſtate, may be approved by both " houſes of parliament——" *Parliaments's petition and advice.* Whitl. Memoirs. p. 678.

The article relating to religion was in theſe words; " That the pro- " teſtant chriſtian religion contained in the holy ſcriptures of the old and " new teſtament, and no other, be aſſerted and held forth, as the pub- " lic profeſſion of this nation; and that a confeſſion of faith, to be " agreed upon by your *highneſs* and this preſent parliament, be aſſerted, " and recommended to the people of the nation; and that none ſhall " be *Article relating to religion.*

Oliver *Protector.* 1657.

" be permitted by opprobrious words or writing to revile or reproach the " ſaid confeſſion. That ſuch who profeſs faith in God the Father, and " in Jeſus Chriſt his eternal Son, the true God, and in the Holy Ghoſt, " God co-equal and co-eternal with the Father and the Son, one God " bleſſed for ever, and do acknowledge the holy ſcriptures of the old " and new teſtament to be the revealed will and word of God, tho' in " other things they may differ in word and doctrine, or diſcipline, from " the public profeſſion held forth, ſhall not be compelled by penalties or " reſtraints, from their profeſſion, but ſhall be protected from all injuries " and moleſtations in the profeſſion of their faith, and exerciſe of their re- " ligion, while they abuſe not this liberty to the civil injury of others, or " the diſturbance of the public peace; provided this liberty do not extend " to popery or prelacy, or to the countenance of ſuchwho publiſh horrid " blaſphemies; or who practiſe or hold forth licentiouſneſs or prophane- " neſs, under the profeſſion of Chriſt; and thoſe miniſters, or public " preachers, who agree with the public profeſſion aforeſaid in matters of " faith, though they differ in matters of worſhip or diſcipline, ſhall not " only have protection in the way of their churches or worſhip, but ſhall " be deemed equally fit and capable (being otherwiſe qualified) of any " truſt, promotion, or employment in this nation, with thoſe who agree " with the public profeſſion of faith, only they ſhall not be capable of re- " ceiving the public maintenance appointed for the miniſtry. And all " miniſters ſhall remain diſqualified from holding any civil employment, " according to the act for diſabling all perſons in holy orders to exerciſe " any temporal juriſdiction and authority, which is hereby confirmed."

The protector's new title.

The protector having conſented to theſe, and ſome other articles, to the number of eighteen, an oath was appointed to be taken by all privy counſellors, and members of parliament for the future, *To maintain the proteſtant religion*; *to be faithful to the lord protector*; *and to preſerve the rights and liberties of the people*; and a few days after O. CROMWELL was proclaimed a ſecond time LORD PROTECTOR in the cities of *London* and *Weſtminſter*; this being eſteemed a new, and more parliamentary title; and if the houſe had been full and free it might have been ſo, but the *council*'s aſſuming a power to approve or diſapprove of the members after they were returned; their forbidding them to debate the fundamentals of the new government, and obliging them to ſign a *recognition* of it before they entered the houſe, looks like a force, or taking the election out of their hands. But lame and imperfect as the protector's title may ſeem, it was as good as that of the *roman* emperors, or the original claims of many of the royal houſes of *Europe*; and in the preſent diſjointed ſtate of the *engliſh* nation, not only neceſſary, but it may be the beſt thing that could be done; for if the protectorſhip had

had been ſet aſide, there was hardly a man in the houſe who would have ventured to vote for the king; an abſolute commonwealth could not have been ſupported, and therefore anarchy would inevitably have enſued. Oliver *Protector.* 1657.

This being the laſt ſettlement of government in the protector's time, the reader will obſerve, that the four fundamental articles already mentioned, (*viz.*) (1.) That the government be in a ſingle perſon and a parliament. (2.) That parliaments be not perpetual. (3.) The militia. And (4.) Liberty of conſcience in matters of religion; were not ſuffered to be examined or altered, but were ſuppoſed as the baſis upon which the new government was founded. That though OLIVER's title to the government had the ſanction and confirmation of the preſent parliament, it was derived originally from the choice of the *council of officers*, and was never ſuffered to be debated in the houſe afterwards —— That the *humble petition and advice* approaches nearer the old legal conſtitution, by appointing two houſes of parliament, and would moſt likely, in time, have been converted into it —— That the regulations it makes in the conſtitution are for the moſt part reaſonable —— That the preſbyterians were ſtill left in poſſeſſion of all the eccleſiaſtical revenues of the kingdom, tho' an open and free liberty was granted to all chriſtians, except papiſts and prelatiſts, who were excluded for reaſons of ſtate; and the penal laws made againſt the latter were dropt, by the parliament's not confirming them. Remarkable are the words of the lord commiſſioner *Fiennes*, at the opening of the ſecond ſeſſion of this parliament, in which he "warns the "houſes of the rock on which many had ſplit, which was a ſpirit of im- "poſing upon men's conſciences in things wherein God leaves them a "latitude, and would have them free. The prelates and their adherents; "nay, and their maſter and ſupporter, with all his poſterity, have ſplit "upon it. The bloody rebels in *Ireland*, who would endure no religion "but their own, have ſplit upon it; and we doubt not but the prince of "thoſe ſatanical ſpirits will in due time ſplit upon it, and be brought to "the ground with his bloody inquiſition. But as God is no reſpecter of "perſons, ſo he is no reſpecter of forms, but in what form ſoever the "*ſpirit of impoſition* appears, he would teſtify againſt it. If men, tho' "otherwiſe good, will turn ceremony into ſubſtance, and make the king- "dom of Chriſt conſiſt in circumſtances, in diſcipline and in forms; and "if they carry their animoſities to ſuch an height, that if one ſays *Sib- "boleth* inſtead of *Shibboleth*, it ſhall be accounted ground enough to cut "his throat: If they ſhall account ſuch devils, or the ſeed of the ſer- "pent, that are not within ſuch a circle or of ſuch an opinion, in vain "do they proteſt againſt the perſecution of God's people, when they "make the definition of *God's people* ſo narrow, that their perſecution is as *Remarks.*

Oliver *Protector.* 1657.

" as broad as any other, and uſually more fierce, becauſe edged with a " ſharp temper of ſpirit. Bleſſed therefore be God, who in mercy to " us and them, has placed the power in ſuch hands as make it their bu- " ſineſs to preſerve peace and hinder men from biting and devouring one " another —— It is good to hold forth a public profeſſion of the truth, " but not ſo as to exclude thoſe that can't come up to it in all points, from " the privilege that belongs to them as chriſtians, much leſs from the pri- " vilege that belongs to them as men."

Protector's ſecond inſtalment.

His highneſs having now a more parliamentary title, it was thought proper that he ſhould have a more ſolemn inauguration, which was accordingly appointed to be celebrated on *June* 26, in *Weſtminſter-hall*, which was adorned and beautified for this purpoſe as for a coronation. At the upper end there was an aſcent of two degrees covered with carpets, in the midſt of which there was a rich canopy, and under it a chair of ſtate. Before the canopy there was a table and chair for the *ſpeaker*, and on each ſide ſeats for the members of parliament, for the judges, for the lord mayor and aldermen of *London*. The protector was conducted from the houſe of lords with all the ſtate and grandeur of a king, and being ſeated under the canopy of ſtate, the ſpeaker of the parliament, the earl of *Warwick*, and commiſſioner *Whitlock*, veſted him with a purple velvet robe lined with ermin: They delivered into one of his hands a bible richly gilt, and emboſſed with gold; and into the other a ſcepter of maſſy gold; and, laſtly, they girt him with a rich ſword; after this they adminiſtered an oath to the protector, to govern according to law. The ſolemnity concluded with a ſhort prayer pronounced by Dr. *Manton*; and then the herald having proclaimed his *highneſs*'s titles, the people ſhouted with loud acclamations, *long live the lord protector*, &c. and the day concluded with feaſtings, and all other kinds of public rejoicing.

His grandeur and wiſe adminiſtration. Eachard, p. 719. Compl. Hiſt. p. 223.

The protector having waded through all theſe difficulties to the *ſupreme government* of theſe nations, appeared on a ſudden like a *comet* or *blazing ſtar*, raiſed up by providence to exalt this nation to a diſtinguiſhed pitch of glory, and to ſtrike terror into the reſt of *Europe*. His management for the little time he ſurvived, was the admiration of all mankind; for though he would never ſuffer his title to the ſupreme government to be diſputed, yet his greateſt enemies have confeſſed, that in all other caſes diſtributive juſtice was reſtored to its antient ſplendor. The judges executed their duty according to equity, without partiality or bribery; the laws had their full and free courſe without impediment or delay; men's manners were wonderfully reformed, and the protector's court kept under an exact diſcipline. Trade flouriſhed, and the arts of peace were cultivated throughout the whole nation; the public money was managed with frugality, and to the beſt advantage; the army and navy were well paid, and

and ſerved accordingly. As the protector proceeded with great ſteadineſs and reſolution againſt the enemies of his government, he was no leſs generous and bountiful to thoſe of all parties who ſubmitted to it; for as he would not declare himſelf of any particular ſect, he gave out, that *it was his only wiſh, that all would gather into one ſheepfold, under one ſhepherd, Jeſus Chriſt, and love one another.* He reſpected the clergy in their places, but confined them to their ſpiritual function. Nor was he jealous of any who did not meddle in politics, and endeavour to raiſe diſturbances in the ſtate: Even the prejudice he had againſt the epiſcopal party (ſays biſhop *Kennet*), was more for their being royaliſts, than being of the church of *England.* But when one party of the clergy began to lift up their heads above their brethren, or to act out of their ſphere, he always found means to take them down. He had a watchful eye over the royaliſts and republicans, who were alwas plotting againſt his perſon and government; but his erecting *a houſe of lords, or upper houſe*, ſo quickly after his inſtalment, rouſed the malecontents, and had like to have ſubverted his government in its infancy. Oliver *Protector.* 1657.

The protector was in high reputation abroad, and carried victory with his armies and navies wherever they appeared. There had been a negotiation with *France* concerning an alliance againſt *Spain*, begun at *London* 1655, but not concluded till *March* 13, 1657, by which the protector obliged himſelf to join ſix thouſand men with the *french* army, and to furniſh fifty men of war to conquer the maritime towns belonging to *Spain* in the *Low Countries*, on this condition, that *Dunkirk* and *Mardyke* ſhould be put into his hands, and the family of the *Stuarts* depart the territories of *France.* That which determined him to join with *France* rather than *Spain*, was the numerous parties that were againſt him at home; for if the young king, aſſiſted by *France*, ſhould have made a deſcent upon *England* with an army of *french proteſtants*, it might have been of fatal conſequence to his infant government; whereas the *ſpaniards* were at a diſtance, and having no proteſtant ſubjects, were leſs to be feared. Upon the concluſion of this treaty, king *Charles* entered into an alliance with the *ſpaniard*, who allowed him a ſmall penſion, and promiſed him the command of ſix thouſand men, as ſoon as he was poſſeſſed of any ſea-port in *England.* In conſequence of this treaty, moſt of the royaliſts inliſted in the *ſpaniſh* ſervice. But the protector's ſix thouſand men in *Flanders*, behaved with undaunted bravery, and took St. *Venant*, *Mardyke*, and ſome other places from the *ſpaniards* this ſummer. *Protector's treaty with* France. Burnet, p. 73.

Admiral *Blake* was no leſs ſucceſsful at ſea, for having received advice of the return of the *ſpaniſh Weſt India* fleet, he ſailed to the *Canaries* with twenty five men of war, and on the 20th of *April* arrived at the *Bay* of *Sancta Cruz*, *Adm.* Blake *deſtroys the* ſpaniſh *galleons.*

Oliver *Protector.* 1657.

Cruz, in the iſland of *Teneriff*, where the galleons, to the number of ſixteen, richly laden, lay cloſe under a ſtrong caſtle, defended by ſeven forts mounted with cannon; the admiral finding it impoſſible to make them prize, had the good fortune to burn and deſtroy them all, only with the loſs of one ſhip, and one hundred and ſixty men. When the news of this ſucceſs arrived in *England*, a day of thankſgiving was appointed, and a rich preſent ordered the admiral upon his return; but this great ſea-officer having been three years at ſea, died as he was entering *Plymouth ſound Aug.* 17, in the ſixty-ſeventh year of his age. He was of the antient family of the *Blakes* of *Plancksfield Somerſetſhire*, and was educated in *Wadham college Oxford.* He was ſmall of ſtature, but the braveſt and boldeſt ſailor that *England* ever bred, and conſulted the honour of his country beyond all his predeceſſors. When ſome of his men being aſhore at *Malaga*, refuſed to do honour to the *hoſt* as it paſſed by, one of the prieſts raiſed the mob upon them. Upon which *Blake* ſent a trumpet to the viceroy to demand the prieſt, who ſaying he had no authority to deliver him up, the admiral anſwered, that if he did not ſend him aboard in three hours he would burn the town about their ears; upon which he came, and begged pardon; the admiral after a ſevere reprimand, told him, that if he had complained to him of his ſailors he would have puniſhed them, but he *would have all the world know, that an* engliſhman *was only to be puniſhed by an* engliſhman, and ſo diſmiſſed him, being ſatisfied with having ſtruck terror into the prieſt, and had him at his mercy. When OLIVER read this paſſage of *Blake*'s letter in council, he ſaid, *he hoped to make the name of an* engliſhman *as great as ever that of a* roman *had been.* The admiral preſerved an exact diſcipline in the fleet, and taught his men to deſpiſe caſtles on ſhore, as well as ſhips at ſea. Valour ſeldom miſſed its reward with him, nor cowardice its puniſhment. He had a noble public ſpirit, for after all his ſervices for his country, and opportunities of acquiring immenſe riches from the *ſpaniards*, he died not five hundred pounds richer than his father left him. His body was brought by water to *Greenwich*, and depoſited in a moſt magnificent manner, in a vault made on purpoſe in king *Henry* ſeventh's chapel, at the public expence; but at the reſtoration his body was taken out of the grave, and flung with others into a common pit; and his brother, being a diſſenter, ſuffered ſo many hardſhips for religion in king *Charles* the ſecond's reign, that he was obliged to ſell the little eſtate the admiral left him, and tranſport himſelf and children to *Carolina.*

His death and character.

Eachard, p. 725.

Burnet, p. 81.

Protector conſtitutes an upper houſe of parliament.

By the ſecond article of the *humble advice*, which appoints all future parliaments to conſiſt of two houſes, the form of the preſent government began to change in favour of the antient conſtitution. The *protector*, purſuant to the powers given him, made ſeveral promotions of knights, and

and lords, and in the month of *December* iſſued out writs, by advice of his council, to divers lords and gentlemen, to ſit as members of the *other houſe*, at the next ſeſſion of parliament, *Jan.* 20. His intention was to have this houſe conſidered as a houſe of peers, tho' he declined giving it that name till a more favourable conjuncture, Some declined the honour, and choſe to ſit in the lower houſe, but between fifty and ſixty appeared, among whom were ſeven or eight of the antient peers, divers knights and gentlemen of good families, and ſome few chief officers of the army. They met in the houſe of lords, whither *his highneſs* came at the time of their meeting, and according to antient cuſtom, ſent the *uſher of the black rod* to bring up the commons, to whom he made a ſhort ſpeech from the throne, beginning with the uſual form, *my lords, and you the knights, citizens, and burgeſſes*, &c, and then as our *kings* uſed to do, he referr'd them to the lord commiſſioner *Fiennes*, who tired them with a long and perplexed harangue before they entered upon buſineſs.

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This haſty reſolution of the protector and his council, had like to have ſubverted the infant government, for many of the protector's beſt friends being called out of the lower houſe to the upper, the balance of power among the commons was changed; whereas, if he had deferred the ſettling of the upper houſe till the preſent parliament had been diſſolved, they would have gone through their buſineſs without interruption; but the lower houſe was now in a flame, ſome being diſappointed of their expectations, and others envied for their advancement, inſomuch that as ſoon as they returned to their houſe, they called for the third article of the *humble advice*, which ſays, that no *members legally choſen, ſhall be excluded from performing their duty, but by conſent of the houſe of which they are members*; and then to ſtrengthen their party, they ordered all thoſe who had been excluded laſt ſeſſions, becauſe they would not recognize the new government, to return to their places; which was no ſooner done, than they began to call in queſtion the authority and juriſdiction of the *other houſe*, tho' themſelves had adviſed it, and tho' there was almoſt as good reaſon for their being an *upper*, as for the other being a *lower houſe*; but theſe gentlemen were determined to erect an abſolute commonwealth, on the ruins of the preſent family. Many degrading ſpeeches were made in the lower houſe, againſt the perſons who had been thus promoted, who were no leſs reſolute in defending their honours and characters; ſo that there was no proſpect of an agreement, till the protector himſelf appeared, and having ſent for them to *Whitehall*, ſpoke with ſuch an accent in favour of the *other houſe*, that they returned and acknowledged it; but then they went on to re-examine the validity of the whole *inſtrument of government*, as being made when many mem-

Bad conſequences of it.

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bers were excluded. Upon which the *protector*, being out of all patience, went to the houſe and diſſolved them, after they had ſat about fifteen days.

Protector's ſpeech at the diſſolution of the parliament. Rapin, p. 137.

The protector's ſpeech upon this occaſion will give the reader the beſt idea of the ſtate of the nation: "I had comfortable expectations that "God would make the meeting of this parliament a bleſſing for the improvement of mercy, truth, righteouſneſs and peace. I was drawn "into this office of PROTECTOR by your *petition* and *advice*, there is "not a man living that can ſay I ſought it, but after I was petitioned "and adviſed to take the government upon me, I expected that the "ſame men that made the frame, ſhould make it good to me—I told "you at a conference, that I would not accept the government, unleſs "there might be ſome perſons to interpoſe between me and the houſe of "commons, and it was granted I ſhould name *another houſe*, which I "did, of men of your own rank and quality, who will ſhake hands "with you while you love the intereſt of *England* and religion—— "Again, I would not have accepted the government unleſs mutual oaths "were taken to make good what was agreed upon in the *petition and* "*advice*; and God knows, I took the oath upon the condition expreſſed, and thought we had now been upon a foundation and bottom, "otherwiſe we muſt neceſſarily have been in confuſion. I do not ſay "what the meaning of the oath was to you, that were to go againſt "my own principles, but God will judge between us; but if there had "been any intention in you of a ſettlement, you would have ſettled on "this baſis.

"But there have been contrivances in the army againſt this ſettlement by your conſent. I ſpeak not this to the gentlemen, or lords "(pointing to his right hand) whatſoever you will call them, of the "*other houſe*, but to you; *you* adviſed me to accept of this office, and "now you diſpute the thing that was taken for granted, and are in danger of running the nation back into more confuſion within theſe fifteen days you have ſat, than it has been in ſince the riſing of the laſt "ſeſſion, from an immoderate deſign of reſtoring a commonwealth, "that ſome people might be the men that might rule all, and they are "endeavouring to engage the army in the deſign; which is hardly conſiſtent with the oath you have taken to the preſent government. Has "that man been true to the nation, whoſoever he is, that has taken an "oath, thus to prevaricate? Theſe things are not according to truth, pretend what you will, but tend to play the *king of Scots* game, which "I think my ſelf bound before God to do what I can to prevent. There "are preparations of force to invade us; the king of *Scots* has an army "at the water-ſide, ready to be ſhipped for *England*. I have it from thoſe

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" thoſe who have been eye-witneſſes of it; and while this is doing, " there are endeavours of ſome not far from this place, to ſtir up the " people of this town into tumulting, what if I had ſaid rebellion, and " I hope to make it appear to be no better, if God aſſiſt me. You have " not only endeavoured to pervert the army while you have been ſitting, " but ſome of you have been liſting perſons by commiſſion from *Charles* " *Stuart* to join with any inſurrection that may be made, and what is " like to be the end of this but blood and confuſion! Now if this be " the caſe, I think it high time to put an end to your ſitting, and I do " accordingly diſſolve this parliament; and let God judge between me " and you."

He purges the army.

The *protector* being now convinced, that the diſturbances in parliament aroſe from the chief officers of the army, who clogged his affairs, in order to introduce a commonwealth government, reſolved to clear his hands of them at once; *Harriſon* and *Ludlow* were laid aſide; *Fleetwood* was recalled from his government in *Ireland*; major-general *Lambert* was ordered to ſurrender his commiſſion; and the reſt were obliged to take an oath not to oppoſe the preſent government. By ſuch methods he went on purging the army and navy; and if he had lived a little longer would have had none in power, but ſuch as were thoroughly attached to his perſon and government. It was obſerved after this, that all things ſucceeded at home and abroad according to his wiſh; and that his power and greatneſs were better eſtabliſhed than ever, though there were a few malecontents who were hardy enough to attempt ſome little diſturbances; but the diſaſters that befel the protector's family ſoon after, broke the firmneſs of his conſtitution, and haſtened his end.

And projects an union of the whole reformed intereſt.

It was *his highneſs*'s ambition, not only to ſet himſelf at the head, but to ſtrengthen the whole body of the proteſtant intereſt, and unite its ſeveral members, ſo that it might maintain its ground againſt the church of *Rome*. Biſhop *Burnet* informs us, that he had projected a ſort of general council, to be ſet up in oppoſition to the congregation *de propaganda fide* at *Rome*; it was to conſiſt of ſeven counſellors, and four ſecretaries for different provinces; the firſt was for *France*, *Switzerland*, and the *Vallies*; the ſecond for the *Palatinate*, and other *Calviniſts*; the third for *Germany*, for the *North*, and for *Turkey*; the fourth for the *Eaſt* and *Weſt Indies*. The ſecretaries were to have five hundred pounds a year each, and to hold a correſpondence every where, to acquaint themſelves with the ſtate of religion all over the world, that ſo all good deſigns for the welfare of the whole, and of the ſeveral parts, might by their means be protected and encouraged. They were to have a fund of ten thouſand pounds a year, and to be further ſupplied as occaſion ſhould require. *Chelſea College* was to be fitted up for them. This was Burnet, p. 77.

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a noble project (ſays the biſhop), and muſt have been attended with extraordinary effects under the protection of a *power*, which was formidable and terrible to all nations to whom it was known.

Biblia Polyglotta.

About the beginning of this year Dr. *Bryan Walton*, aftewards biſhop of *Cheſter*, publiſhed the *biblia polyglotta*, in ſix volumes in folio, wherein the ſacred text is printed in the *vulgar latin*, *hebrew*, *greek*, *ſyriac*, *chaldee*, *ſamaritan*, *arabic*, *æthiopic*, and *perſic languages*, each having its peculiar *latin* tranſlation, with an *apparatus* for the better underſtanding thoſe tongues. This laborious performance, by the aſſiſtance of ſeveral who engaged in it, was compleated in about four years, and was reckoned the moſt abſolute edition of the bible that the world had ever ſeen. Several learned perſons, both puritans and others, aſſiſted in correcting the preſs, and in collating the copies. Many noblemen, and gentlemen of quality, contributed to the expence of printing this work, without which it could not have ſeen the light. After the reſtoration, the doctor preſented king *Charles* II. with the ſix volumes, which his majeſty received very graciouſly, and rewarded the author with the biſhopric of *Cheſter*.

The learned Dr. *Owen* made ſome remarks on the *prolegomena* of this work; but after an high commendation of the performance in general, complains that he had weakened the certainty of the ſacred text, (1.) By maintaining that the *points* or *vowels* of the *hebrew* language were of novel invention. (2.) By producing a great number of *various readings* from antient copies of little moment. (3.) By his own critical remarks and amendments not ſupported by antient authorities. The doctor maintains on the other hand, the antiquity of the *hebrew* points, and their abſolute neceſſity to fix the determinate ſenſe of ſcripture; that the various readings are of little conſequence, and that conjectural amendments ought not to be admitted without the authority of antient copies. The doctor writes with great modeſty, but the validity of his arguments muſt be ſubmitted to the learned reader.

Protector reſigns his chancellorſhip.

On the third of *July* the protector reſigned his chancellorſhip of *Oxford*, and upon the eighteenth day of the ſame month his eldeſt ſon RICHARD was choſen his ſucceſſor, and inſtalled at *Whitehall* on the twenty ninth. About ſix weeks after, the new chancellor diſmiſſed Dr. *Owen*, who had been vice-chancellor of the univerſity about five years, and appointed Dr. *John Conant* rector of *Exeter College*, to ſucceed him. This gentleman, ſays the *Oxford* hiſtorian, was a good *latiniſt*, and *grecian*, a profound *theologiſt*, a learned, pious, and meek *divine*, and an excellent *preacher*. He had been one of the aſſembly of divines, and was elected rector of this college upon the death of Dr. *Hakewell*, in *June* 1649. In the latter end of the year 1654, he became king's profeſſor of divinity in the room of Dr. *Hoyle*. He continued in the vice-chancellorſhip two years with

with due commendation, keeping a ſevere diſcipline in his college, as did all the heads of colleges in theſe times. He was ejected out of every thing in 1662 for non-conformity; but ſome time after being perſuaded to comply with the eſtabliſhment, he became vicar of *All Saints* in *Northampton*, archdeacon of *Norwich*, and prebendary of *Worceſter*; which places he held till his death, which did not happen till 1693. Oliver *Protector.* 1657.

Nov. 24, *his highneſs* ſigned a commiſſion, appointing his younger ſon *Henry* to be lord lieutenant of *Ireland*, with a power of conferring the honour of knighthood. *Henry* was a wiſe and diſcreet governor, and by his prudent behaviour kept the *iriſh* in awe, and brought the nation into a flouriſhing condition. Upon the acceſſion of *Richard* to the protectorſhip, he adviſed him to abide by the parliament, and have a watchful eye over the army, whom he ſuſpected to be deſigning miſchief (as appears by his letters now before me.) Nay, he offered to come over to his aſſiſtance, but was forbid till it was too late. When *Richard* was depoſed his brother *Henry* laid down his charge, and came over to *England*, and lived privately upon an eſtate of his own, of about 600 *l.* a year at *Spinny-Abby* in *Cambridgeſhire*, not far from *Newmarket*, till his death. While he was in *Ireland* he behaved with ſuch a generous impartiality as gained him the eſteem even of the royaliſts themſelves; and after his retirement king *Charles* II. did him once the honour of a viſit: He had a ſon *Henry* who was bred to arms, and had a *major's* commiſſion, and died in the ſervice of the crown about the year 1711, and left behind him ſeveral children, ſome of the ſons are yet living in good reputation in the city of *London*, and are the only male deſcendants of the *protector Cromwell*, the poſterity of *Richard* being extinct. *And appoints his ſon* Henry *lieut. of* Ireland.

The ROYAL SOCIETY, which has been the ornament of the *engliſh* nation, by the vaſt improvements it has made in natural and experimental philoſophy, was formed at *Oxford* in theſe times, which ſome have repreſented as covered with ignorance, barbariſm, and pedantry: The words of biſhop *Sprat* their hiſtorian are theſe, " It was ſome ſpace after " the end of the civil wars at *Oxford*, in Dr. *Wilkins*'s lodgings, in *Wad-* " *ham College*, which was then the place of reſort for virtuous and learned " men, *that the firſt meetings were made which laid the foundation of all* " *that followed.* The univerſity had, at that time, many members of " its own, who had begun a free way of reaſoning, and was alſo frequent- " ed by ſome gentlemen of philoſophical minds, whom the misfortune " of the kingdom, and the ſecurity and eaſe of a retirement among gownſ- " men had drawn thither. The principal and moſt conſtant of them were, " Dr. *Seth Ward*, Mr. *Boyle*, Dr. *Wilkins*, Sir *William Petty*, Mr. *Mat-* " *thew Wren*, Dr. *Wallis*, Dr. *Goddard*, Dr. *Willis*, Dr. *Bathurſt*, Dr. " *Chriſtopher Wren*, and Mr. *Rook*, beſides ſeveral others who joined them. *Original of the* royal ſociety. p. 53, 57.

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"them on occaſions. —— Their meetings were as frequent as their occaſions would permit; their proceedings were upon ſome particular trials in *Chymiſtry* or *Mechanics*, which they communicated to each other. They continued without any great interruption till the death of the protector, when their meetings were transferred to *London*." Here they began to enlarge their deſign, and formed the platform of a philoſophical college, to enquire into the works of nature: They ſet up a correſpondence with learned foreigners, and admitted ſuch into their numbers without diſtinction of names or parties in religion; and were at length incorporated by royal patent or charter, in the year 1663.

Death of Mr Langley.

This year died Mr. *John Langley*, the noted maſter of St. *Paul's* ſchool *London*; he was born near *Banbury* in *Oxfordſhire*, and became a commoner or brother of *Magdalen Hall* about 1612; was alſo prebendary of *Glouceſter*, where he kept a ſchool for twenty years. In the year 1640 he ſucceeded Dr. *Gill*, chief maſter of St. *Paul's* ſchool, where he educated many who were afterwards eminent in church and ſtate. He was an univerſal ſcholar, an excellent linguiſt, grammarian, hiſtorian, coſmographer, a moſt judicious divine, and ſo great an antiquarian (ſays the *Oxford* hiſtorian), that his delight and acquaintance in antiquity, deſerves greater commendation than can be given in a few lines. He was eſteemed by learned men, and particularly by Mr. *Selden*; but was not regarded by the clergy becauſe he was a *puritan*, and a witneſs againſt archbiſhop *Laud* at his trial. He was a member of the aſſembly of divines, and died at his houſe next adjoining to St. *Paul's* ſchool *Sept.* 13, 1657. Dr. *Reynolds* preached his funeral ſermon, and gave him a very high encomium.

Of Mr Sedgwick.

Mr. *Obadiah Sedgwick* was born at *Marlborough* in the year 1600, and educated in *Magdalen College Oxford*, where he took the degrees in arts, and was afterwards chaplain to Sir *Horatio Vere*, with whom he travelled into the *Low Countries*. After his return he became reader of the ſentences 1629, and was afterwards choſen preacher to the inhabitants of St. *Mildred Bread-ſtriet London*; but being driven from thence by the ſeverity of the governors of the church, he retired to *Coggeſhall* in *Eſſex*, where he contiued till the breaking out of the civil wars. In 1643 he was choſen a member of the aſſembly of divines. In 1646 he became preacher at St. *Paul's Covent-Garden*: He often preached before the parliament, and was eſteemed an orthodox, as well as an admired preacher. In the year 1653 he was appointed one of the *triers*, and the year after, one of the commiſſioners for ejecting ſcandalous miniſters; but finding his health declining he reſigned his preferments, and retired to his native town of *Marlborough*, where he died the beginning of *January* 1657.

Mr.

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Mr. *Edward Corbet* was born in *Shropſhire*, and educated in *Merton College Oxford*, where he took the degrees in arts, aud was made probationer fellow of his college. In 1638 he was one of the proctors of the univerſity; but being a puritan divine was denied the rectory of *Chatham* by archbiſhop *Laud*, then in the *Tower*; upon which an ordinance of parliament came out *May* 17, 1643, appointing him rector of *Chatham*. He was a member of the aſſembly of divines, a witneſs againſt the archbiſhop at his trial; one of the preachers appointed to reconcile the *Oxford* ſcholars to the parliament; and afterwards one of the viſitors, orator, and canon of *Chriſt Church*, in the room of Dr. *Hammond*, which he ſoon after quitted, and became rector of *Great Haſely* in *Oxfordſhire*, where he continued to his death. He was a very conſiderable divine, a valuable preacher, and a perſon of remarkable integrity and ſteadineſs of conſcience. *Of Mr.* Corbet. Wood's Faſti.

Mr. *James Cranford* was born in *Coventry*, and ſometime maſter of the free-ſchool there: He was educated in *Baliol College Oxford*, where he took the degrees in arts, and was at length rector of St. *Chriſtopher's le Stocks*, near the *Old Exchange London*. He was an exact linguiſt, well acquainted with the fathers and ſchoolmen, as well as with the modern divines; a zealous preſbyterian, and a laborious preacher. Mr. *Fuller* adds, that he was a ſubtle diſputant, orthodox in judgment, and a perſon of great humility, charity and moderation towards all men. In the beginning of the civil wars, he was appointed licenſer of the preſs in *London*, which gave him an occaſion to write ſeveral epiſtles before books, beſides ſome treatiſes that he publiſhed of his own. He died *April* 27, 1657, aged about fifty-five years. *Of Mr.* Cranford. Wood's Ath. Ox. p. 211. Fuller's Worthies, Book III. p. 128.

1658. Dunkirk *delivered to the* engliſh.

The protector's arms were no leſs ſucceſsful this ſummer than they had been the laſt, for in the month of *June*, marſhall *Turenne* in conjunction with the *engliſh* forces, laid ſiege to *Dunkirk*, then in poſſeſſion of the *ſpaniards*, which brought on an engagement between the two armies: The *ſpaniſh* forces conſiſted of 30000 men, but major-general *Morgan* who covered the ſiege, attacked the right wing of the *ſpaniſh* army which came to relieve it with 6000 *engliſh*, who routed the whole army, which was followed with the ſurrender of the town *June* 25. The *french* looked on, and ſaid, they never ſaw a more glorious action in their lives. Cardinal *Mazarine* intended to keep this important place in *french* hands, contrary to the late treaty; of which his highneſs being informed, acquainted the ambaſſador; but his excellency denying any ſuch intended breach of contract, the protector pulled out of his pocket a copy of the cardinal's private order, and deſired him to let his *eminence* know, that if the keys of *Dunkirk* were not delivered to *Lockhart* within an hour after it was taken, he would come in perſon, and demand them at the gates of

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of *Paris*; and the cardinal had too great a dread of the name of *Cromwell*, to deny any thing he required. By this conqueſt the protector gained immortal glory, becauſe it gave the *engliſh* a ſettlement on the continent, and made them maſters of both ſides of the channel. How baſely it was ſold by lord *Clarendon* to the *french*, will be ſeen hereafter.

Plot of fifth monarchy men. Compl. Hiſt. p. 223. Eachard, p. 730.

The enthuſiaſtic republicans, or fifth monarchy men, having failed of their deſign in parliament, agreed to the number of three hundred, to attempt a revolution of government by force, and having killed the protector, to proclaim KING JESUS; but ſecretary *Thurloe*, who never ſpared expence to gain intelligence, had a ſpy among them, who diſcovered their intrigues, and ſeized their arms and ammunition in *Shoreditch*, with their ſtandard, containing a *lion couchant*, alluding to the lion of the tribe of *Judah*, with this motto, WHO WILL ROUSE HIM UP. The chief of the conſpirators, as *Venner*, *Gray*, *Hopkins*, &c. were impriſoned in the *Gate-Houſe* till the protector's death, with their accomplices, major-general *Harriſon*, colonel *Rich*, colonel *Danvers*, and others, after which they created new diſturbances, which haſtened their own deſtruction, ſoon after the king's reſtoration.

And of the cavaliers.

But the moſt formidable conſpiracy againſt the government, was a new one of the *cavaliers*, with which the protector acquainted the lord mayor and common-council of the city in a ſpeech, wherein he takes notice, that the marquis of *Ormond* had been privately in *London* three weeks, to promote the king's affairs, who lay ready on the coaſt with an army of eight thouſand men, and twenty-two ſhips; that there was a deſign to ſeize the *Tower*; and that ſeveral ill affected perſons were endeavouring to put themſelves in arms for that purpoſe; he therefore deſired them to put the city into a poſture of defence, profeſſing a more paſſionate regard for their ſafety than his own. The citizens returned *his highneſs* thanks, and in an addreſs promiſed to defend his perſon and government with their lives and fortunes. The like addreſſes came from ſeveral of the regiments at home, and from the *engliſh* army in *Flanders*. This was the plot the protector mentioned in his ſpeech to the parliament, and was diſcovered by one *Stapley*, whoſe father had been one of the king's judges. Immediately after the diſſolution of the parliament, three of the conſpirators were apprehended, and tried before an *high court of juſtice*, according to the late act *for the ſecurity of his highneſs's perſon*. Mr. *Mordaunt* younger ſon and brother of the earl of *Peterborough*, was acquitted by one vote; but the other two, Sir *Henry Slingſby* and Dr. *Hewet* were condemned. The doctor was indicted for holding correſpondence with CHARLES STUART, for publiſhing him to be king of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*; and for ſending him money. He behaved with great boldneſs

Dr. Hewet's trial. Eachard.

Oliver *Protector*. 1658.

neſs towards his judges, keeping his hat upon his head while the indictment was reading; but an officer being ſent to take it off, he ſaved him the trouble. The doctor then refuſed to plead three times, diſowning the juriſdiction of the court; but though they read the clauſe in the late act, by which they were empowered to be his judges, he continued mute; upon which one of the judges ſummed up the charge, and was going to pronounce ſentence, when he offered to put himſelf upon his trial, but was told it was then too late, ſo judgment was given againſt him as a *mute*. The doctor had prepared a plea and demurrer to the juriſdiction and proceedings of the court, and exceptions to their judgment, drawn up in form by counſel, and ready to be engroſſed, but was not ſuffered to have them argued. However he had the favour of being beheaded on *Tower-Hill June* 8, 1658, being attended by Dr. *Wild*, Dr. *Warmeſtry*, and Dr. *Barwick*. His funeral ſermon was preached the *Sunday* following, by Mr. *Nath. Hardy* at St. *Dionis Back Church*, in *Lime-ſtreet*; and ſoon after, both the ſermon, and the doctor's intended defence were publiſhed, entitled, *beheaded Dr.* John Hewet's *ghoſt crying for juſtice*; containing his legal plea, demurrer, and exceptions to the juriſdiction of the court, *&c.* drawn up by his counſel Mr. *William Prynne*. The doctor was a *Cambridge* divine, but lived at *Oxford*, and in the army, till the end of the war, when he came to *London*, and was permitted to preach in the church of St. *Gregory's London*, though he was known to be a malignant. After his conviction, the lady *Claypole* and lady *Falconbridge*, the protector's daughters, interceded with their father for his life; but becauſe he diſputed the authority of the court, which ſtruck at the very life of his government, the protector would not pardon him. He told Dr. *Manton*, one of his chaplains, that if Dr. *Hewet* had ſhewn himſelf an ingenuous perſon, and would have owned what he knew was his ſhare in the deſign againſt him, he would have ſpared his life; but he ſaid he would not be trifled with, and the Dr. was of ſo obſtinate a temper that he was reſolved he ſhould die; and the protector convinced Dr. *Manton* before they parted, that he knew without his confeſſion, how far he was engaged in the plot. Three more of the conſpirators were executed in other parts of the city, but the reſt were pardoned.

Life of Barwick, p. 175.

A little before the protector's death, the independents petitioned *his highneſs* for liberty to hold a ſynod, in order to publiſh to the world an uniform confeſſion of their faith. They were now become a conſiderable body, their churches being encreaſed both in city and country, by the addition of great numbers of rich and ſubſtantial perſons; but they were not agreed upon any ſtandard of faith or diſcipline. The preſbyterians in the aſſembly of divines, had urged them to this; and their brethren in *New England* had done it ten years ago; nor were the *engliſh* independents

Confeſſion of faith by the independents.

Oliver *Protector.* 1658.

Confeſſ. Pref. p. 6.

dents inſenſible of the defect; for hitherto (ſay they) there have "been "no aſſociation of our churches, no meetings of our miniſters to pro- "mote the common intereſt; our churches are like ſo many ſhips launch- "ed ſingly, and ſailing apart and alone in the vaſt ocean of theſe tu- "multuous times, expoſed to every wind of doctrine; under no other "conduct than the *word* and *ſpirit*, and their particular elders, and prin- "cipal brethren, without aſſociations among themſelves, or ſo much as "holding out a common light to others, whereby to know where they "were." To remedy this, ſome of their divines and principal brethren in *London* met together, and propoſed, that there might be a correſpondence among their churches in city and country, for counſel and mutual edification; and for as much as all ſects and parties of chriſtians had publiſhed a *confeſſion of their faith*, they apprehended the world might reaſonably expect it from them; for theſe reaſons they petitioned the *protector* for liberty to aſſemble for this pupoſe. This was oppoſed by ſome of the court, as tending to eſtabliſh a ſeparation between them and the preſbyterians; nor was the protector himſelf fond of it; however he gave way to their importunity, and as Mr. *Eachard* repreſents that matter, when he was moved upon his death-bed to diſcountenance their petition, he replied, *they muſt be ſatisfied, they muſt be ſatisfied or we ſhall all run back into blood again.*

Their aſſembly. Calamy's Abridg. Vol. II. p. 444.

However the protector did not live to ſee the fruits of this aſſembly, which was appointed to be held at the *Savoy October* 12, 1658, where miniſters and meſſengers from above one hundred congregational churches met together, of which the majority were laymen, the reſt paſtors in churches, and ſome younger divines about the court, as the reverend and learned Mr. *John Howe*, at that time chaplain to the young protector and others. They opened their ſynod with a day of faſting and prayer, and after ſome debate, whether they ſhould adopt the doctrinal articles of the *Weſtminſter* aſſembly for their own, with ſome amendments and additions, it was thought more adviſable to draw up a *new confeſſion*, but to keep as near as poſſible to the method and order of the other. A committee of the moſt eminent divines was choſen for this work (*viz.*) Dr. *Tho. Goodwin*, Dr. *Owen*, Mr. *Phil. Nye*, Mr. *William Bridge* of *Yarmouth*, Mr. *Joſ. Caryl*, and Mr. *William Greenhill*. While theſe were employed in preparing, and putting together the articles of their confeſſion, the ſynod heard complaints, and gave advice in ſeveral caſes which were brought before them, relating to diſputes or differences in their churches. The particular heads of doctrine agreed to by the committee, were preſented to the ſynod every morning, and read by the reverend Mr. *George Griffith* their ſcribe. There were ſome ſpeeches and debates upon words and phraſes, but at length all acquieſced, and the whole was

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ſoon after publiſhed in quarto, under the title of *a declaration of the faith and order owned and practiſed in the congregational churches in* England, *agreed upon and conſented unto, by their elders and meſſengers in their meetings at the* Savoy, Octob. 12, 1658. Next year it was tranſlated into *latin* by profeſſor *Hornbeek*, and publiſhed at the end of his *epiſtola ad Duræum de independentiſſimo.* Some imputed their unanimity to the authority and influence of Dr. *Owen*, Mr. *Nye*, and the reſt of the elder divines over the younger; but they themſelves in their preface, "look "upon it as a great and ſpecial work of the holy ghoſt, that ſo nu- "merous a company of miniſters, and other principal brethren, ſhould "ſo readily, ſpeedily, and jointly give up themſelves to ſuch an whole "body of truths as is there collected." They add further, "that this "agreement of theirs fell out without their having held any correſpond- "ence together, or prepared conſultation, by which they might be adviſed "of one anothers minds." Which I confeſs is very extraordinary, conſidering the confeſſion conſiſts of thirty-three chapters, in which are almoſt two hundred diſtinct articles of faith and diſcipline; and that the whole time of the ſynod's ſeſſions or continuance, was not above eleven or twelve days.

Oliver *Protector.* 1658.

The *Savoy confeſſion* proceeds upon the plan of the *Weſtminſter* aſſembly, which made the work very eaſy; and in moſt places retains their very words. They tell the world in their preface, that they fully conſent to the *Weſtminſter confeſſion* for the ſubſtance of it, but have taken liberty to add a few things, in order to obviate ſome erroneous opinions that have been more boldly maintained of late than in former times. They have likewiſe varied the method in ſome places, and have here and there expreſſed themſelves more clearly, as they found occaſion. They have omitted all thoſe chapters in the aſſembly's confeſſion which relate to diſcipline, as the 30th and 31ſt, with part of the 20th and 24th, relating to *the power of ſynods, councils, church cenſures, marriage and divorce, and the power of the civil magiſtrate in matters of religion.* Theſe (ſay they) were ſuch doubtful aſſertions, and ſo unſuited to a confeſſion of faith, that the *engliſh* parliament would never ratify them, there being nothing that tends more to heighten diſſenſions among brethren, than to place theſe doubtful ſpeculations under ſo high a title as *a confeſſion of faith.* After the 19th chapter of the aſſembly's confeſſion, *of the law*, the *Savoy* divines have added an entire chapter, *of the goſpel*, in which what is diſperſed up and down the aſſembly's confeſſion is collected, and put together. Upon the whole, the difference between theſe two confeſſions, in points of doctrine is ſo very ſmall, that the modern independents have in a manner laid aſide the uſe of it in their families.

Abſtract of their confeſſion.

Oliver *Protector.* 1658.

milies, and agreed with the preſbyterians in the uſe of the aſſembly's catechiſm.

At the end of the *Savoy* confeſſion there is a chapter of diſcipline, entitled, *of the inſtitution of churches, and the order appointed in them by Jeſus Chriſt*; in which they aſſert,

Of their diſcipline. Independency of churches.

"That every particular ſociety of viſible profeſſors agreeing to walk "together in the faith and order of the goſpel is a compleat church, and "has full power within itſelf to elect and ordain all church officers, to "exclude all offenders, and to do all other acts relating to the edification "and well-being of the church.

Ordination of paſtors, &c.

"That the way of ordaining officers, that is, *paſtors, teachers, or elders*, is after their election, by the ſuffrage of the church, to ſet them "apart with faſting and prayer, and impoſition of the hands of the elderſhip of the church, though if there be no impoſition of hands, they "are nevertheleſs rightly conſtituted miniſters of Chriſt; but they do "not allow that ordination to the work of the miniſtry, though it be by "perſons rightly ordained, does convey any office-power, without a "previous election of the church.

Their limited juriſdiction.

"That no perſons may adminiſter the ſacrament but ſuch as are ordained and appointed thereunto. Nor are the paſtors of one church "obliged to adminiſter the ſacraments to any other, than to the members of that church to whom they ſtand related in that capacity. Nor "may any perſon be added to the church, as a private member, but by "the conſent of the church, after a confeſſion of his faith, declared by "himſelf, or otherwiſe manifeſted.

Of ſynods and councils.

"They diſallow the power of all ſtated ſynods, preſbyteries, convocations, and aſſemblies of divines over particular churches, but admit, "that in caſes of difficulty, or difference relating to doctrine or order, "churches may meet together by their meſſengers in ſynods or councils, to conſider and give advice, but without exerciſing any juriſdiction.

And of occaſional communion.

"And laſtly, they agree, that churches conſiſting of perſons ſound "in the faith, and of good converſation, ought not to refuſe communion "with each other, though they walk not in all things according to the "ſame rule of church order; and if they judge other churches to be true "churches, though leſs pure, they may receive to occaſional communion "ſuch members of thoſe churches as are credibly teſtified to be godly, and to live without offence.

"Theſe opinions (ſay they) may appear new to a great many "people, becauſe they have not been openly and publicly profeſſed "in the *engliſh* nation, but we are able to trace the footſteps of an

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" independent congregational way, in the antienteſt practice of the " church, and in the writings of the ſoundeſt proteſtant divines." They add, " that their principles do not in the leaſt interfere with the autho- " rity of the civil magiſtrate, nor do they concern themſelves upon any " occaſions with him, any further than to implore his protection, for " the preſervation of the peace and liberty of their churches." They glory in this, that ever ſince they appeared in the world, they have diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the cauſe of chriſtian liberty. " We have al- " ways, ſay they, maintained this principle, *that among all chriſtian* " *ſtates and churches, there ought to be a forbearance, and mutual indulgence* " *to chriſtians of all perſuaſions, that keep to, and hold faſt the neceſſary* " *foundations of faith and holineſs.* This principle we have maintained " for the ſake of others, *when we ourſelves had no need of it.*" They conclude with thankfulneſs to their preſent governors, for permitting thoſe who could not comply with the preſbyterian eſtabliſhment to enjoy the libery of their conſcience, and equal encouragement and protection with others; and that this liberty is eſtabliſhed by a law, as long as they diſturb not the public peace. This ſhould engage us (ſay they) to promote the honour and proſperity of ſuch a government, to be peaceably diſpoſed one towards another, and to love as brethren; foraſmuch as the differences between preſbyterians and independents are differences between fellow-ſervants, neither of them having authority from God or man, to impoſe their opinions upon one another.

Oliver *Protector.* 1658.

Their ſentiments of liberty.

Mr. *Baxter* in the main a very peaceable and candid divine, loſes all temper when he ſpeaks of this aſſembly: He finds fault with their definition of *juſtification*, and makes theſe remarks; " they thought it not " enough expreſsly to contradict St. *James*, and to ſay unlimitedly, that " *we are juſtified by the righteouſneſs of Chriſt only, and not by any works*, " but they contradicted St. *Paul* alſo, who ſays, that *faith is imputed for* " *righteouſneſs*; and not only ſo, but they aſſerted, that *we have no other* " *righteouſneſs but that of Chriſt.* A doctrine abhorred by all the re- " formed and chriſtian churches, and which (ſays he) would be an utter " ſhame of the proteſtant name, if what ſuch men held and did, were " imputable to ſober proteſtants." But is it poſſible that Mr. *Baxter* could believe, that the *Savoy* divines denied the neceſſity of ſanctification, or perſonal holineſs? when they have a whole chapter in their confeſſion upon *ſanctification*, another upon repentance and good works, and a third upon the moral law, which they declare does for ever bind all men to obedience, both juſtified and unjuſtified. When Mr. *Baxter* aſked ſome honeſt men who joined them, whether they ſubſcribed the confeſſion? They ſaid no; he then enquired, why they did not contradict this? To which they anſwered, becauſe the meaning was, that they had

Remarks. Baxter's *life.* p. 104.

Oliver *Protector.* 1658.

had no other righteouſneſs but that of Chriſt *to be juſtified by*; which is certainly the doctrine of the *Weſtminiſter* aſſembly. What does Mr. *Baxter* reply to this? Why nothing, but adds very uncharitably, "that "the independent confeſſions are like ſuch oaths as ſpeak one thing and "mean another; ſo much could two men, [Dr. *Owen* and *Goodwin*] do "with many honeſt tractable young men, who had more zeal for ſe-"parating ſtrictneſs than judgment to underſtand the word of God, the "intereſt of the churches and of themſelves." And yet there were in that aſſembly many divines of as great age and learning as himſelf; their deſign was not to undervalue the *Weſtminſter* confeſſion, but rather to anſwer the deſires of that aſſembly, by publiſhing to the world ſuch a declaration of their faith and diſcipline as they had demanded. And the *confeſſion* was ſo far from raiſing any new diviſions, that Mr. *Philip Henry* obſerves upon the death of *Cromwell*, that there was a great change in the tempers of good people throughout the nation, and a mighty tendency to peace and unity, as if they were by conſent weary of their long claſhings. However, the *independents* loſt their beſt friend in the *protector*, who was not only their patron upon the principle of liberty, but a balance to the preſbyterian pretences to eccleſiaſtical power.

Danger of the hierarchy.

The hierarchy of the church of *England* was now at a very low ebb, and in danger of being loſt beyond recovery; for if the biſhops who were now very antient, had all died off, before others had been conſecrated, the line of ſucceſſion muſt have failed; for the church of *Rome* was ſo far from ſupporting it, that they publiſhed a treatiſe this year, *of the nature of the catholic faith, and of hereſy*; in which they endeavour to invalidate the *engliſh* ordinations, and revived the ſtory of the *nags-head club*; for the truth of which they appealed to Dr. *Moreton*, the antient biſhop of *Durham*, who in a ſolemn ſpeech made in full parliament (ſay they) declared in expreſs words, that our firſt biſhops after the reformation had been conſecrated in a tavern; and that this was ſo far from being doubted, that it was a fact moſt notorious to all the world; adding, that the reſt of the biſhops preſent rather approved, than in the leaſt oppoſed what he had ſaid. The biſhop, then in the ninety fourth year of his age, being adviſed of this calumny, ſent for a public notary from *London*, and in the preſence of proper witneſſes, made a ſolemn proteſtation of the falſhood of this ſtory, and ſigned it in due form *July* 17, 1658. He then ſent his chaplain, Dr. *Barwick*, to all the lords ſpiritual and temporal then alive, who had ſat in that parliament, deſiring, that if they believed him undeſervedly aſperſed, they would atteſt it by ſubſcribing their names; which was done by ſix biſhops, and fourteen temporal lords, and by the ſeveral clerks and regiſters of the houſe. The biſhop died ſoon after, but his proteſtation with the proofs, was afterwards

terwards publiſhed by Dr. *Bramhal*, biſhop of *Derry*, in a treatiſe entitled, *the conſecration and ſucceſſion of proteſtant biſhops juſtified*; *the biſhop of* Dureſme *vindicated*; *and the fable of the ordination of the* nags-head *club clearly confuted.* This awakened the clergy to enter upon meaſures for the continuance of a ſucceſſion of biſhops, though they could not be regularly choſen, leſt the validity of the epiſcopal miniſtry ſhould ceaſe; which will come under conſideration in the tranſactions of the next year. Oliver *Protector.* 1658.

Lord *Clarendon* mentions an addreſs of the *anabaptiſts* to the king, who being diſappointed in their expectations of a commonwealth, threw themſelves at his majeſty's feet, offering their aſſiſtance to pull down the preſent government. In their addreſs they ſay, "they took up arms in "the late war for liberty and reformation, but aſſure his majeſty that "they were ſo far from entertaining any thoughts of caſting off their "allegiance, or extirpating the royal family, that they had not the leaſt "intent to abridge him of his juſt prerogatives, but only the reſtraining "thoſe exceſſes of government, which were nothing but the excreſcen-"cies of a wanton power, and were rather a burden, than an ornament "to the royal diadem." They then go on to declaim againſt the *protector*, calling him, that *grand impoſtor*, that *loathſome hypocrite*, that *deteſtable traitor*, the *prodigy of nature*, the *opprobrium of mankind*, a *landſkip of iniquity*, a *ſink of ſin*, a *compendium of baſeneſs.* And then begging pardon for their former offences, they promiſe to ſacrifice their lives and fortunes for his majeſty's reſtoration, provided his majeſty would be ſo gracious, as to reſtore the remains of the long parliament; to ratify the treaty of the *Iſle of Wight*; to eſtabliſh liberty of conſcience; to take away tithes, and provide ſome other maintenance for the national clergy; and to paſs an act of oblivion, for all who had been in arms againſt his father and himſelf, except thoſe who ſhould adhere to that ungodly tyrant who calls himſelf *protector.* His lordſhip adds, that the meſſenger that brought theſe propoſitions, aſking the ſum of two thouſand pounds to carry on the project, his majeſty diſmiſſed him with civil expreſſions, telling him, he had no deſigns to trouble any man for his opinion. However, if there had been ſuch an addreſs from the body of the anabaptiſts, 'tis a little ſtrange that after the reſtoration it was not remembered to their advantage. But his lordſhip ſeems to have had no great acquaintance with theſe men, when he ſays, they always pretended a juſt eſteem and value for all men who faithfully adhered to the king, whereas they were of all the ſects moſt zealous for a commonwealth, and were enemies to the *protector* for no other reaſon, but becauſe he was for government by a ſingle perſon. In truth, this whole affair *Addreſs of the* anabaptiſts.

Oliver *Protector.* 1658.

affair ſeems no more than an artifice to get a little money out of the poor king's purſe.

The Protector's ſickneſs and death.

The protector's health was now declining, through his advanced age, and exeſſive toils and fatigues. The reſtleſs ſpirits of the royaliſts and republicans put him upon his guard, inſomuch that he uſually wore under his cloaths a piece of armour, or a coat of mail. The loſs of his beloved daughter *Claypole*, who died this ſummer, had alſo a very ſenſible influence on his health. About the middle of *Auguſt* he was ſeized with a ſlow fever, which turned to a tertian ague; but the diſtemper appeared ſo favourable for a while, that he walked abroad in the gardens at *Hampton-court*. *Ludlow* ſays, the protector had a humour in his leg, which he deſired the phyſicians to diſperſe, by which means it was thrown into his blood: At length his pulſe began to intermit, and he was adviſed to keep his bed; and his ague fits growing ſtronger, it was thought proper to remove him to *Whitehall*, where he began to be light-headed; upon which his phyſicians declared his life in danger, and the council being ſummoned to deſire him to nominate his ſucceſſor, he appointed his eldeſt ſon *Richard*. In the intervals of his fits, he behaved with great devotion and piety, but manifeſted no remorſe for his public actions; he declared in general, that he deſigned the good of the nation, and to preſerve it from anarchy and a new war. He once aſked Dr. *Goodwin*, who attended at his bed-ſide, and is ſaid to have expreſſed an unbecoming aſſurance to Almighty God in prayer of his recovery, *whether a man could fall from grace?* which the doctor anſwering in the negative, the protector replied, *then I am ſafe, for I am ſure I was once in a ſtate of grace.* About twelve hours before he died he lay very quiet, when major *Butler* being in his chamber, ſays he heard him make his laſt prayer to this purpoſe: "Lord, I am a poor fooliſh creature; this peo-
"ple would fain have me live; they think it beſt for them, and that it
"will redound much to thy glory, and all the ſtir is about this. Others
"would fain have me die; Lord pardon them, and pardon thy fooliſh
"people, forgive their ſins, and do not forſake them, but love and
"bleſs, and give them reſt, and bring them to a conſiſtency, and give
"me reſt, for Jeſus Chriſt's ſake, to whom with thee, and thy Holy
"Spirit, be all honour and glory, now and for ever, *Amen.*" The protector died, *Sepr.* 3, 1658, about three in the afternoon, the day on which he had triumphed in the battles of *Dunbar*, and *Worceſter*, when he had lived fifty nine years, four months, and eight days: four years and eight months after he had been declared protector by the *inſtrument of government*; and one year and three months after his confirmation by the *humble petition and advice*. As he had lived moſt part of his life in a ſtorm, his death was attended with one of the greateſt hurri-

Baxter's *life*. p. 98.

hurricanes that had been known for many years. Some have ſaid, that next night after his death, his body was wrapped up in lead and buried in *Naſeby field*, according to his deſire. Others, more probably, that it was depoſited privately in a vault in king *Henry* the ſeventh's chapel, ſometime before the public funeral, which was performed *Nov.* 23, with all imaginable grandeur and military pomp, from *Somerſet-Houſe*, where he had lain in ſtate, to the *Abbey church* in *Weſtminſter*, where a fine mauſoleum was erected for him, on which his effigies was placed, and exhibited to the view of all ſpectators for a time; but after the king's reſtoration, his coffin was taken out of the vault, and drawn upon a ſledge to *Tyburn*, where it was hanged up till ſun-ſet, and then buried under the gallows. Oliver *Protector.* 1658.

Thus died the mighty OLVER CROMWELL, the greateſt ſoldier and ſtateſman of his age, after he had undergone exceſſive fatigues and labours in a long courſe of warlike actions, and eſcaped innumerable dangers from the plots and conſpiracies of domeſtic enemies. Few hiſtorians have ſpoken of him with temper, though no other genius, it may be, could have held the reins, or ſteered the commonwealth, through ſo many ſtorms and hurricanes, as the factions of theſe times had raiſed in the nation. He was born at *Huntingdon April* 25, 1599, and deſcended of the family of *Williams* of *Glamorgan* in *Wales*, which aſſumed the name of *Cromwell* by marrying with a ſiſter of *Cromwell* earl of *Eſſex*, in the reign of king *Henry* VIII. The ſeat of the eldeſt branch of the family was called *Hinckingbrook*, now belonging to the earl of *Sandwich*, who were reputed to poſſeſs an eſtate of 30000 *l.* a year. *Oliver* who was deſcended of a younger branch, was educated in *Cambridge*, and from thence became a ſtudent of *Lincoln's-Inn*, being a wild and extravagant youth till about the thirty-fifth year of his age, when he quitted his irregular life, and became remarkably ſober. In the year 1640 he was choſen repreſentative in parliament for the town of *Cambridge*, and ſat two years undiſtinguiſhed in the houſe, as a meer country gentleman, appearing (ſays Sir *Philip Warwick*) in a plain cloth ſuit of clothes made by a country taylor, his linnen not very clean, his band unfaſhionable, his hat without an hatband, and his ſword cloſe by his ſide; his countenance was ſwoln and reddiſh, his voice hoarſe and untunable, but his elocution was full of fervor and warmth, and he was well heard in the houſe. His perſon ſomewhat exceeded the middle ſtature, but was well proportioned, compact and ſtrong. He had a maſculine countenance, a ſparkling eye, a manly ſtern look, a vigorous conſtitution, and was an enemy to eaſe and exceſs; the motto upon his coat of arms was, *tax quæritur bello.* *His character.*

Oliver *Protector.* 1658.

Upon the breaking out of the civil war he took arms for the parliament, and though he was forty-three years of age before he drew a ſword, he ſoon became colonel of a regiment of choſen men, who declared they fought not for gain, but for the *cauſe of religion and liberty*. He always went to prayer before battle, and returned ſolemn thanks for his ſucceſs afterwards. He was careful to promote an exact diſcipline in the army, and would not have pardoned his own brother (ſays my author), if he had found him plundering the country people. The army had not an officer who faced danger with greater intrepidity, or more eagerly ſought occaſions to diſtinguiſh his perſonal valour. He had a great preſence of mind in the heat of action, and taught his ſoldiers to fight in a more deſperate manner than uſual, not allowing them to diſcharge their muſquets, till they were ſo near the enemy as to be ſure of doing execution. His reputation roſe ſo faſt, that he quickly became a major-general, then lieutenant-general under *Fairfax*, and at laſt ſupplanted him. His troops believed themſelves invincible under his conduct; he never loſt a battle where he had the chief command. The victory at *Marſton-Moor* was chiefly aſcribed to his valour. The reduction of *Ireland* in leſs than a year made him the terror of his enemies; and the battles of *Dunbar* and *Worceſter* compleated his martial glory.

As a ſoldier. Carrington's *life of* Cromwell, p. 243. Welw. Memoirs, p. 140.

As a ſtates-man.

How far his uſurping the *protectorſhip* of the three nations, without the previous conſent of a free parliament, was the reſult of ambition or neceſſity, has been conſidered already; but if we view him as a *ſtates-man*, he was an able politician, a ſteady reſolute governor; and though he had more numerous and powerful enemies than any man of the age, he was never intimidated, having a peculiar art of keeping men quiet, and giving them by turns hopes of his favour. He had a wonderful knowledge of mankind, and an inimitable ſagacity and penetration. If there was a man in *England* who excelled in any faculty or ſcience, he would find him out, and reward him according to his merit. In nothing was his good underſtanding better diſcovered (ſays biſhop *Burnet*), than in ſeeking out able and worthy men for all employments, which gave a general ſatisfaction. By theſe methods, in the ſpace of four or five years, he carried the reputation and glory of the *engliſh* nation as high, as it was capable of being raiſed. He was equally dreaded by *France*, *Spain*, and the *United Provinces*, who condeſcended to ſervile compliances to obtain his friendſhip; *Charles Guſtavus* king of *Sweden*, thought himſelf honoured by his alliance; and cardinal *Mazarine* ſaid, that nothing but the king of *France*'s having the ſmall pox, could have hindered him from coming over to *England*, that he might have the honour of waiting on one of the greateſt men.

The

Oliver *Protector.* 1658.

The protector had an uncommon command of his paſſions, and knew how to behave in character upon all occaſions; though in private life he would be jocoſe and merry with his inferiors; yet no prince was more jealous of his dignity on public occaſions. His ambaſſadors in foreign courts had all the reſpects paid them that thoſe of our kings ever had. All *Europe* trembled at his name! And though he could converſe with no foreigners but in broken *latin*, yet no man ever had better intelligence, nor underſtood the views and intereſts of the ſeveral courts of *Europe* better than himſelf. He had ſpies at *Madrid* and *Paris*, and was ſo happy as to fix upon perſons who never failed him. Mr. *Algernoon Sydney*, who was not inclined to think or ſpeak well of kings, commended him to biſhop *Burnet* as one who had juſt notions of public liberty; and though he made ſome ſevere and cruel laws againſt the epiſcopal clergy, it was not for their religious profeſſion, but becauſe they were open and declared enemies to his perſon and government.

His public character.

The protector was a proteſtant, but affected to go under no denomination or party: He had chaplains of all perſuaſions; and though he was by principle an *independent*, he eſteemed all reformed churches as part of the catholic church; and without aiming to eſtabliſh any tenets by force or violence; he witneſſed, on all occaſions, an extream zeal for the proteſtant religion, and a juſt regard for the liberty of conſcience.

His religion,

As to his moral character, his greateſt enemies have not charged him with any public vices. Dr. *Welwood* admits, that he was not addicted to ſwearing, gluttony, drunkenneſs, gaming, avarice, or the love of women, but kept cloſe to his marriage bed. Nor is he chargeable with covetouſneſs, for it has been computed (ſays the writer of his life), that he diſtributed forty thouſand pounds a year out of his privy purſe to charitable uſes. He promoted virtuous men, and was inflexible in his puniſhment of ill actions. His court was regulated according to a moſt ſtrict diſcipline (ſays Mr. *Eachard*), where every vice was baniſhed or ſeverely puniſhed. He maintained a conſtant appearance of piety, and was regular in his private and public devotions: He retired conſtantly every day to read the ſcriptures and prayer; and ſome who watched him narrowly have reported, that after he had read and expounded a chapter, he proſtrated himſelf with his face on the ground, and with tears poured out his ſoul to God for a quarter of an hour. He was a ſtrict obſerver of the ſabbath, and an encourager of goodneſs and auſterity of life. Mr. *Baxter* admits, that "he kept as much honeſty and godlineſs as his cauſe and intereſt would allow; that he had a zeal for religion, meant honeſtly "in the main, and was pious in the main courſe of his life, till proſperity corrupted him"

and moral character. Carrington, p. 248.

Oliver *Protector.* 1658.

His enthuſiaſm.

But with all theſe good qualities, 'tis certain the protector was a ſtrong enthuſiaſt, and did not take up his religion upon rational or ſolid principles, which led him into ſundry miſtakes, not ſupported by reaſon or ſcripture. One of his favourite principles was a *particular faith*; that is, if any thing was ſtrongly impreſſed upon his mind in prayer, he apprehended it came immediately from God, and was a *rule of action*; but if there were no impreſſions, but a flatneſs in his devotions, it was a *denial*. Upon this maxim he is ſaid to ſuffer the late king to be put to death, in an arbitrary and illegal manner. —— Another maxim was, that *in extraordinary caſes, ſomething extraordinary or beyond the common rules of juſtice, may be done; that the moral laws, which are binding in ordinary caſes, may then be diſpenſed with*; *and that* PRIVATE JUSTICE *muſt give way to* PUBLIC NECESSITY. Which was the protector's governing principle in all his unwarrantable ſtretches of power. A third principle by which the protector was miſled, was, *his determining the goodneſs of a cauſe by the ſucceſs*. An appeal to the ſword was with him *an appeal to God*; and as victory inclined, God owned or diſcountenanced the cauſe —— 'Tis impoſſible that a man's conduct could be juſt or conſiſtent, while it was directed by ſuch miſtaken principles.

Objections againſt him conſidered. Diſſimulation.

It has been further objected to the protector's character, that he was notoriouſly guilty of *hypocriſy and diſſimulation both to God and man*; *that he mocked God by the pretence of piety and devotion, and by long prayers full of hypocritical zeal.* But who can penetrate the heart, to ſee whether the outward actions flow from an inward principle? With regard to men 'tis certain the protector knew how to addreſs their paſſions, and talk to them in their own way; and if in his devotions he uttered with his mouth what his heart never meant, no one can vindicate him: But men are not ſlightly to be arraigned (ſays *Rapin*), for the inward motions of their heart, which paſs all human knowledge —— Beſides, 'tis not eaſy to conceive the watchful eyes that were upon him, and the vaſt difficulties he had to contend with. Queen *Elizabeth*'s diſſimulation has been extolled, for the very ſame reaſon that the protector's is condemned: If therefore ſuch a conduct was neceſſary to govern the ſeveral parties, there is nothing greatly blame-worthy in it (ſays the ſame author), unleſs it was a crime in him not to put it into the power of his enemies, to deſtroy him with the greater eaſe.

Ambition.

Ambition and thirſt of glory, might ſometimes lead the protector aſide; for he imagined himſelf to be a ſecond *Phineas*, raiſed up by providence to be the ſcourge of idolatry and ſuperſtition, and in climbing up to the pinnacle of ſupreme power, did not always keep within the bounds of law and equity: To this paſſion ſome have aſcribed his aſſuming the protectorſhip, and putting himſelf at the head of three kingdoms; though others

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are of opinion, it was owing to *hard neceſſity* and *ſelf preſervation*. I will not venture to decide in this caſe; poſſibly there might be a mixture of both. When he was in poſſeſſion of the ſovereign power, no man ever uſed it to greater public advantage, for he had a due veneration for the laws of his country, in all things wherein the life of his juriſdiction was not concerned: And though he kept a ſtanding army, they were under an exact diſcipline, and very little burden to the people. Oliver *Protector.* 1658.

The charge of *cruelty*, which is brought againſt him, for having put ſome men to death for conſpiring againſt his perſon and government, deſerves no confutation, unleſs they would have had him ſit ſtill, till ſome conſpiracy or other had ſucceeded. Cruelty was not in his nature; he was not for unneceſſary effuſion of blood. Lord *Clarendon* aſſures us, that when a general maſſacre of the royaliſts was propoſed by the officers in council, he warmly oppoſed and prevented it. *Cruelty.*

Dr. *Welwood* compares the protector to an unuſual meteor, which with its ſurprizing influences over-awed not only three kingdoms, but the moſt powerful princes and ſtates about us. A great man he was (ſays he), and poſterity might have paid a juſt homage to his memory, if he had not embrued his hands in the blood of his prince, and trampled upon the liberties of his country. p. 102.

Upon the whole, it is not to be wondered, that the character of this great man has been tranſmitted down to poſterity with ſome diſadvantage, by the ſeveral factions of *royaliſts*, *preſbyterians*, and *republicans*, becauſe each were diſappointed, and enraged to ſee the ſupreme power wreſted from them; but his management is a convincing proof of his great abilities: He was at the helm in the moſt ſtormy and tempeſtuous ſeaſon that *England* ever ſaw; but by his conſummate wiſdom and valour, he diſconcerted the meaſures and deſigns of his enemies, and preſerved both himſelf and the commonwealth from ſhipwreck. I ſhall only obſerve further, with *Rapin*, that the confuſions which prevailed in *England* after the death of *Cromwell*, clearly evidence the neceſſity of this uſurpation, at leaſt till the conſtitution could be reſtored. After his death his great atchievements were celebrated in verſe, by the greateſt wits of the age, as Dr. *Sprat* afterwards biſhop of *Rocheſter*, *Waller*, *Dryden*, and others, who in their panegyricks out-did every thing, which till that time had been wrote in the *engliſh* language. *Sum of his character.*

Four divines of the aſſembly died this year: Dr. *John Harris*, ſon of *Richard Harris* of *Buckinghamſhire*, born in the parſonage houſe of *Hardwick* in the ſame county, educated in *Wickham ſchool* near *Wincheſter*, and in the year 1606 admitted perpetual fellow of *New college*. He was ſo admirable a *grecian*, and eloquent a preacher, that Sir *Henry Saville* called him a ſecond St. *Chryſoſtom*. In 1619 he was choſen *greek* *Death of* Dr. John Harris.

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Oliver *Protector.* 1658.

profeſſor of the univerſity. He was afterwards prebendary of *Wincheſter*, rector of *Meonſtoke* in *Hampſhire*, and in the year 1630 warden of *Wickham college* near *Wincheſter*; in all which places he behaved with great reputation. In the beginning of the civil wars he took part with the parliament, was choſen one of the aſſembly of divines, took the covenant, and other oaths, and kept his wardenſhip to his death; he publiſhed ſeveral learned works, and died at *Wincheſter Auguſt* 11, 1658, aged ſeventy years.

Of Mr. Sydrach Sympſon.

Mr. *Sydrach Sympſon*, a meek and quiet divine, of the *independent* perſuaſion, was educated in *Cambridge*, but forced to fly his country for non-conformity, in the times of archbiſhop *Laud*. He was one of the diſſenting brethren in the aſſembly, and behaved with great temper and moderation. Biſhop *Kennet* ſays, he was ſilenced for ſome time from preaching, becauſe he differed in judgment from the aſſembly in points of church diſcipline, but was reſtored to his liberty *October* 28, 1646. He afterwards gathered a congregation in *London*, after the manner of the *independents*, which met in *Ab-church* near *Canon-ſtreet*. Upon the reſignation of Mr. *Vines* in the year 1650 for refuſing the *engagement*, he was by the viſitors made maſter of *Pembroke Hall Cambridge*. He was a divine of conſiderable learning, and of great piety and devotion. In his laſt ſickneſs he was under ſome darkneſs, and melancholy apprehenſions; upon which account ſome of his friends and brethren aſſembled in his own houſe to aſſiſt him with their prayers; and in the evening, when they took their leave, he thanked them, and ſaid, he was now ſatisfied in his ſoul; and lifting up his hands towards heaven ſaid, *he is come, he is come.* And that night died.

Of Dr. Rob. Harris.

Dr. *Robert Harris* was born at *Broad Campden* in *Glouceſterſhire*, 1578, and educated in *Magdalen College Oxon.* He preached for ſome time about *Oxford*, and ſettled afterwards at *Hanwel*, in the place of famous Mr. *Dodd*, then ſuſpended for non-conformity; here he continued till the breaking out of the civil wars, when by the king's ſoldiers he was driven to *London*. He was appointed one of the aſſembly of divines, and miniſter of St. *Botolph Biſhopſgate*. In the year 1646 he was one of the ſix preachers to the univerſity of *Oxford*, and next year one of their viſitors, when he was created *D. D.* and made preſident of *Trinity College* and rector of *Garlington* near *Oxford*, which is always annexed to it. Here he continued till his death, governing his college with a paternal affection, being reverenced by the ſtudents as a father. The inſcription over his grave gives him a great character; but the royaliſts charge him, and I believe juſtly, with being a notorious pluraliſt. He died *December* 11, 1658, in the eightieth year of his age.

Mr.

Oliver *Protector.* 1657.

Of Mr. William Carter.

Mr. *William Carter* was educated in *Cambridge*, and afterwards a very popular preacher in *London*. He was a good ſcholar, of great ſeriouſneſs, and though a young man, appointed one of the aſſembly of divines. After ſome time he joined the *independents*, and became one of the diſſenting brethren in the aſſembly. He had offers of many livings but refuſed them, being diſſatisfied with the parochial diſcipline of thoſe times; nevertheleſs, he was indefatigable in his miniſtry, preaching twice every Lord's day to two large congregations in the city, beſides lectures on the week days: This waſted his ſtrength, and put an end to his life about *Midſummer* 1658, in the fifty-third year of his age. His family were afterwards great ſufferers by the purchaſe of biſhops lands.

CHAP. IV.

The inter-regnum from the death of OLIVER CROMWELL *to the reſtoration of king* CHARLES II. *and the re-eſtabliſhment of the church of* England.

Inter-Regnum. 1659.

Richard *protector.*

UPON the death of the *protector*, all the diſcontented ſpirits who had been ſubdued by his adminiſtration reſumed their courage, and within the compaſs of one year, revived the confuſions of the preceeding ten. RICHARD CROMWELL beeing proclaimed protector upon his father's deceaſe, received numberleſs addreſſes from all parts, congratulating his acceſſion to the dignity of protector, with aſſurances of lives and fortunes chearfully devoted to ſupport his title. He was a young gentleman of a calm and peaceable temper, but had by no means the capacity or reſolution of his father, and was therefore unfit to be at the helm in ſuch boiſterous times. He was highly careſſed by the preſbyterians, though he ſet out upon the principles of general toleration, as appears by his declaration of *Nov.* 25, entitled, *a proclamation for the better encouraging godly miniſters and others*; and for their enjoying their dues and liberties according to law, without being moleſted with indictments for not uſing the common-prayer book.

Summonſes a parliament.

The young protector ſummoned a parliament to meet on the 27th of *Jan.* 1658-9. The elections were not according to the method practiſed by his father, but according to the old conſtitution, becauſe it was apprehended that the ſmaller boroughs might be more eaſily in-

Inter-Regnum. 1659.

influenced, than cities and counties; but it was ill judged to break in upon the inſtrument of government, by which he held his protectorſhip. The parliament met according to appointment, but did little buſineſs, the lower houſe not being willing to own the upper. The army was divided into two grand factions; the *Wallingford-Houſe* party, which was for a commonwealth; and the preſbyterian, which with the majority of the parliament, was for the protector. The *Wallingford-Houſe* party, of which *Fleetwood* and *Deſborough* were the head, invited Dr. *Owen* and Dr. *Manton* to their conſultations. Dr. *Owen* went to prayer before they entered on buſineſs, but Dr. *Manton* being late before he came, heard a loud voice from within, ſaying, *he muſt down, and he ſhall down. Manton* knew the voice to be Dr. *Owen*'s, and underſtood him to mean the depoſing of *Richard*, and therefore would not go in. But the writer of Dr. *Owen*'s life diſcredits this ſtory; though in my opinion, 'tis very probable, for the doctor inclined to a republican government: He ſided with the army, and drew up their addreſs againſt *Oliver*'s being king: upon which he declined in the protector's favour, and as ſoon as *Richard* became chancellor of *Oxford*, he turned him out of the vice-chancellorſhip. The cabinet council at *Wallingford-Houſe* having gained over ſeveral to their party, prevailed with *Richard* to conſent to their erecting a *general council* of officers, though he could not but know they deſigned his ruin, being all republicans; and therefore inſtead of ſupporting the protector, they preſented a remonſtrance, complaining of the advancement of diſaffected perſons, and that the *good old cauſe* was ridiculed. *Richard* ſenſible of his fatal miſtake, by the advice of lord *Broghil*, diſſolved the council, and then the parliament voted that they ſhould meet no more; but the officers bid him defiance, and like a company of ſovereign dictators armed with power, ſent the protector a peremptory meſſage to diſſolve the parliament, telling him that it was impoſſible for him to keep both the parliament and army at his devotion, but that he might chooſe which he would prefer; if he diſſolved the parliament he might depend upon the army, but if he refuſed, they would quickly pull him out of *Whitehall*. Upon this the timorous gentleman being at a plunge, and deſtitute of his father's courage, ſubmitted to part with the only men who could ſupport him.

Wallingford Houſe *party.*

Richard *depoſed by the army.*

After the diſſolution of the parliament, *Richard* became a cypher in the government; lord *Broghil*, afterwards earl of *Orrery*, adviſed him to the laſt to ſupport the parliament and declare againſt the council of officers; and if he had allowed the captain of his guard at the ſame time to have ſecured *Fleetwood* and *Deſborough*, as he undertook to do, with the hazard of his life, he might have been eſtabliſhed; but the poor-ſpirited protector told him, that *he was afraid of blood*; upon which the captain, lord *Howard*, made his peace with the king. The officers at *Wal-*

Wallingford-Houſe having carried their point, publiſhed a declaration about twelve days after, without ſo much as aſking the protector's leave, inviting the remains of the long parliament to reſume the government, who immediately declared their reſolutions for a commonwealth without a ſingle perſon, or houſe of peers. Thus was the grandeur of *Cromwell's* family deſtroyed by the pride and reſentment of ſome of its own branches: *Fleetwood* had married the widow of *Ireton*, one of *Oliver's* daughters, and being diſappointed of the protectorſhip by his laſt will, was determined that no ſingle perſon ſhould be his ſuperior. *Deſborough*, who had married *Oliver's* ſiſter, joined in the fatal conſpiracy. *Lambert*, whom *Oliver* had diſmiſſed the army, was called from his retirement to take his place among the council of officers. Theſe, with Sir *H. Vane*, and one or two more behind the curtain, ſubverted the government, and were the ſprings of all the confuſions of this year, as is evident by the letters of Mr. *Henry Cromwell*, lord-lieutenant of *Ireland*, now before me, who ſaw farther into their intrigues at that diſtance, than the protector who was upon the ſpot. I ſhall take the liberty to tranſcribe ſome paſſages out of them to my preſent purpoſe.

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Rump parliament reſtored.

Upon the ſurprizing news of *Oliver's* death he writes to his brother, *Sept.* 18, 1658.——"I am ſo aſtoniſhed at the news of my dear fa- "ther's ſickneſs and death, that I know not what to ſay or write on ſo "ſad and grievous an occaſion; but the happy news of leaving your "highneſs his ſucceſſor gives ſome relief, not only on account of the "public, but of our poor family, which the goodneſs of God has pre- "ſerved from the contempt of our enemies. I may ſay without vanity, "that your highneſs has been proclaimed here with as great joy, and "general ſatisfaction (I believe), as in the beſt affected places of *Eng-* "*land*; and I make no doubt of the dutiful compliance of the army. "Now, that the God of your late father and mine, and your high- "neſs's predeceſſor, would ſupport you, and pour down a double por- "tion of the ſame ſpirit that was ſo eminently in him, and would en- "able you to walk in his ſteps, and do worthily for his name-ſake and "people, and continually preſerve you in ſo doing, is the prayer of,"

H. Cromwell's *letters from* Ireland, MS. penes me.

Yours, &c.

H. C.

In another letter of the ſame date, ſent by an expreſs meſſenger, he writes, that "he had cauſed a very dutiful addreſs to be ſent to the army, "which had been already ſigned by ſeveral of the field officers, and "when perfected, ſhould be ſent to him as a witneſs againſt any ſingle

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" officer that ſhould hereafter warp from his obedience; ſo that I may " and do aſſure your highneſs of the active ſubjection of this army to " your government, and will anſwer for it with my life——"

In his letter of *October* 20, 1658, he ſays, " if the account be true " which I have received of the ſtate of affairs in *England*, I confeſs 'tis " no more than I looked for, only I had ſome hopes it might have been " prevented, by keeping all officers at their reſpective charges, but as " things now ſtand, I doubt the flood is ſo ſtrong you can neither ſtem " it, nor come to an anchor, but muſt be content to go adrift and expect " the ebb. I thought thoſe whom my father had raiſed from nothing, " would not ſo ſoon have forgot him, and endeavour to deſtroy his fa- " mily before he is in his grave. Why do I ſay I thought, when I know " ambition and affectation of empire, never had any bounds. I can- " not think theſe men will ever reſt till they are in the ſaddle; and we " have of late years been ſo uſed to changes, that it will be but a nine " day's wonder; and yet I fear there is no remedy, but what muſt be " uſed gradually and *pedetentim*. Sometimes I think of a parliament, " but am doubtful whether ſober men will venture to embark themſelves " when things are in ſo high a diſtraction; or if they would, whether " the army can be reſtrained from forcing elections.—I am almoſt afraid " to come over to your highneſs, leſt I ſhould be kept there, and ſo " your highneſs loſe this army, which for ought I know, is the only " ſtay you have, though I cannot but earneſtly deſire it. I alſo think " it dangerous to write freely to you, for I make no queſtion but all the " letters will be opened that paſs between us, unleſs they come by a truſty " meſſenger. I pray God help you, and bleſs your councils."

I remain, yours, &c.

H. C.

In a letter of the ſame date to his brother-in-law *Fleetwood*, he writes:

Dear BROTHER,

Letter to L. G. Fleetwood.

" I Received your account of the petition of the officers; but pray " give me leave to expoſtulate with you; how came theſe two or " three hundred officers together? If they came of their own heads, " their being abſent from their charge without licenſe, would have flown " in their face when they petitioned for a due obſervance of martial diſ- " cipline. If they were called together, were they not alſo taught what " to ſay and do? If they were called, was it with his highneſs's pri-

" vity?

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" vity? If they met without leave in ſo great a number, were they told " their error? I ſhall not meddle with the matter of their petttion; " but, *dear brother*, I muſt tell you, I hear that dirt was thrown upon " his late highneſs at that great meeting: that they were exhorted to " ſtand up for that good old cauſe, which had long lain aſleep——I " thought my father had purſued it to the laſt. He died, praying for " thoſe that deſired to trample on his duſt. Let us then not render evil " for good, and make his memory ſtink before he is under ground. " Let us remember his laſt legacy, and for his ſake render his ſucceſſor " conſiderable, and not make him vile, a thing of nought, and a by-" word. Whither do theſe things tend? What a hurly-burly is there? " One hundred independent miniſters called together; a council, as you " call it, of two or three hundred officers of a judgment. Remember " what has always befallen impoſing ſpirits. Will not the loins of an " impoſing independent, or anabaptiſt, be as heavy as the loins of an " impoſing prelate, or preſbyter? And is it a dangerous opinion, that " *dominion is founded in grace*, when it is held by the church of *Rome*, " and a ſound principle when it is held by the fifth monarchy men? " *Dear brother*, let us not fall into the ſins of other men leſt we par-" take of their plagues. Let it be ſo carried, that all the people of " God, though under different forms; yea, even thoſe whom you " count *without*, may enjoy their birthright and civil liberty; and that " no one party may tread upon the neck of another. It does not be-" come the magiſtrate to deſcend into parties; but can the things you " do tend to this end? Can theſe things be done, and the world not " think his highneſs a knave or a fool, or oppreſſed with mutinous ſpi-" rits? *Dear brother*, my ſpirit is ſorely oppreſſed with the conſidera-" tion of the miſerable ſtate of the innocent people of theſe nations: " What have theſe ſheep done that their blood ſhould be the price of our " luſt and ambition? Let me beg you to remember, how his late high-" neſs loved you; how he honoured you with the higheſt truſt, by " leaving the ſword in your hand, which muſt defend or deſtroy us. " And his declaring his *highneſs* his ſucceſſor, ſhews, that he left it " there to preſerve him and his reputation. *O brother!* uſe it to curb " extravagant ſpirits, and buſy-bodies, but let not the nations be go-" verned by it. Let us take heed of arbitrary power; let us be govern-" ed by the known laws of the land; and let all things be kept in their " proper channels; and let the army be ſo governed, that the world " may never hear of them unleſs there be occaſion to fight. And truly, " *brother*, you muſt pardon me, if I ſay God and man may require this " duty at your hand, and lay all miſcarriages of the army, in point of " diſcipline, at your door. You ſee I deal freely and plainly with you,

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" as becomes your friend, and a good ſubject. And the great God, in " whoſe preſence I ſpeak, knows that I do it not to reproach you, but " out of my tender affection and faithfulneſs to you. And you may " reſt aſſured, that you ſhall always find me,

Your true friend, and loving brother,

H. C.

In other letters to lord *Broghil*, afterwards earl of *Orrery*, with whom he maintained an intimate correſpondence, " he complains of his being " forbid to come over into *England*; and that the clauſe in his new " commiſſion was left out; namely, the power of appointing a deputy, " or juries, in order to prevent his coming over to *England*, which he " hopes his highneſs will permit, there being much more cauſe to preſs " it now than ever." " I find (ſays he in a letter to the protector) that " my enemies have ſentenced me to an honourable baniſhment; I am " not conſcious of any crime which might deſerve it; but if they can " denounce judgment upon my innocence, they will eaſily be able to " make me criminal. They have already begot a doubt among my " friends, whether all be right; but I will rather ſubmit to any ſuffer- " ings with a good name, than be the greateſt man upon earth without " it."——In a letter to ſecretary *Thurloe* he writes, " that ſince he was " not allowed to leave *Ireland*, he could do no more than ſit ſtill and " look on. The elections for parliament are like to be good here (ſays " he), though I could wiſh the writs had come ſo timely, that the mem- " bers might have been there before they had been excluded by a vote, " which, 'tis ſaid, will be the firſt thing brought upon the ſtage——" From theſe, and ſome other of his letters, 'tis natural to conclude, that lieutenant-general *Fleetwood* was at the head of the councils which depoſed *Richard*, which might be owing either to his republican principles, or to his diſappointment of the protectorſhip. However, when he found he could not keep the army within bounds, who were for new changes, he retired from public buſineſs, and ſpent the remainder of his life privately among his friends at *Stoke-Newington*, where he died ſoon after the revolution, being more remarkable for piety and devotion than for courage and deep penetration in politics.

Petition of the Army.

To return; after the rump parliament had ſat about a week, the officers petitioned " 1. That the laws might have their free courſe. 2. That " all public debts unſatisfied might be paid. 3. That all who profeſs " faith in the holy trinity, and acknowledge the holy ſcriptures to be the " revealed will of God, may have protection and encouragement in " the

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" the profeſſion of their religion, while they give no diſturbance to the " ſtate, except papiſts, prelatiſts, and perſons who teach licentious doc- " trines. 4. That the two univerſities, and all ſchools of learning may " be countenanced. 5. That thoſe who took part with the king in the " late wars, or are notoriouſly diſaffected to the parliament's cauſe, may " be removed from all places of truſt. 6. That the protector's debts be " paid, and an allowance of ten thouſand pounds *per ann.* be allowed " to *Richard* and his heirs for ever. 7. That there may be a repre- " ſentative of the people, conſiſting of one houſe, ſucceſſively choſen " by the people; and that the government of the nation may be placed " in ſuch a repreſentative body, with a ſelect ſenate co-ordinate in power; " and that the adminiſtration of all executive power of government may " be in a council of ſtate, conſiſting of a convenient number of per- " ſons eminent for godlineſs, and who are in principle for the preſent " cauſe."

Richard *reſigns the protectorſhip.*

The parliament thanked the officers for their petition, but poſtponed the affair relating to *Richard*, till he ſhould acquieſce in the change of government. The protector having parted with the parliament who were his chief ſupport, had not the reſolution to ſtrike a bold ſtroke for three kingdoms, but tamely ſubmitted to reſign his *high dignity*, by a writing under his hand, after he had enjoyed it eight months. How little the ſoul of OLIVER ſurvived in his ſon *Richard* may be ſeen by this conduct! His brother *Henry*, who was at the head of an army in *Ireland*, offered to come immediately to his aſſiſtance, but was forbid, and the timorous young gentleman returned to a private life, with more ſeeming ſatisfaction than he had accepted the ſovereignty. Upon his quitting *Whitehall*, and the other royal palaces, the parliament voted him a maintenance, but refuſed to concern themſelves with his father's debts, the payment whereof ſwept away the greateſt part of his eſtate, which was far from being large, conſidering the high preferments his father had enjoyed for ſeveral years. This was a further contempt thrown upon the *protector's* memory; former obligations were forgotten, and a new council of ſtate being choſen, the nation ſeemed to ſlide peaceably into a commonwealth government.

Preſbyterians *for reſtoring the king.*

The preſbyterians would have been content with *Richard*'s government; but ſeeing no likelihood of reſtoring the covenant, or coming into power, by the rump parliament, which was chiefly made up of enthuſiaſts, and declared enemies to monarchy, they entered into a kind of confederacy with the royaliſts, to reſtore the king and the old conſtitution. The particulars of this union (ſays *Rapin*) are not known, becauſe the hiſtorians who write of it being all royaliſts, have not thought fit to do ſo much honour to the preſbyterians. But it is generally agreed, that

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that from this time the preſbyterians appeared no longer among the king's enemies, but very much promoted his reſtoration. Upon the foundation of this union, an inſurrection was formed in ſeveral parts of the country, which was diſcovered by Sir *Richard Willis*, a correſpondent of ſecretary *Thurloe*'s, ſo that only Sir *George Booth*, a preſbyterian, had an opportunity of appearing about *Cheſter*, at the head of five or ſix hundred men, declaring for a free parliament, without mentioning the king; but he and Sir *Thomas Middleton*, who joined him, were defeated by *Lambert*, and made priſoners. The king and duke of *York* came to *Calais*, to be in readineſs to embark in caſe it ſucceeded, but upon the news of its miſcarriage they retired, and his majeſty in deſpair determined to rely upon the *roman* catholic powers for the future. Several of the preſbyterian miniſters appeared in this inſurrection, as the reverend Mr. *Newcomb* of *Mancheſter*, Mr. *Eaton* of *Walton*, and Mr. *Finch* chaplain to Sir *George Booth*, all afterwards ejected by the act of uniformity.

Inſurrection of Sir G. Booth.

Parliament attempt to reduce the army.

The parliament to ſecure their *republican* government, firſt appointed an oath of abjuration, whereby they renounced allegiance to *Charles Stuart*, and the whole race of king *James*, and promiſed fidelity to the commonwealth, without a ſingle perſon or the houſe of peers. They then attempted the reduction of the army, which had ſet them up, depending upon the aſſurances general *Monk* had given them from *Scotland*, of his army's entire ſubmiſſion to their orders; but the *engliſh* officers, inſtead of ſubmitting, ſtood in their own defence, and preſented another petition to the houſe, deſiring their former addreſs from *Wallingford-Houſe* might not lie aſleep, but that *Fleetwood*, whom they had choſen for their general, might be confirmed in his high ſtation. The houſe demurred upon the petition, and ſeeing there was like to be a new conteſt for dominion, endeavoured to divide the officers, by caſhiering ſome, and paying others their arrears. Upon this the officers preſented a third petition to the ſame purpoſe; but the parliament being out of all patience, told them their complaints were without juſt grounds, and caſhiered nine of the chiefs, among whom were lieutenant-general *Fleetwood*, *Lambert*, *Deſborough*, *Berry*, *Kelſey*, *Cobbet*, and others of the firſt rank: by means whereof things were brought to this criſis, that the army muſt ſubmit to the parliament, or inſtantly diſſolve them. The diſcarded officers reſolved on the latter, for which purpoſe, *October* 13, *Lambert* with his forces ſecured all the avenues to the parliament houſe, and as the *ſpeaker* paſſed by *Whitehall* he rid up to his coach, and having told him there was nothing to be done at *Weſtminſter*, commanded major *Creed* to conduct him back to his houſe. At the ſame time all the members were ſtopped in their paſſage, and prevented from taking their ſeats in parliament; *Fleetwood* having placed a ſtrong guard at the door of the parliament houſe for that pur-

And are turned out.

purpoſe. Thus the remains of the long parliament, after they had ſat five months and ſix days, having no army to ſupport them, were turned out of their houſe a ſecond time, by a company of head-ſtrong officers, who knew how to pull down, but could not agree upon any form of government to ſet up in its place. Inter-Regnum. 1659.

There being now a perfect anarchy, the officers who were maſters of the nation, firſt appointed a council of ten of their own body to take care of the public, and having reſtored their general officers, they concluded upon a ſelect number of men to aſſume the adminiſtration, under the title of a *committee of ſafety*, which conſiſted of twenty three perſons, who had the ſame authority and power that the late *council of ſtate* had, to manage all public affairs, till they could agree upon a new ſettlement. The people of *England* were highly diſguſted with theſe changes, but there was no parliament nor king to fly to; many of the gentry therefore from ſeveral parts, ſent letters to general *Monk* in *Scotland*, inviting him to march his army into *England* to obtain a free parliament, and promiſing him all neceſſary aſſiſtance. *Committee of ſafety.*

The *committee of ſafety* being aware of this, attempted an accommodation with *Monk* by *Clarges* his brother-in-law, but without ſucceſs, for they had not ſat above a fortnight before they received letters from *Scotland*, full of reproaches for their late violation of faith to the parliament, and of the general's reſolution to march his army into *England* to reſtore them. Upon this *Lambert* was ſent immediately to the frontiers, who quartering his ſoldiers about *Newcaſtle*, put a ſtop to *Monk*'s march for about a month. In the mean time, the general in order to gain time, ſent commiſſioners to *London*, to come to terms with the *committee of ſafety*, who were ſo ſupple, that a treaty was concluded *November* 15, but when it was brought to *Monk* he pretended his commiſſioners had exceeded their inſtructions, and refuſed to ratify it. The *council of ſtate* therefore, which ſat before the rump parliament was interrupted, taking advantage of this, reſolved to gain over *Monk* to their party, and being aſſembled privately, ſent him a commiſſion, conſtituting him *general of the armies of* England, Scotland, *and* Ireland, which was the very thing he deſired. G. Monk *marches into* England *for a free parliament.*

At this juncture died ſerjeant *Bradſhaw*, who ſat as judge and pronounced ſentence of death on king *Charles* at his trial: He dyed with a firm belief of the juſtice of putting his majeſty to death in the manner it was done, and ſaid that if it were to do again, he would be the firſt man that ſhould do it: He was buried in a very pompous manner in *Weſtminſter-Abbey*, being attended by moſt of the members of the long parliament, and other gentlemen of quality, *November* 22, 1659, but his body was not ſuffered to reſt long in its grave.

The

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The *general* having ſecured *Scotland*, and put garriſons into the fortified places, marched to the borders with no more than five thouſand men; but while *Lambert* was encamped about *Newcaſtle* to oppoſe his progreſs, it appeared that the nation was ſick of the frenzies of the officers, and willing to prefer any government to the preſent anarchy; *Portſmouth*, and part of the fleet revolted, and declared for a *free parliament*, as did ſeveral detachments of the army; upon which *Lambert* retired towards *London*, and made way for *Monk's* entering *England*. The *committee of ſafety* ſeeing all things in confuſion, and not knowing whom to truſt, reſigned their authority, and reſtored the parliament, which met again *Dec.* 26, and would now have been glad to have had *Monk* back again in *Scotland*: for this purpoſe they ſent letters to acquaint him with their reſtoration, and that now he might return to his government in *Scotland*; but the general having entered *England Jan.* 2, continued his march towards *London*, deſigning a new as well as a free parliament. When he came to *York*, lord *Fairfax* received him into that city, and declared for a new and free parliament; as did the *London* apprentices, and great numbers of all ranks and orders of men both in city and country. The rump being ſuſpicious that *Monk* had ſome further deſign, either of eſtabliſhing himſelf after the example of *Cromwell*, or of reſtoring the king, obliged him to take the oath of abjuration of *Charles Stuart*, already mentioned, and to ſwear, that by the grace and aſſiſtance of almighty God, he would be true, faithful, and conſtant to the parliament and commonwealth; and that he would oppoſe the bringing in, or ſetting up any ſingle perſon or houſe of lords in this commonwealth. They alſo ſent Mr. *Scot* and *Robinſon* to be ſpies upon his conduct, who came to him at *Leiceſter*, where he received addreſſes from divers parts, to reſtore the ſecluded preſbyterian members of 1648, which was the firſt ſtep towards the king's reſtoration. Thus a few giddy politicians at the head of an army, through ambition, envy, luſt of power, or becauſe they knew not what to carve out for themſelves, threw the whole kingdom back into confuſion, and made way for that reſtoration they were moſt afraid of, and which, without their own quarrels, and inſulting every form of government that had been ſet up, could not have been accompliſhed.

The army reſtores the parliament.

But Monk *continues his march.*

And enters the city.

When the general came to St. *Albans*, he ſent a meſſage to deſire the parliament to remove the regiments quartered in the city to ſome diſtance, which they weakly complied with, and made way for *Monk's* entrance with his forces in a ſort of triumph, *February* 3, 1659-60. Being conducted to the parliament houſe, the ſpeaker gave him thanks for his great and many ſervices; and the general having returned the compliment, acquainted the houſe, "that ſeveral applications had been made to him

"in

" in his march from *Scotland*, for a full and free parliament; for the " admiſſion of the ſecluded members in 1648, without any previous " oath or engagement, and that the preſent parliament would determine " their ſitting. To all which he had replied, that they were now a " *free* parliament, and had voted to fill up their houſe in order to their " being a *full* parliament; but to reſtore the ſecluded members without " a previous oath to the preſent government, is what had never been " done in *England*; but he took the liberty to add, that he was of opi- " nion, that the fewer oaths the better, provided they took care that " neither the *cavaliers* nor *fanaticks* ſhould have any ſhare in the admi- " niſtration."

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The citizens of *London* being preſbyterians fell in with *Monk*, in hopes of a better eſtabliſhment, and came to a bold reſolution in common-council *Feb.* 17, to pay no more taxes till the parliament was filled up. Upon this the houſe to ſhew their reſentments, ordered the general to march into the city; to ſeize eleven of the moſt active common-council-men, and to pull down their gates, chains, and portculliſes. This was bidding them defiance, at a time when they ought to have courted their friendſhip. *Monk* having arreſted the common-council-men, prayed the parliament to ſuſpend the execution of the remaining part, but they inſiſting upon his compliance, he obeyed. The citizens were enraged at this act of violence; and *Monk*'s friends told him, that his embroiling himſelf with the city in this manner would inevitably be his ruin, for without their aſſiſtance he could neither ſupport himſelf, nor obtain another parliament; people being now generally of opinion with *O. Cromwell*, that *the rump parliament was deſigned to be perpetual, and their government as arbitrary as the moſt deſpotic king*. *Monk* therefore convinced of his miſtake, reſolved to reconcile himſelf to the magiſtracy of the city, in order to which, he ſent his brother *Clarges* to aſſure them of his concern for what he had done; and having ſummoned a council of officers in the night, he ſent a letter to the parliament, inſiſting upon their iſſuing out writs to fill up their houſe, and when filled, to riſe at an appointed time, and give way to a full and free parliament. Upon reading this letter the houſe voted him thanks, and ſent to acquaint him, that they were taking meaſures to ſatisfy his requeſt; but the *general* not willing to truſt himſelf in their hands, broke up from *Whitehall*, and having been invited by the lord mayor of *London*, and the chief preſbyterian miniſters, marched his whole army into the city; and a common-council being called, he excuſed his late conduct, and acquainted them with the letter he had ſent to the houſe, aſſuring them, that he would now ſtand by them to the utmoſt of his power. This appeaſed the angry citizens, and cauſed them to treat him as their friend,

Controverſy between the city and parliament.

Monk *pulls down their gates.*

But is reconciled to them.

Inter-Regnum. 1659.

notwithſtanding what had happened the day before. When the news of this reconciliation was ſpread through the town, the parliament were ſtruck with ſurprize; but there was a perfect triumph among the people, the bells rung, bonfires were made, and numbers of *rumps* thrown into them, in contempt of the *parliament*.

He reſtores the ſecluded members of 1648.

The general being now ſupported by the citizens, proceeded to reſtore the ſecluded members of 1648, who were of the preſbyterian party; for this purpoſe he appointed a conference between them and ſome of the ſitting members, which miſcarried, becauſe the ſitting members could not undertake that the parliament would ſtand to their agreement. Upon which *Monk* reſolved to reſtore them immediately by force, leſt the parliament and their army ſhould come to an accommodation, and diſlodge him from the city. Accordingly he ſummoned the ſecluded members to *Whitehall Feb.* 21, and having acquainted them with his deſign, exhorted them to take care of the true intereſt of the nation, and told them, K. Ch. p. 63. "that the citizens of *London* were for a *commonwealth*, the old foundations of *monarchy* being ſo broken that it could not be reſtored but upon the ruins of the people, who had engaged for the parliament; for if the king ſhould return (ſays he) he will govern by arbitrary will and power. Beſides, if the government of the ſtate be *monarchial*, the church muſt follow, and prelacy be brought in, which I know the nation cannot bear, and have ſworn againſt; and therefore a moderate, not a rigid preſbyterian government, with liberty of conſcience, will be the moſt acceptable way to the churches ſettlement." He then obliged them to ſubſcribe the following articles, "1. To ſettle the armies ſo as to preſerve the peace. 2. To provide for their ſupport, and pay their arrears. 3. To conſtitute a council of ſtate for *Scotland* and *Ireland*. And 4. To call a new parliament and diſſolve the preſent." And ſo diſmiſſed them with a ſtrong party of guards to ſee them take their places in the houſe. This ſpeech is very diſtant from what is pretended the general had in view, and ſeems to have been drawn up by ſome of the moderate preſbyterians, with whom he kept a cloſe correſpondence. And though he did not turn the members out of the houſe as *Cromwell* did, yet his diſcharging the parliament guards, and placing a ſtrong body of his own horſe at the door, without leave of the parliament, gave them ſufficiently to underſtand, what would be the conſequence of their making oppoſition.

Proceedings of parliament. Rapin.

The houſe thus enlarged became entirely preſbyterian. They ratified their vote of *December* 1648, (*viz.*) That the king's conceſſions at the *Iſle of Wight* were a ſufficient ground for peace —— They annulled the *engagement* of 1649. —— They put the militia into new hands, with this limitation, that *none ſhould be employed in that truſt but who would firſt*

firſt declare under their hands, that they believed the war raiſed by both houſes of parliament againſt the king was juſt and lawful, till ſuch time as force and violence was uſed upon the parliament in 1648. —— They repealed the oath of abjuration of *Charles Stuart* —— They appointed a new council of ſtate, and declared for a free commonwealth —— for a learned and pious miniſtry —— for the continuance of tithes, and for the augmentation of ſmaller livings by the tenths and firſt-fruits —— They reſolved to encourage the two univerſities, and all other ſchools of learning —— And (to content the *independents*) they voted, that proviſion ſhould be made for a due liberty of conſcience in matters of religion, according to the word of God. Inter-Regnum. 1659.

Thus all things ſeemed to return to the condition they were in at the treaty of the *Iſle of Wight*. The preſbyterians being now again in the ſaddle, a day of thankſgiving was kept; after which the city miniſters petitioned for the redreſs of ſundry grievances; as "1. That a more ef- "fectual courſe be taken againſt papiſts. 2. That the quakers be pro- "hibited opening their ſhops on the ſabbath day. 3. That the public "miniſters may not be diſturbed in their public ſervices." They requeſted the houſe to eſtabliſh the aſſembly's confeſſion of faith, directory, and catechiſms; to appoint perſons for approbation of miniſters, till the next parliament ſhall take further order; and to call another aſſembly of divines, to be choſen by the miniſters of the ſeveral counties, to heal the diviſions of the nation. *Preſbytery reſtored.* K. Chr. p. 52, 75.

In anſwer to theſe requeſts, the houſe agreed to a bill *March* 2, for approbation of public miniſters, according to the directory, and named Mr. *Manton*, and ſeveral others of the preſbyterian perſuaſion, for that ſervice; which paſſed into an act *March* 14. They declared for the aſſembly's confeſſion of faith, except the 30th and 31ſt chapters of diſcipline, and appointed a committee to prepare an act, declaring it to be the *public confeſſion of faith of the church of* England. The act paſſed the houſe *March* 5, and was ordered to be printed; Dr. *Reynolds*, Mr. *Manton* and *Calamy* to have the care of the preſs. On the ſame day they ordered *the ſolemn league and covenant* to be re-printed, and ſet up in every church in *England*, and read publicly by the miniſter once every year.

Thus preſbytery was reſtored to all the power it had ever enjoyed; and the miniſters of that perſuaſion were in full poſſeſſion of all the livings in *England*. A reform was made in the militia; and the chief places of profit, truſt, and honour, were put into their hands. The army was in diſgrace; the *independents* deprived of all their influence, and all things managed by the preſbyterians, ſupported by *Monk*'s forces. After this the long parliament paſſed an act for their own diſſolution, and for Preſbyterians *in full poſſeſſion of the nation.*

Inter-Regnum. 1659.

calling a new parliament to meet *April* 25, 1660, the candidates for which were to declare under their hands, *that the war againſt the late king was juſt and lawful*; and *all who had aſſiſted in any war againſt the parliament ſince* January 1, 1641, *they and their ſons were made incapable of being elected, unleſs they had ſince manifeſted their good affection to the parliament.* They then appointed *a new council of ſtate*, conſiſting of thirty one perſons to take care of the government; and diſſolved themſelves *March* 16, after they had ſat, with ſundry intermiſſions, nineteen years, four months, and thirteen days.

K. Chr. p. 85.

Character of general Monk.

We are now come to the dawn of the reſtoration, of which general MONK has had the reputation of being the chief inſtrument. This gentleman was ſon of Sir *Thomas Monk* of *Potheridge* in *Devonſhire*, and ſerved the king in the wars for ſome years, but being taken priſoner he changed ſides and acted for the parliament. He afterwards ſerved *O. Cromwell*, and was by him left commander in chief of the forces in *Scotland*, from whence he now marched into *England* to reſtore the parliament. Lord *Clarendon* and *Eachard* ſay, "he was of a reſerved nature, of deep "thoughts, and of few words; and what he wanted in fine elocution "he had in ſound judgment. That he had a natural ſecrecy in him, "prevalent upon all his qualifications of a ſoldier; a ſtrong body, a mind "not eaſily diſordered, an invincible courage, and a ſedate and uniform "contempt of death, without any frenzy of fanaticiſm or ſuperſtition, "to turn his head." This is the language of flattery. Others have ſet him forth in a very different light; they admit, that he was bold and enterprizing, but had nothing of the gentleman, nor any depth of contrivance; that he was perpetually wavering, and betrayed all whom he ſerved but *Cromwell*. *Ludlow* ſays, he was a man of a covetous temper, and of no principles; of a vicious life and ſcandalous converſation. Father *Orleans* ſays, that he was a man of ſlow underſtanding. And *Whitlock* reports, that the *french* ambaſſador ſaid, he had neither ſenſe nor breeding. The truth is, he had a cloudy head, and in no action of his life diſcovered a quick or fine genius. In the latter part of life he was ſordidly covetous, and ſunk into moſt of the vices of the times. No man ever went beyond him in diſſimulation and falſhood, as appears in this very affair of the king's reſtoration. He took the *abjuration oath* once under *Oliver*; and again this very year, whereby he renounced the title of *Charles Stuart*, and ſwore *to be true to the commonwealth, without a ſingle perſon or houſe of lords.* And yet in his firſt meſſage to the king by Sir *John Greenville*, he aſſures his majeſty, *that his heart had been ever faithful to him, though he had not been in a condition to ſerve him till now.* When he came with his army to *London*, he aſſured the rump parliament of his chearful obedience to all their commands, and deſired them

Welw. Mem. p. 117, &c.

Hiſt. Stuarts, p. 459.

Inter-Regnum. 1659.

them to be very careful that the cavalier party might have no ſhare in the civil or military power. When he reſtored the ſecluded members, he promiſed the parliament *to take effectual care that they ſhould do no hurt.* When the *commonwealth's men* expreſſed their fears, and aſked the general whether he would join with them againſt the king? he replied, *I have often declared my reſolution ſo to do*; and taking Sir *Arthur Haſlerigge* by the hand, he ſaid, *I do here proteſt to you, in the preſence of all theſe gentlemen, that I will oppoſe to the utmoſt, the ſetting up of* Charles Stuart, *a ſingle perſon, or a houſe of peers.* He then expoſtulated with them about their ſuſpicions; *What is it I have done in bringing theſe members into the houſe* (ſays he), *are they not the ſame that brought the king to the block, though others cut off his head, and that juſtly?* And yet this very man, within ſix months, condemned theſe perſons to the gallows. Nay further, the general ſent letters to all the regiments, aſſuring *them that the government ſhould continue a* COMMONWEALTH, *that they had no purpoſe to return to their old bondage, that is monarchy; and if any made diſturbances in favour of* Charles Stuart, *he deſired they might be ſecured.* So that if this gentleman was in the ſecret of reſtoring the king from his entrance into *England*, or his firſt coming to *London*, I may challenge all hiſtory to produce a ſcene of hypocriſy and diſſimulation equal to his conduct. Dr. *Welwood* adds, that he acted the part of a politician much better than that of a chriſtian; and carried on the thread of diſſimulation with wonderful dexterity. Biſhop *Burnet* differs from the doctor, and ſays, that "though he had both the praiſe and the reward, yet a very ſmall "ſhare of the reſtoration belonged to him——The tide run ſo ſtrong "that the general only went into it dexterouſly enough to get much "fame and great rewards——If he had died ſoon after, he might have "been more juſtly admired; but he lived long enough to make it "known, how falſe a judgment men are apt to make upon outward ap-"pearance."

Memoirs. p. 117, 120. Burn. Hiſt. p. 87, 89.

State of epiſcopacy, and of the king.

But before we relate the particulars of the reſtoration, it will be proper to conſider the abject ſtate of the church of *England*, and the religion of the young king. If CROMWELL had lived ten or twelve years longer, epiſcopacy might have been loſt beyond recovery, for by that time the whole bench of biſhops would have been dead, and there would have been none to conſecrate or ordain for the future, unleſs they could have obtained a new conveyance from the church of *Rome*, or admitted the validity of preſbyterian ordination. This was the *caſe in view*, which induced ſome of the antient biſhops to petition the king to fill up the vacant ſees with all expedition, in which they were ſupported by Sir *Edward Hyde*, chancellor of the *exchequer*, who prevailed with his majeſty to nominate certain clergymen for thoſe high preferments, and ſent over

Debates about filling the vacant ſees.

Inter-Regnum. 1659.

over a list of their names to Dr. *Barwick*, to be communicated by him to the bishops of *London*, *Ely*, *Sarum*, and others who were to be concerned in the consecration. It was necessary to carry on this design with a great deal of secrecy, lest the governing powers should secure the bishops, and by that means put a stop to the work. It was no less difficult to provide persons of learning and character who would accept the charge, when it would expose them to sufferings, as being contrary to the laws in being, and when there was no prospect of restoring the church. But the greatest difficulty of all was, how to do it in a canonical manner, when there were no *deans* and *chapters* to elect, and consequently no persons to receive a *congè d'eslire*, according to antient custom.

Difficulties that attended it.

Sundry expedients proposed.

Several expedients were proposed for removing this difficulty. Sir *Edward Hyde* was of opinion, that the proceeding should be by a mandate from the king to any three or four bishops, by way of collation, upon the lapse, for dean and chapter's non-election. But it was objected, that the supposal of a *lapse* would impair the king's prerogative more than the collation would advance it, because it would presuppose a power of election *pleno jure* in the deans and chapters, which they have only *de facultate regia*; nor could they petition for such a license, because most of the deans were dead, some chapters extinguished, and all of them so disturbed, that they could not meet in the chapter-house, where such acts regularly are to be performed.

Life of Barwick, p. 204. Kennet's Chron. p. 14, 15.

Dr. *Barwick* who was in *England*, and corresponded with the *chancellor*, proposed, that his majesty should grant his commission to the bishops of each province respectively, assembled in provincial council, or otherwise, as should be most convenient, to elect and consecrate fit persons for the vacant sees, with such despensative clauses as should be found necessary upon the emergency of the case, (his majesty signifying his pleasure concerning the persons, and the sees), which commission may bear date before the action, and then afterward upon certificate, and petition to have his majesty's ratification and confirmation of the whole process, and the register to be drawn up accordingly by the chief actuary, who may take his memorials hence, and make up the record there.

Dr. *Bramhall* bishop of *Derry*, was for the *irish* way, where the king has an absolute power of nomination, and therefore no way seemed to him so safe, as consecrating the persons nominated to void sees in *Ireland*, and then removing them to others in *England*, which he apprehended would clearly elude all those formalities which seemed to perplex the affair; but this was thought an ill precedent, as it opened a door for destroying the privileges of the church of *England* in their capitular elections. The old bishop of *Ely* was so far from wishing with

Dr.

Dr. *Bramhall*, that the *iriſh* method might be introduced into *England*; that he ſaid, if he ſhould live to ſee the church reſtored, he would be a humble ſuitor to his majeſty, that the privileges of the *engliſh* church, in their elections of biſhops, might be introduced into *Ireland*. Inter-Regnum. 1659.

Dr. *Wren* biſhop of *Ely*, and Dr. *Coſins* of *Peterborough*, were for an expedient ſomething like the ſecond, to which the court agreed, and Mr. chancellor *Hyde* writ to Dr. *Barwick* for the form of ſuch a commiſſion as they judged proper, and urged, that it might be diſpatched with all poſſible expedition. The chancellor had this affair very much at heart, but the old biſhops were fearful leſt it ſhould be diſcovered, in which caſe they were ſure to be the ſufferers. Dr. *Brownrigge* of *Exeter*, and Dr. *Skinner* of *Oxford*, declined meddling in the affair; the reſt declared their willingneſs to advance the work, but lived in hopes there might be no occaſion for the hazard. The chancellor, in one of his letters ſays, the *king was much troubled that no more care was taken of the church, by thoſe who ſhould be the guardians of it.* He cenſures the ſlowneſs of the clergy, and ſays, it was very indecent, that when their afflicted mother was in extremity, any of her ſons ſhould be timorous and fearful. Such were the chancellor's narrow principles, who ſeemed to hang the eſſence of chriſtianity, and the virtue of all divine ordinances, upon the conveyance of eccleſiaſtical power by an uninterrupted ſucceſſion from the apoſtles.

The non-jurors had the like *caſe in view* after the revolution, and pro- *Remarks.*
vided for it in the beſt manner they could. But is not the chriſtian world in a ſad condition, if a chriſtian biſhop cannot be choſen or conſecrated without a royal mandate, and the ſuffrage of a dean and chapter, when there were no ſuch officers in the church for three hundred years after the apoſtles? and if the validity of all ſacerdotal miniſtrations muſt depend on a regular uninterrupted ſucceſſion from St. *Peter?* eſpecially as *Baronius* a popiſh hiſtorian confeſſes, that in a ſucceſſion of fifty popes not one pious or virtuous man ſat in the chair, that there had been no popes for ſome years together; and at other times two or three at once; and when the ſame writer admits, between twenty and thirty ſchiſms, one of which continued fifty years, the popes of *Avignon* and *Rome* excommunicating each other, and yet conferring orders upon their ſeveral clergy. How impoſſible is it to trace the right line through ſo much confuſion?

But with regard to the king, his concern for the regular conſecration *King abjures the pr. religion at the Pyrenees.*
of proteſtant biſhops was a mere farce; for if he was not a papiſt before this time, 'tis certain he was reconciled to the church of *Rome* this year, at the *pyrenæan* treaty concluded between *France* and *Spain* at *Fontarabia*, whither he had repaired *incognito* to engage them in his intereſt.

Here

Inter-Regnum. 1659.

Here the king ſtayed twenty days, in which time his majeſty, with the earl of *Briſtol* and Sir *H. Bennet* embraced the *Roman* catholic religion. The ſecret of this affair was well known to lord *Clarendon*, though he is pleaſed to mention it with great tenderneſs. "It is believed, ſays his "lordſhip, by wiſe men, that in that treaty ſomewhat was agreed to "the prejudice of the proteſtant intereſt; and that in a ſhort time there "would have been much done againſt it, both in *France* and *Germany*, if the meaſures they had then taken had not been ſhortly "broken, chiefly by the ſurprizing revolution in *England*, which happened the next year, and alſo by the death of the two great favourites of the two crowns, *Don Lewis de Haro*, and cardinal *Mazarine*, who both died not long after it." But the ſecret of the king's reconciliation to the church of *Rome* has been more fully acknowledged of late years, by the eldeſt ſon of lord *Clarendon*, and by the duke of *Ormond*, who declared to ſeveral perſons of honour, that "he himſelf, "to his great ſurprize and concern, accidentally in a morning early, "ſaw the king in the great church on his knees before the high altar, "with ſeveral prieſts and eccleſiaſtics about him. That he was ſoon "after confirmed in his ſentiments by Sir *Henry Bennet* and the earl of "*Briſtol*, who both owned the king to be a catholic as well as themſelves; but it was agreed, that this change ſhould be kept as the "greateſt ſecret imaginable." There is another ſtory (ſays biſhop *Kennet*) which I have reaſon to think true: "Sir *H. Bennet* was ſoon after "ſeen to wait on the king from maſs, at which ſight the lord *Culpeper* "had ſo much indignation, that he went up to *Bennet*, and ſpoke to "this effect; *I ſee what you are at; is this the way to bring our maſter "home to his three kingdoms? Well, Sir, if ever you and I live to ſee* England *together, I will have your head, or you ſhall have mine*; which "words ſtruck ſuch a terror upon Sir *Harry Bennet*, that he never durſt "ſet foot in *England* till after the death of lord *Culpeper*, who met with "a very ſurprizing end, ſoon after the king's return."

Eachard, p. 751.

Kennet, p. 238.

Proofs of his being a papiſt before.

But though the prime miniſters of *France* and *Spain* were now firſt witneſſes of his majeſty's abjuring the proteſtant religion, there are ſtrong preſumptions that he was a papiſt long before, even before his brother *James*, if we may credit the teſtimony of his confeſſor *father Huddleſton*. To the proofs of this fact already mentioned under the year 1652, I would add the teſtimony of the author of the myſtery of iniquity, printed 1689, who writes thus; "the king's [*Charles* the ſecond's] apoſtaſy, is not of ſo late a date as the world is made commonly to believe, for though it was many years concealed, and the contrary pretended and diſſembled, yet it is certain he abjured the proteſtant religion ſoon after the exilement of the royal family, and was reconciled

Welw. Memoirs. p. 126.

Ken. Chron. p. 598.

" ciled to the church of *Rome* at St. *Germains* in *France*. Nor were " ſeveral of the then ſuffering biſhops and clergy ignorant of this, tho' " they had neither integrity nor courage to give the nation warning of " it." Biſhop *Burnet* in the *hiſtory of his life and times*, confirms this teſtimony from the cardinal miniſter, who ſent an advertiſement of it to the biſhop himſelf; he ſays, " that before the king left *Paris*, " (which was in *June* 1654,) he changed his religion, but by whoſe " perſuaſion is not yet known, only cardinal *De Retz* was in the ſe- " cret, and lord *Aubigny* had a great hand in it. Chancellor *Hyde* had " ſome ſuſpicion of it, but would not ſuffer himſelf to believe it quite." And Sir *Allen Broderick* declared upon his death-bed, that king *Charles* the ſecond made profeſſion of the popiſh religion at *Fontainbleau*, before he was ſent out of *France* to *Cologn*.

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Burnet, p. 73.

The *dutch* proteſtants ſuſpected the change, but the king denied it in the moſt public manner; for when he was at *Bruſſels* in the year 1658, he writ the following letter to the reverend Mr. *Cawton*, the preſbyterian miniſter of the *engliſh* congregation at *Rotterdam*.

But denies it to foreign proteſtants.

CHARLES REX.

" TRUSTY and well-beloved, we greet you well. We have re- " ceived ſo full teſtimony of your affection to our perſon, and " zeal for our ſervice, that we are willing to recommend an affair to " you in which we are much concerned. We do not wonder, that " the malice of our enemies ſhould continue to lay all manner of ſcan- " dals upon us, but are concerned that they ſhould find credit with any " *to make our affection to the proteſtant religion ſuſpected, ſince the world* " *cannot but take notice of our conſtant and uninterrupted profeſſion of it* " *in all places.*——*No man has, or can more manifeſt his affection to,* " *and zeal for the proteſtant religion, than we have done.* Now as you " cannot but have much converſation with the miniſters of the *dutch* " church, we preſume and expect that you will uſe your utmoſt dili- " gence and dexterity, to root out thoſe unworthy aſperſions, ſo maliciouſly " and groundleſly laid upon us by wicked men; and that you aſſure all " that will give credit to you, that we value ourſelves ſo much upon that " part of our title, of being *defender of the faith*, that no worldly con- " ſideration can ever prevail with us to ſwerve from it, and the pro- " teſtant religion in which we have been bred, the propagation where- " of we ſhall endeavour with our utmoſt power. Given at *Bruxels*, " *Nov.* 7, in the 10th year of our reign."

King's letter to Mr. Cawton.

To carry on the diſguiſe, Dr. *Morley* afterwards biſhop of *Wincheſter*, was employed to write an apologetical letter to Dr. *Trigland*, the

K. Chron. p. 96.

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dutch miniſter at the *Hague*, to aſſert and prove the king's ſtedfaſtneſs to the reformed faith and communion. The letter was dated *June* 7, 1759, a little before the king's going to the *pyrenæan* treaty, to engage the *roman* catholic powers for his reſtoration.

But to confirm the preſbyterians further, and to put an end to all ſuſpicions of his majeſty's being turned papiſt, Sir *Robert Murray* and the counteſs of *Balcarres* were employed to engage the moſt eminent reformed miniſters in *France*, to write to their preſbyterian brethren in *England*, and aſſure them *of the king's ſtedfaſtneſs in the proteſtant faith*, and to excuſe his not joining with the church at *Charenton*. Accordingly theſe credulous miniſters not being acquainted with the ſecret, writ to their brethren at *London* to the following purpoſe.

Fr. *miniſters employed to write that the king is a proteſtant.* *Mr* Gaches's *letter.* K. Chron. p. 91, 92.

Monſieur *Raymond Gaches* paſtor of the reformed church at *Paris*, to the reverend Mr. *Baxter*, *March* 23, 1659-60. —— "I know what "odium has been caſt upon the king; ſome are diſſatisfied in his conſtancy "to the true religion — I will not anſwer what truly may be ſaid, that it "belongs not to ſubjects to enquire into the prince's religion; be he "what he will, if the right of reigning belongs to him, obedience in "civil matters is his due. *But this prince never departed from the pub-* "*lic profeſſion of the true religion*; nor did he diſdain to be preſent "at our religious aſſemblies at *Roan* and *Rochel*, though he never "graced our church at *Paris* with his preſence, which truly grieved "us.—"

Mr. Drelincourt's.

Monſieur *Drelincourt*, another of the *french* paſtors at *Paris*, writes *March* 24. — "A report is here, that the thing which will hinder the "king's reſtoration, is the opinion conceived by ſome, of his being "turned *roman* catholic, and the fear that in time he will ruin the "proteſtant religion. But I ſee no ground for the report, his ma-"jeſty making no profeſſion of it, but on the contrary has rejected all "the aids and advantages offered him upon that condition. Charity is "not jealous, and if it forbids us to ſuſpect on ſlight grounds private "perſons, how can it approve jealouſies upon perſons ſo ſacred! Beſides, "there are in the king's family, and among his domeſtics, ſome gentle-"men of our religion, and my old friends; who at ſeveral times have "given me aſſurances of the piety of this prince, and his ſtability in the "profeſſion he makes — Your preſbyterians are now entruſted with the "honour of our churches; if they recal this prince without the interven-"ing of any foreign power, they will acquire to themſelves immortal glo-"ry, and ſtop their mouths for ever, who charge us falſly as enemies to "royalty, and make appear that the maxim, *no biſhop, no king*, is falſly "imputed to us — "

The

The famous monſieur *Daillè* of *Paris*, in his letter of *March* 28, writes to the ſame purpoſe: — "I know tis reported that the king has "changed his religion; but who can believe a thing ſo contrary to all "probability? Nothing of this appears to us; on the contrary we well "know, that when he has reſided in places where the exerciſe of his re- "ligion is not permitted, he has always had his chaplains with him, who "have regularly performed divine ſervice. Moreover all *Paris* knows "anger the king expreſſed at the endeavours that were uſed to pervert "the duke of *Glouceſter*. And though tis objected, that he never came "to our church at *Charenton*, yet as we are better informed of this "than any one, we can teſtify, that religion was not the cauſe of it, "but that it was upon political and prudential conſiderations, which may "be peculiar to our church, for he has gone to ſermon in *Caen*, and ſome "other towns; and in *Holland* he heard ſome ſermons from the famous "monſieur *More*, our preſent collegue. Thus, Sir, it is more clear than "the day, that whatſoever has been reported till this time, of the change "of this prince's religion, is a meer calumny —" Inter-Regnum 1659. *Mr.* Daille's. K. Chron. p. 34.

Monſieur *de L'Angle* miniſter of the proteſtant church at *Rouen*, writ upon the ſame ſubject to his friend in *London*, more fully to evidence the king's ſtedfaſtneſs in the proteſtant religion. Theſe letters were printed and induſtriouſly ſpread over the whole kingdom. *Mr.* De L'Angle's.

The king himſelf in his letter to the houſe of commons ſays, "Do "you deſire the advancement of the proteſtant religion? We have by "our conſtant profeſſion and practice given ſufficient teſtimony to the "world, that *neither the unkindneſs of thoſe of the ſame faith towards "us, nor the civilities and proteſtations of thoſe of a contrary profeſ- "ſion, could in the leaſt degree ſtartle us, or make us ſwerve from it.*"

'Tis a ſurprizing reflection of Mr. *Baxter* upon occaſion of theſe letters: "Theſe divines (ſays he) knew nothing of the ſtate of affairs in "*England*. They knew not thoſe men who were to be reſtored with "the king. They pray (ſays he) for the ſucceſs of my labours, when "they are perſuading me to put an end to my labours by ſetting up "thoſe *prelates*, who will ſilence me and many hundreds more. They "perſuade me to that which will ſeparate me from my flock, and "then pray, that I may be a bleſſing to them; and yet (ſays he) I am "for reſtoring the king, that when we are ſilenced, and our miniſtry at "an end, and ſome of us lie in priſons, we may there and in that con- "dition, have peace of conſcience in the diſcharge of our duty, and the "exerciſe of faith, patience, and charity in our ſufferings." Was there ever ſuch reaſoning as this! But the reader will make his own remarks upon theſe extraordinary paragraphs. *Life*, Part II. p. 216.

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To return back to general *Monk* in *Scotland*; as long as the army governed affairs at *Weſtminſter*, the *general* was on their ſide, and entertained Mr. *John Collins* an *independent* miniſter, for his chaplain; but upon the quarrel between the army and parliament, and *Monk*'s declaring for the latter, it was apprehended he had changed ſides, and would fall in with the *presbyterians*; upon which Mr. *Caryl* and *Barker* were ſent to *Scotland* with a letter from Dr. *Owen*, expreſſing their fears of the danger of their religious liberties upon a a revolution of government. The general received them with all the marks of eſteem; and after a few days returned the following anſwer, in a letter directed to Dr. *Owen*, Mr. *Greenhill*, and Mr. *Hook*, to be communicated to the churches, in and about *London*.

Hon. and dear friends,

Monk's *letter to the* independents.

" I Received yours, and am very ſenſible of your kindneſs expreſſed to
" the army in *Scotland*, in ſending ſuch honourable and reverend
" perſons, whom we received with thankfulneſs and great joy as the
" meſſengers of the churches, and the miniſters of *Chriſt* of theſe three
" nations. *I do promiſe you for myſelf, and the reſt of the officers here,*
" *that your intereſt, liberty, and encouragement, ſhall be very dear to us.*
" And we ſhall take this as a renewed obligation to aſſert to the utmoſt,
" what we have already declared to the churches of Jeſus Chriſt. I doubt
" not, but you have received ſatisfaction of our inclinations to a peace-
" able accommodation. I do hope, that ſome differences being obviated,
" we ſhall obain a fair compoſure. *I do aſſure you, that the great things*
" *that have been upon my heart to ſecure and provide for, are our liberties*
" *and freedom, as the ſubjects and ſervants of Jeſus Chriſt, which we have*
" *conveyed to us in the covenant of grace, aſſured in the promiſes purchaſed*
" *by the blood of our Saviour for us, and given as his great legacy*
" *to his church and people*; in compariſon of which we eſteem all other
" things as dung and droſs, but as they have a relation to, and dependance
" upon this noble end. The others are our laws and rights as men,
" which muſt have their eſteem in the ſecond place; for which many
" members of the churches have been eminent inſtruments to labour in
" ſweat and blood for theſe eighteen years laſt paſt, and our anceſtors for
" many hundred years before; the ſubſtance of which may be reduc-
" ed to a *parliamentary government, and the people's conſenting to the laws*
" *by which they are governed.* That theſe privileges of the nation may
" be ſo bounded, that the churches may have both ſecurity and ſettle-
" ment, is my great deſire, and of thoſe with me. So that I hope

" you

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" you will own theſe juſt things, and give us that aſſiſtance that becomes " the churches of Chriſt, in purſuance of this work. And we do aſſure " you, we ſhall comply as far as poſſible, with reſpect had to the ſecuri- " ty and ſafety of the nation, and preſervation of our antient birth- " rights and liberties. And we ſhall pray, that we may be kept from " going out of God's way in doing God's work.

" I do in the name of the whole army, and myſelf, give all our af- " fectionate thanks for this your work of love; and though we are not " able to make ſuch returns as are in our hearts and deſires to do, yet we " ſhall endeavour by all ways and means, to expreſs our care and love to " the churches, and ſhall leave the reward to him who is the God of " peace, and has in ſpecial aſſured all bleſſings to the peace-makers. I " conclude with the words of *David*, 1 Sam. xxv. 32, Bleſſed be the " Lord God of *Iſrael*, and bleſſed be your advice, and bleſſed be you " all. Now the Lord God be a wall of fire round about you, and let " his preſence be in his churches, and they filled with his glory. I have " no more, but to entreat your prayers for an happy iſſue of this un- " happy difference; which is the prayer of him, who is, reverend ſirs, " and dear friends, your very affectionate brother and ſervant,

Edinburgh, Nov. 23, 1659. *G. Monk.*

In one of the general's letters to the parliament, written about *June* 1659, he declares ſtrongly for liberty of conſcience, and an abſolute commonwealth, in language which in another wouldbe called the *fumes of fanaticiſm.* " You are the people (ſays he) who have filled the world " with wonder, but nothing is difficult to faith; and the promiſes of God " are ſure and certain. We acknowledge that we ourſelves have very " much contributed to the Lord's departing from our *Iſrael*, but we ſee " God's hour is come, and the time of the people's deliverance, even the " ſet time is at hand. *He cometh ſkipping over all the mountains of ſin,* " *and unworthineſs*, &c. We humbly beſeech you, not to heal the " wounds of the daughter of God's people ſlightly, but to make ſo " ſure and laſting proviſion for both chriſtian and civil rights, as both " this and future generations may have cauſe to riſe up and call you bleſ- " ſed, and the blackeſt of deſigns may never be able to caſt dirt in your " faces any more —" He then deſires them to encourage none but godly miniſters and magiſtrates, that no yoke may be impoſed upon conſcience but what is agreeable to the word of God, and that they would eſtabliſh the government in a *free* ſtate or commonwealth. Signed by general *Monk* and twenty-five of his chief officers. Welw. Mem. Appendix, No. XI.

Upon

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Upon the *general*'s coming to *London*, he was transformed at once into a zealous preſbyterian, and thought no more of the independent churches; he received the ſacrament at Mr. *Calamy*'s church, and would ſuffer none to preach before him but whom *he* approved. He conſulted the preſbyterian miniſters, and aſked their advice in all important affairs. It ſeems theſe were the gentlemen that beat him out of his commonwealth principles, if we may believe the reverend Mr. *Sharp*, afterwards archbiſhop of St. *Andrews*, whoſe words are theſe, in one of his letters to the reverend Mr. *Douglas* in *Scotland*, "*Sunday* laſt, *March* 11, the general ſent his coach for Mr. "*Calamy*, Mr. *Aſh*, and me; we had a long converſation with him in "private, and convinced him, that a *commonwealth* was impracticable; "and to our ſenſe beat him off that ſconce he has hitherto maintained —— We urged upon him, that the *preſbyterian intereſt which he had eſpouſed*, was much concerned in keeping up this houſe, and ſettling "the government upon terms. But the ſubtle general replied, that in "regard he had declared ſo lately againſt a houſe of lords, and the continuing this houſe of commons, he could not ſo reputably do it." Afterwards, when ſome gentlemen of quality, ſuſpecting the *king* to be at the bottom, were earneſt with the general, that if the king muſt be brought in by the next parliament, it might be *upon the terms of his late majeſty*'s *conceſſions at the* Iſle of Wight; the general at firſt recoiled, and declared he would adhere to a *commonwealth*; but at laſt ſeeming to be conquered into a compliance, he intimated to them, that *this was the utmoſt line he could or would advance in favour of the king*; and yet when this was moved in the convention parliament by Sir *Matthew Hale*, the general ſtood up, and declared againſt all conditions, and threatened them that ſhould encourage ſuch a motion with all the miſchiefs that might follow. Thus the credulous preſbyterians were gradually drawn into the ſnare, and made to believe, that *preſbytery* was to be the eſtabliſhed government of the church of *England* under king *Charles* II.

He courts the preſbyterians

K. Chron. p. 81.

And the ſcots *kirk.* Kennet's p. 50.

The *ſcots* were equally concerned in this affair, and much more zealous for their diſcipline. The *general* therefore ſent letters to the kirk, with the ſtrongeſt aſſurances that he would take care of their diſcipline. But the *ſcots* not willing to truſt him, commiſſioned Mr. *Sharp* to be their agent, and gave him inſtructions to uſe his beſt endeavours, that the kirk of *Scotland* might without interruption or encroachment, enjoy the freedom and liberty of her eſtabliſhed judicatories, and to repreſent the ſinfulneſs and offenſiveneſs of a *toleration* in that kingdom. *Sharp* was to concert meaſures with Mr. *Calamy*, *Aſh*, *Manton*, and *Cowper*; but theſe gentlemen being not very zealous for the diſcipline, *Sharp* informed his principals, that it was feared the king would come in, and with him moderate

derate epiſcopacy, at leaſt in *England*, but that the more zealous party were doing what they could to keep on foot the covenant. To which *Douglaſs* replied, "It is beſt that the preſbyterian government be ſettled "ſimply, for you know that the judgment of honeſt men here, is for ad- "mitting the king on no other but covenant terms." Inter-Regnum: 1659.

The *independents* and *anabaptiſts* were in ſuch diſgrace, that their leaders had not the honour of being conſulted in this weighty affair. General *Monk* and the preſbyterians were united, and had force ſufficient to ſupport their claims: the tide was with them, and the parliament at their mercy. The independents offered to ſtand by their friends in parliament, and to raiſe four new regiments from among themſelves, to force the general back into *Scotland*. Dr. *Owen* and Mr. *Nye* had frequent conſultations with Mr. *Whitlock* and *St. John*; and at a private treaty with the officers at *Wallingford Houſe*, offered to raiſe one hundred thouſand pounds for the uſe of the army, provided they would protect them in their religious liberties, which they were apprehenſive *Monk* and the preſbyterians deſigned to ſubvert; but thoſe officers had loſt their credit; their meaſures were diſconcerted and broken; one party was for a treaty, and another for the ſword, but it was too late; their old veteran regiments were diſlodged from the city, and *Monk* in poſſeſſion. In this confuſion their general *Fleetwood*, who had brought them into this diſtreſs, retired and left them a body without a head, after which they became inſignificant, and in a few months quite contemptible. Here ended the power of the army, and of the independents. *Behaviour of the* independents.

Being now to take leave of this people, it may be proper to obſerve, that the *independents* ſprang up and mightily increaſed in the time of the civil wars, and had the reputation of a wiſe and politic people: They divided from the preſbyterians upon the foot of diſcipline, and fought in the parliament's quarrel, not ſo much for hire and reward, as from a real belief that it was *the cauſe of God*; this inſpired their ſoldiers with courage, and made them face death with undaunted bravery, in ſo much that when the army was new modelled, and filled up with men of this principle, they carried all before them. When the war was ended, they boldly ſeized the perſon of the king, and treated him with honour, till they found him unſteady to his promiſes of a *toleration of their principles*, and then they became his moſt determined enemies; when they were aſſured afterwards by the treaty of the *Iſle of Wight*, that they were to be cruſhed between both parties, and to loſe their religious liberty, for which they had been fighting, they tore up the government by the roots, and ſubverted the whole conſtitution. This they did, not in conſequence of their religious principles, but to ſecure their own ſafety and liberty. *Their riſe and reſolute progreſs thro' the war.*

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After the king's death they aſſumed the chief management of public affairs, and would not part with it on any terms, leſt they ſhould be diſbanded and called to account by a parliamentary power, and therefore they could never come to a ſettlement, though they attempted it under ſeveral forms: The firſt was an *abſolute commonwealth*, as moſt agreeable to their principles, but when the commonwealth began to clip their military wings, they diſpoſſeſſed them, and ſet up their own general with the title of *protector*, who had ſkill enough to keep them in awe, though they were continually plotting againſt his government. After his death they diſpoſſeſſed his ſon, and reſtored the commonwealth. When theſe again attempted to diſband them, they turned them out a ſecond time, and ſet up themſelves under the title of a *committee of ſafety*; but they wanted *Oliver*'s head, their new general *Fleetwood* having neither courage nor conduct enough to keep them united. Thus they crumbled into factions, while their wanton ſporting with the ſupreme power, made the nation ſick of ſuch diſtraction, and yield to the return of the old conſtitution.

And of the officers of the army.

The officers were made up chiefly of independents and anabaptiſts, moſt of them of mean extraction, and far from being as able ſtates-men as they had been formerly ſoldiers; they were brave and reſolute men, who had the cauſe of religion and liberty at heart, but they neglected the old nobility and gentry ſo much, that when they fell to pieces, there was hardly a gentleman of eſtate or intereſt in his country that would ſtand by them. As to their moral character, they ſeem to have been men of piety and prayer; they called God into all their councils, but were too much governed by the falſe notions they had imbibed, and the enthuſiaſtic impulſes of their own minds. I don't find that they conſulted any number of their clergy, though many of the independent miniſters were among the moſt learned and eminent preachers of the times, as Dr. *Goodwin*, *Owen*, *Nye*, and *Greenhill*, &c. ſome of whom had no ſmall reputation for politics; but their pulling down ſo many forms of government, without adhering ſteadily to any, iſſued in their ruin. Thus as the army and independents out-witted the preſbyterians in 1648, the preſbyterians in conjunction with the *ſcots*, blew up the independents at this time; and next year the epiſcopal party, by dextrous management of the credulous presbyterians, undermined and deceived them both.

Death of biſhop Brownrigge.

This year died Dr. *Ralph Brownrigge* biſhop of *Exeter*, born at *Ipſwich* in the year 1592, educated in *Pembroke Hall Cambridge*, and at length choſen maſter of *Katherine Hall* in that univerſity. He was alſo prebendary of *Durham* and rector of *Barly* in *Hertfordſhire*. In the year 1641 he was nominated to the ſee of *Exeter*, and inſtalled *June* 1, 1642,

1642, but the wars between the king and parliament did not allow him the enjoyment of his dignity. He was nominated one of the aſſembly of divines; and was vice-chancellor of the univerſity of *Cambridge* in the year 1644, when the earl of *Mancheſter* viſited it, and complied ſo far as to keep his maſterſhip till the next year, when he was deprived for a ſermon he preached upon the anniverſary of his majeſty's inauguration. He was no favourer of archbiſhop *Laud*'s innovations; for while he was vice-chancellor he ſent for one of Mr. *Barwick*'s pupils, and ſaid to him, "I wonder your tutor, no ill man in other reſpects, does not yet abſtain "from that form of worſhip [bowing towards the eaſt] which he "knows is diſagreeable to our excellent parliament, and not very ac- "ceptable to God himſelf; but be you careful to ſteer your courſe clear "of the dangerous rock of every error, whether it ſavour of the impiety "of *arminianiſm*, or of the ſuperſtition of popery." He was ſucceeded by Dr. *Spurſtow*; and ſuffered in common with the reſt of the biſhops; but being a *calviniſt*, and a perſon of great temper and moderation, he was allowed by the protector *Cromwell* to be a preacher at the *Temple*, in which employment he died, *Dec.* 7, 1659, about the ſixty ſeventh year of his age. Dr. *Gauden* ſays, he was a perſon of great candour, ſweetneſs, gravity, and ſolidity of judgment. He was conſulted by Mr. *Baxter*, and others, in ſeveral points of controverſy, and was indeed a moſt humble chriſtian, and very patient under moſt ſevere fits of the ſtone, which were very acute and tedious for ſome time before his death.

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L. *of* Bar. p. 17.

The reverend Mr. *Charles Herle*, ſometime prolocutor of the aſſembly of divines at *Weſtminſter*, was born of honourable parents at *Prideaux Herle*, near *Lyſtwithyel* in *Cornwall*, in the year 1598. He was educated in *Exeter College Oxon.* In the year, 1618, he took the degrees in arts, and was afterwards rector of *Winnick* in *Lancaſhire*, one of the richeſt livings in *England*, and was always eſteemed a puritan. When the wars broke out, he took part with the parliament, was elected one of the members of the aſſembly of divines, and upon the death of Dr. *Twiſſe* in 1646, was appointed prolocutor. After the king's death, he retired to his living at *Winnick*, and was in very high eſteem with all the clergy in that country. In the year 1654, he was appointed one of the aſſiſtant commiſſioners for ejecting ſcandalous miniſters, together with Mr. *Iſaac Ambroſe* and Mr. *Gee*. He was a moderate preſbyterian, and left behind him ſome practical and controverſial writings. Mr. *Fuller* ſays, he was ſo much of a chriſtian, ſcholar, and gentleman, that he could agree in affection with thoſe who differed from him in judgment. He died at his parſonage at *Winnick* in the ſixty firſt year of his age, and was buried in his own church, *Sept.* 29, 1659.

Of Mr. Herle.

Fuller's worthies, p. 205.

Inter-Regnum. 1659.

Mr. Tho. Cawton.

The reverend Mr. *Tho. Cawton*, born at *Raynham* in *Norfolk*, and educated in *Queen's College Cambridge*, he was afterwards miniſter of *Wivenhoe* in *Eſſex*, 1637, and at laſt of St. *Bartholomew* behind the *Exchange*. He was (ſays the *Oxford* hiſtorian) a learned and religious puritan, driven into exile for preaching againſt the murder of king *Charles* I. and for being in the ſame plot with Mr. *Love*, for raiſing money to ſupply the army of king *Charles* II. when he was coming into *England* to recover his right. He fled to *Rotterdam*, and became preacher to the *engliſh* church there, where he died *Aug.* 7, 1659, in the fifty fourth year of his age.

King Charles II. 1660.

The reſtoration of king Charles II.

The new year began with the reſtoration of king *Charles* II. to the throne of his anceſtors. The long parliament diſſolved themſelves *March* 16, and while the people were buſy in chooſing a new one, general *Monk* was courted by all parties. The *republicans* endeavoured to fix him for a commonwealth; the *french* ambaſſador offered him the aſſiſtance of *France*, if he would aſſume the government either as *king* or *protector*, which, 'tis ſaid, he would have accepted, if Sir *Anthony Aſhley Cooper* had not prevented it, by ſummoning him before the council, and keeping the doors locked till he had taken away the commiſſions from ſome of his moſt truſty officers, and given them to others of the council's nomination. But be this as it will, 'tis certain *Monk* had not as yet given the king any encouragement to rely upon him, though his majeſty had ſent him a letter as long ago as *July* 21, 1659, by an expreſs meſſenger, with the largeſt offers of reward.

Preſbyterians *in full power.*

Baxter, p. 216, 218. Hiſt. Stuarts, p. 458.

The preſbyterians were now in poſſeſſion of the whole power of *England*; the council of ſtate, the chief officers of the army and navy, and the governors of the chief forts and gariſons were theirs; their clergy were in poſſeſſion of both univerſities, and of the beſt livings in the kingdom. There was hardly a loyaliſt, or profeſſed epiſcopalian, in any poſt of honour or truſt; nor had the king any number of friends capable of promoting his reſtoration, for there was a diſabling clauſe in the qualification act, that *all who had been in arms againſt the long parliament, ſhould be diſqualified from ſerving in the next.* The whole government therefore was with the preſbyterians, who were ſhy of the *independents* as of a body of men more diſtant from the church, and more enclined to a commonwealth. They were no leſs vigilant to keep out of parliament, the *republicans* of all ſorts, ſome of whom, ſays *Burnet*, run about every where like men that were giddy or amazed, but their time was paſt. On the other hand, they ſecretly courted the epiſcopalians, who diſperſed papers among the people, proteſting their reſolutions to forget all paſt injuries, and to bury all rancour, malice, and animoſities, under the foundation of his majeſty's reſtoration, "We reflect (ſay they)

"upon

" upon our ſufferings as from the hand of God, and therefore do not " cheriſh any violent thoughts or inclinations againſt any perſons what- " ſoever who have been inſtrumental in them; and if the indiſcretion " of any particular perſons ſhall tranſport them to expreſſions contrary " to this general ſenſe, we ſhall diſclaim them." This was ſigned by eighteen noblemen, and about fifty knights and gentlemen. Dr. *Morley* and ſome of his brethren met privately with the preſbyterian miniſters, and made large profeſſions of lenity and moderation, but without deſcending to particulars. The king and chancellor *Hyde* carried on the intrigue. The chancellor in one of his letters from *Breda*, dated *April* 20, 1660, ſays, that " the king very well approved that Dr. *Morley* and " ſome of his brethren, ſhould enter into conferences, and have fre- " quent converſation with the preſbyterian party, in order to reduce " them to ſuch a temper as is conſiſtent with the good of the church; " and it may be no ill expedient (ſays he) to aſſure them of preſent " good preferments; but in my opinion you ſhould rather endeavour to " win over thoſe who being recovered, will both have reputation, and " deſire to merit from the church, than be over ſolicitous to comply " with the pride and paſſion of thoſe who propoſe extravagant things." Such was the ſpirit or profeſſions of the church party, while they were decoying the others into the ſnare! The preſbyterian miniſters did not want for cautions from the independents and others, not to be too forward in truſting their new allies, but they would neither hear, ſee, or believe, till it was too late. They valued themſelves upon their ſuperior influence, and from an ambitious deſire of graſping all the merit and glory of the reſtoration to themſelves, they would ſuffer none to act openly with them, but deſired the epiſcopal clergy to lie ſtill for fear of the people, and leave the conducting of this great affair to the hands it was in.

King Charles II. 1660.

K. Chr. p. 121, 144. Baxter's *life*, Part II. p. 217.

Life of Bar. p. 253.

Accordingly the preſbyterian miniſters writ to their friends in their ſeveral counties, to be careful that men of republican principles might not be returned to ſerve in the next parliament, ſo that in ſome counties the elections fell upon men void of all religion. And in other places the people broke through the diſabling clauſe. Dr. *Barwick* ſays, they paid no regard to it; and *Monk* declared, that if the people made uſe of their natural rights in chooſing whom they thought fit, without reſerve, no injury ſhould be done them. So that when the houſes met it was evident to all wiſe men it would be a court parliament.

Terms on which the ſcots *and* engliſh preſbyterians *would reſtore the king.* K. Chron. p. 101, 110. Ib. p. 104.

But the *Scots* were more ſteady to the *covenant*, and ſent over the reverend Mr. *James Sharp*, with the earls of *Crawford* and *Lauderdale* to *Holland*, humbly to put his majeſty in mind, that the kirk of *Scotland* expected protection upon the footing of the preſbbyterian eſtabliſhment, without

King Charles II. 1660.

without indulgence to *ſectaries*. Their brethren in the north of *Ireland* joined in an addreſs to the ſame purpoſe: And ſome of the *engliſh* presbyterians were of the ſame mind; ten of whom met the *ſcots* commiſſioners at *London*, and made earneſt applications to the general, not to reſtore the king but upon the conceſſions made by his father in the *Iſle of Wight*. But this was only the reſolution of a few, the majority (ſays Mr. *Sharp*) were for moderate epiſcopacy, upon the ſcheme of archbiſhop *Uſher*, and therefore willing to hearken to an accommodation with the church. Dr. *Barwick* adds, "What the presbyterians aimed at, who were now ſuperior to the *independents*, was, that all matters ſhould be ſettled according to the treaty of the *Iſle of Wight*," which gave the court a fair opportunity of referring all church matters to a conciliatory ſynod, the divines of each party to be ſummoned when the king ſhould be ſettled on his throne. This was the bait that was laid for the presbyterians, and was the ruin of their cauſe. The *ſcots* kirk ſtood to their principles, and would have bid defiance to the old clergy, but Mr. *Calamy*, *Manton*, and *Aſh*, informed them in the name of the *London* miniſters, that the general ſtream and current being for the old prelacy, in its pomp and height, it was in vain to hope for eſtabliſhing presbytery, which made them lay aſide the thoughts of it, and fly to biſhop *Uſher*'s moderate epiſcopacy. Thus they were beat from their firſt works.

Life, p. 256.

K. Chron. p. 228.

Remarks.

But if the tide was ſo ſtrong againſt them, ſhould they have opened the ſluices and let in the enemy at once, without a ſingle article of capitulation? 'Tis hard to account for this conduct of the presbyterians without impeaching their underſtandings. Indeed the epiſcopal clergy gave them good words, aſſuring them, that all things ſhould be to their minds when the king was reſtored; and that their relying on the royal word, would be a mark of confidence which his majeſty would always remember, and would do honour to the king, who had been ſo long neglected. But ſhould this have induced the miniſters to give up a cauſe that had coſt ſo much treaſure and blood, and become humble petitioners to thoſe who were now almoſt at their mercy? For they could not but be ſenſible, that the old conſtitution muſt return with the king, that dioceſan epiſcopacy was the only legal eſtabliſhment, that all which had been done in favour of presbytery not having had the royal aſſent, was void in law, therefore they and their friends who had not epiſcopal ordination and induction into their livings, muſt be looked upon as intruders, and not legal miniſters of the church of *England*.

Of their vain expectations from the court.

But notwithſtanding this infatuation, and vain confidence in the court, and the clergy, Mr. *Eachard* would ſet aſide all their merit, by ſaying, "Whatever the preſbyterians did in this affair, was principally to relieve "themſelves from the oppreſſion of the *independents*, who had wreſted "the power out of their hands, and not out of any affection to the king "and

" and church." Directly contrary to his majeſty's declaration concerning eccleſiaſtical affairs, which ſays, " When we were in *Holland* we were " attended with many grave and learned miniſters of the presbyterian " perſuaſion, whom to our great ſatisfaction and comfort, we found to be " *full of affection to us, of zeal for the peace of the church and ſtate, and* " *neither enemies* (as they have been given out to be) *to epiſcopacy or li-* " *turgy.*" Biſhop *Burnet* acknowledges, that many of the presbyterian ministers, chiefly in the city of *London*, had gone into the deſign of the reſtoration in ſo ſignal a manner, and with ſuch ſucceſs, that they had great merit, and a juſt title to very high preferments. Mr. *Baxter* gives the following reaſons of their conduct. " The presbyterians (ſays he) " were influenced by the covenant, by which, and by the oaths of alle- " giance to the king, and his heirs, they apprehended themſelves bound " to do their utmoſt to reſtore the king, let the event be what it will." But then he adds, " Moſt of them had great expectations of favour and " reſpect; and becauſe the king had taken the covenant, they hoped he " would remove ſubſcriptions, and leave the common-prayer and cere- " monies indifferent; that they might not be caſt out of the churches. " Some who were leſs ſanguine, depended on ſuch a liberty as the proteſ- " tants had in *France*; but others who were better acquainted with the " principles and tempers of the prelates, declared, that they expected to be ſi- " lenced, impriſoned, and baniſhed, but yet they would do their parts to " reſtorethe king, becauſe no foreſeen ill conſequence ought to hinder them " from doing their duty." Surely theſe were better chriſtians then caſu- iſts! When the miniſters waited on his majeſty in *Holland*, he gave them ſuch encouraging promiſes (ſays Mr. *Baxter*), as raiſed in ſome of them high expectations. When he came to *Whitehall* he made ten of them his chaplains; and when he went to the houſe to quicken the paſſing the act of indemnity, he ſaid, " My lords, if you do not join with me in extin- " guiſhing this fear, which keeps the hearts of men awake, you keep " me from performing my promiſe, which if I had not made, neither " I nor you had been now here. *I pray let us not deceive thoſe who brought* " *or permitted us to come hither.*" Here is a royal declaration, and yet all came to nothing. The reader will judge hereafter who were moſt to blame, the epiſcopal party, for breaking through ſo many ſolemn vows and proteſtations; or the presbyterians, for bringing in the king without a previous treaty, and truſting a ſet of men, whom they knew to be their implacable enemies. I can think of no decent excuſe for the former; and the beſt apology that can be made for the latter is, that moſt of them lived long enough to ſee their error and heartily repent it.

King Charles II. 1660.

p. 96, 178.

p. 216.

In

King Charles II. 1660.

G. Monk *corresponds with the king.* Burnet, p. 78. 79.

In the interval between the diſſolution of the long parliament, and the meeting of the *convention* which brought in the king, general *Monk* ſeeing which way the tide ran, fell in with the ſtream, and ventured to correſpond more freely with the king by Sir *J. Greenville*, who brought the general a letter, and was ſent back with an aſſurance that he would ſerve his majeſty in the beſt manner he could. He deſired the king to remove out of the *ſpaniſh* dominions, and promiſed, that if his majeſty wrote letters to the parliament, he would deliver them at the opening of the ſeſſions. Biſhop *Burnet* ſays, that he had like to have let the honour ſlip through his fingers, and that a very ſmall ſhare of it really belonged to him.

Convention parliament meets.

The *convention* met *April* 25, the earl of *Mancheſter* being choſen ſpeaker of the houſe of peers, and Sir *Harbottle Grimſtone* of the commons. At the opening the ſeſſions Dr. *Reynolds* preached before the houſes. *April* 30 was appointed for a faſt, when Dr. *Reynolds* and Mr. *Hardy* preached before the lords, and Dr. *Gauden* Mr. *Calamy* and *Baxter* before the commons; all except *Gauden* of the presbyterian party. Lord *Clarendon* ſays, the presbyterian party in the houſe, were rather troubleſome than *powerful*; but others with greater probability affirm, that the body of the commons were at firſt of that party. Next day after the faſt, the king by the advice of the general, having removed privately to *Breda*, and addreſſed letters to both houſes; the general ſtood up and acquainted the ſpeaker, that one Sir *J. Greenville* had brought him a letter from the king, but that he had not preſumed to open it; and that the ſame gentleman attended at the door with another to the houſe. Sir *John* was immediately called in, and having delivered his letter at the bar withdrew, and carried another to the lords. The letter contained an earneſt invitation to the commons to return to their duty, as the only way to a ſettled peace; his majeſty promiſing an act of oblivion for what was paſt, and all the ſecurity they could deſire for their liberties and properties, and the rights of parliament for the future.

King's declaration from Breda.

Under the ſame cover was encloſed his majeſty's *declaration* from *Breda*, granting "a general pardon to all his loving ſubjects who ſhould lay "hold of it within forty days, except ſuch who ſhould be excepted "by parliament. Thoſe only excepted (ſays he) let all our ſubjects, "how faulty ſoever, rely upon the word of a king ſolemnly given, that "no crime committed againſt us, or our royal father, ſhall ever be brought "into queſtion to the prejudice of their lives, eſtates, or reputation. *We do* "*alſo declare a liberty to tender conſciences, and that no man ſhall be diſquieted* "*or called in queſtion for differences of opinion in matters of religion, which* "*do not diſturb the peace of the kingdom.* And we ſhall be ready to conſent "to ſuch an act of parliament as upon mature deliberation ſhall be offer-

"ed

" ed to us for the full granting that indulgence ——" Upon reading theſe letters, the *commons* voted, that according to the antient conſtitution, the government of this kingdom is, and ought to be, by king, lords, and commons; and a committee was appointed to draw up a dutiful letter, inviting his majeſty to return to his dominions: Money was voted to defray his expences; a deputation of lords and commons was ſent to attend his majeſty; and the fleet was ordered to convoy him home. Sir *Matthew Hale* moved, that a committee might be appointed to review the propoſitions of the *Iſle of Wight*, and was ſeconded in the motion; but *Monk*, who was prepared for ſuch a motion, ſtood up and ſaid, " the " nation was now quiet, but there were many incendiaries upon the watch " trying where they could firſt raiſe a flame; that he could not anſwer " for the peace of the kingdom or army, if any delays were put to the " ſending for the king. What need is there of it (ſays he) when he is " to bring neither arms nor treaſure along with him." He then added, " that he ſhould lay the blame of all the blood and miſchief that might " follow, on the heads of thoſe who ſhould inſiſt upon any motion that " might retard the preſent ſettlement of the nation." Which frightened the houſe into a compliance. And this was all the ſervice general *Monk* did towards the king's reſtoration, for which he was rewarded with a *garter*, a *dukedom*, a *great eſtate in land, and with one of the higheſt poſts of honour and profit in the kingdom.*

King Charles II. 1660.

Parliament invite the king home without any terms.

Burnet.

Thus was the king voted home in a hurry, which was owing to the flattering repreſentations made by lord *Clarendon* in his letters of the king's good nature, virtue, probity, and application to buſineſs, ſo that when the earl of *Southampton* ſaw afterwards what the king was like to prove, he ſaid once in great wrath to the *chancellor*, " that it was to him they " owed all they either felt or feared; for if he had not poſſeſſed them in " all his letters with ſuch an opinion of the king, they would have " taken care to have put it out of his power either to do himſelf or " them any miſchief, which was like to be the effect of their truſting him " ſo entirely." To which *Hyde* anſwered, that " he thought the king had " ſo true a judgment, and ſo much good nature, that when the age of " pleaſure ſhould be over, and the idleneſs of his exile, which made him " ſeek new diverſions for want of other employment, was turned to an " obligation to mind affairs, then he would have ſhaken off theſe en- " tanglements." But here the chancellor was miſtaken.

Owing in part to Ld. Clarendon. Ib. p. 81, 89.

When the lords and commons ſent over a deputation to the king at *Breda*, the *London* miniſters moved that a paſs might be granted to ſome of their number, to wait upon his majeſty with an addreſs from their brethren; accordingly Dr. *Reynolds*, Dr. *Spurſtow*, Mr. *Calamy*, Mr. *Hall*, Mr. *Manton*, and Mr. *Caſe*, were delegated, who went over with three

A deputation of lords and commons with ſome miniſters wait on the king.

or

King Charles II. 1660.

Miniſters addreſs and reception.

K. Chron. p. 139. Compl. Hiſt. p. 247.

or four attendants, and had an audience *May* 17, wherein according to lord *Clarendon*, "they magnified their own, and the affection of their "friends, who had always wiſhed his majeſty's reſtoration, according to "the covenant, and had lately informed the people of their duty to in-"vite him home. They thanked God for his majeſty's conſtancy to the "proteſtant religion, and declared themſelves no enemies to moderate "epiſcopacy, only they deſired that ſuch things might not be preſſed up-"on them in God's worſhip, which in their judgements that uſed them "were indifferent, but others were held to be unlawful." But the tables were now turned: The king ſpoke kindly to them, and acknowledged their ſervices, but told them, he would refer all to the wiſdom of the parliament. At another audience (if we may believe the noble hiſtorian) they met with very different uſage; for when they intreated his majeſty at his firſt landing not to uſe the book of common-prayer entire and formally in his chapel, it having been long laid aſide, the king replied with ſome warmth, "that while he gave *them* liberty he would not have his "own taken away. That he had always uſed that form of ſervice which "he thought the beſt in the world, and had never diſcontinued it in "places where it was more diſliked, than he hoped it was by them. "That when he came into *England* he ſhould not ſeverely enquire how "it was uſed in other churches, but he would have no other uſed in his "own chapel." They then beſought him with more importunity, that the uſe of the ſurplice might be diſcontinued by his chaplains, becauſe it would give offence; but the king was as inexorable in that point as the other, and told them, that it was a decent habit, and had been long uſed in the church; that it had been ſtill retained by him, and that he would never diſcountenance that good old practice of the church in which he had been bred. Mr. *Baxter* ſays, the king gave them ſuch encouraging promiſes of peace, as raiſed ſome of them to high expectations. He never refuſed them a private audience when they deſired it; and to amuſe them further, while they were once waiting in an anti-chamber, his majeſty ſaid his prayers with ſuch an audible voice in the room adjoining, that the miniſters might hear him; "he thanked God that he was a covenanted "king; that he hoped the Lord would give him an humble, meek, for-"giving ſpirit; that he might have forbearance towards his offending ſub-"jects, as he expected forbearance from offended heaven." Upon hearing which old Mr. *Caſe* lift up his hands to heaven, and bleſſed God who had given them a *praying king*.

K. Chron. p. 152.

Biſhops ſend to the king with inſtructions.

Though the biſhops held a private correſpondence with chancellor *Hyde*, and by him were aſſured of the king's favour, they were not leſs forward than the presbyterians in their application to his majeſty himſelf; for

for while he remained at *Breda*, Mr. *Barwick* was ſent over with the following inſtructions. *King* Charles II. 1660.

1. He was to wait upon the right honourable the lord chancellor of *England*, and beg his lordſhip's aſſiſtance to preſent a moſt humble petition to his majeſty in the name of the biſhops, and then to deliver their lordſhips letters to the chancellor, to the lord lieutenant of *Ireland*, and to the ſecretary of ſtate, wherein they returned thoſe great men their moſt thankful acknowledgements, for their piety and affection to the church in the late moſt afflicted ſtate.

2. He was then to give his majeſty a diſtinct account of the preſent ſtate of the church in all the particulars wherein his majeſty deſired to be informed; and to bring the biſhops back his majeſty's commands, with regard to all that ſhould be thought proper for them, or any of them to do.

3. He was humbly to aſk his majeſty's pleaſure, with regard to ſome of the biſhops waiting on the ſea-coaſt to pay their duty to his majeſty, when by God's bleſſing he ſhould ſoon land in *England*; and whether it was his royal pleaſure, that they ſhould attend him there in their epiſcopal habits; and at what time and place, and how many, and which of them his majeſty pleaſed ſhould wait his arrival.

4. He was alſo to enquire concerning the number of his majeſty's chaplains; whether any of them beſides thoſe in waiting, ſhould attend his arrival upon the coaſt; and to beg that his majeſty would vouchſafe to appoint how many, and who.

5. He was moſt humbly to beſeech his majeſty, that if Dr. *Luſhington*, formerly the king's chaplain, ſhould offer to officiate in that capacity, his majeſty would be pleaſed not to indulge him that favour, till enquiry ſhould be made concerning his ſuſpected faith and principles. [He was a *ſocinian*.]

6. Since it has been cuſtomary for our kings to celebrate public thankſgivings in St. *Paul's cathedral*, he was humbly to beſeech his majeſty, to ſignify what was his royal pleaſure in this behalf, conſidering the ruinous eſtate of that church.

7. His laſt inſtruction was to give a juſt and due account to his majeſty, why the affair of filling up the vacant ſees had met with no better ſucceſs.

Mr. *Barwick* was moſt graciouſly received by the king and his miniſters, and the *Sunday* after his arrival at *Breda*, was appointed to preach before his majeſty. The court was as yet very much upon their guard with reſpect to the presbyterians; but the flames began to kindle at home: the epiſcopal clergy not obſerving any meaſures of prudence in their ſermons; Dr. *Griffith* having preached an angry ſermon before the gene- *Forwardneſs of the clergy.* *Life of* Barwick, p. 519.

King Charles II. 1660.

ral at *Mercers-Hall March* 25, on *Prov.* xxiv. 21. *My ſon, fear thou the Lord and the king, and meddle not with them that are given to change*; was for a pretence confined to *Newgate*, but in a few days was releaſed, and publiſhed his ſermon with a dedication to the general. Others in their ſermons took upon them to threaten thoſe who had hitherto had the power in their hands; of which the king being adviſed, commanded chancellor *Hyde* to acquaint his correſpondents, that he was extreamly appprehenſive of inconvenience and miſchief to the church and himſelf, from offences of that kind, and ordered him to deſire Mr. *Barwick* and Dr. *Morley* to uſe their credit and authority which ſuch men, and to let them know from his majeſty, the tenderneſs of the conjuncture. The *chancellor* accordingly in his letter from *Breda April* 16, 1660, writ the king's ſenſe, and added, that if occaſion required they were to ſpeak to the biſhops of *Ely* and *Saliſbury* to interpoſe their authority, to conjure theſe men, to make a better judgment of the ſeaſon, and not to awaken thoſe jealouſies and apprehenſions which all men ſhould endeavour to extinguiſh. "And truly I hope (ſays the chancellor) if faults "of this kind are not committed, that both the church and the kingdom "will be better dealt with than is imagined; and I am confident theſe "good men will be more troubled that the church ſhould undergo a new "ſuffering by their indiſcretion, than for all that they have ſuffered "hitherto themſelves."

Richard Cromwell *reſigns his chancellorſhip and abſconds.* K. Chr. p. 141.

The clouds gathering thus thick over the late managers, every one began to ſhift for himſelf. RICHARD CROMWELL reſigned his chancellorſhip of the univerſity of *Oxford* the very day the king was invited home, and retired beyond ſea: He had offered to relinquiſh it when he was diveſted of the protectorſhip, as appears by his letter on that occaſion, which ſays, —— "You ſhould have had fuller experience of my high "eſteem for learning and learned men, if providence had continued me "in my high ſtation; but as I accepted of the honour of being your "chancellor in order to promote your proſperity, I aſſure you I will di-"veſt myſelf of the honour when it will contribute to your advantage." Accordingly as ſoon as the king's return was voted, he ſent them the following reſignation.

Gentlemen,

"I SHALL always retain a hearty ſenſe of my former obligations "to you, in your free election of me to the office of your chancel-"lor; and it is no ſmall trouble to my thoughts, when I conſider how "little ſerviceable I have been to you in that relation. But ſince the all

"wiſe

" wiſe providence of God, which I deſire always to adore, and bow " down unto, has been pleaſed to change my condition, that I am not in " a capacity to anſwer the ends of the office —— I do therefore moſt " freely reſign, and give up all my right and intereſt therein, but ſhall al- " ways retain my affection and eſteem for you, with my prayers for your " continual proſperity, that amidſt the many examples of the inſtability " and revolutions of human affairs, you may ſtill abide flouriſhing and " fruitful." *Gentlemen,* *King Charles II. 1660.*

Your affectionate friend and ſervant,

Hurſley,
May 8, 1660. RICH. CROMWELL.

Thus RICHARD went off the ſtage of public action. " As he was " innocent of all the evil his father had done (ſays *Burnet*), ſo there " was no prejudice laid againſt him. Upon his advancement to the pro- " tectorſhip, the city of *London*, and almoſt all the counties of *Eng-* " *land*, ſent him addreſſes of congratulation, but when he found the times " too boiſterous he readily withdrew, and became a private man; and " as he had done no hurt to any body, ſo no body ever ſtudied to hurt " him. A rare inſtance of the inſtability of human greatneſs; and of the " ſecurity of innocence!" In his younger years he had not all that zeal for religion as was the faſhion of the times; but thoſe who knew him well in the latter part of life have aſſured me, that he was a perfect gentleman in his behaviour, well acquainted with public affairs, of great gravity, and real piety; but ſo very modeſt, that he would not be diſtinguiſhed or known by any name but the feigned one of Mr. *Clarke*. He died at *Theobalds* about the year 1712. *His character.* Burnet, p. 82, 83.

The king landed at *Dover May* 26, and came the ſame night to *Canterbury*, where he reſted the next day, and on *Tueſday May* 29, rode in triumph with his two brothers, through the city of *London* to *Whitehall*, amidſt the acclamations of an inumerable croud of ſpectators. As he paſſed along, old Mr. *Arthur Jackſon* an eminent preſbyterian miniſter, preſented his majeſty with a rich emboſſed bible, which he was pleaſed to receive, and to declare it his reſolution, to make that book the rule of his conduct. *The king lands and rides through the city to* Whitehall.

Two days after the king's arrival at *Whitehall*, his majeſty went to the houſe of peers, and after a ſhort congratulatory ſpeech paſſed an act, turning the preſent convention into a parliament. After which the houſes for themſelves, and all the commons of *England*, laid hold of his majeſty's moſt gracious pardon, and appointed a committee to prepare an act of indem- *Convention turned into a parliament.*

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indemnity for all who had been concerned in the preceeding commotions, except the late king's judges, and two or three others.

They avow the juſtice of the civil war Eachard, p. 765.

Had the directions given for the choice of this parliament been obſerved, no royaliſts could have ſat in the houſe; however their numbers were inconſiderable; the convention was a *preſbyterian parliament*, and had the courage to avow the juſtice and lawfulneſs of taking arms againſt the late king till the year 1648; for when Mr. *Lenthall* ſpeaker of the long parliament, in order to ſhew the ſincerity of his repentance, had ſaid, that *he that firſt drew his ſword againſt the late king, committed as great an offence as he that cut off his head*; he was brought to the bar, and received the following reprimand from the preſent ſpeaker, by order of the houſe.

SIR,

"THE houſe has taken great offence at what you have ſaid, "which in the judgment of the houſe, contains as high a re- "flection upon the juſtice of the proceedings of the lords and com- "mons of the laſt parliament, in their actings before 1648, as could be "expreſſed. They apprehend there is much poiſon in the ſaid words, "and that they were ſpoken out of deſign to inflame, and to render them "*who drew the ſword to bring delinquents to puniſhment, and to vindicate* "*their juſt liberties*, into balance with them who cut off the king's "head; of which they expreſs their abhorrence and deteſtation. There- "fore I am commanded to let you know, that had theſe words fallen out "at any other time in this parliament, but when they had conſiderations "of mercy, and indemnity, you might have expected a ſharper and ſe- "verer ſentence — Nevertheleſs I am according to command, to give "you a ſharp reprehenſion, and I do as ſharply and ſeverely as I can "reprehend you for it."

They give up every thing the court deſires. Rapin, p. 258.

But it was to little purpoſe to juſtify the civil war, when they were yielding up all they had been contending for to the court; for though they ſtopt ſhort of the lengths of the next parliament, they encreaſed his majeſty's revenues ſo much, that if he had been a frugal prince he might have lived without parliaments for the future. The reſtoring the king after this manner without any treaty, or one ſingle article for theſe curing men in the enjoyment of their religious and civil liberties, was (as biſhop *Burnet* obſerves) the foundation of all the miſfortunes of the nation under this reign. And as another right reverend prelate obſerves, the reſtoration of the king in this high and abſolute manner,

p. 86.

ner, laid the foundation of all the king's future miſcarriages; ſo that if the revolution by king *William* and queen *Mary* had not taken place, the reſtoration had been no bleſſing to the nation. *King* Charles II. 1660.

Remarks.

But it ought to be remembered, that this was not a legal parliament, for the *rump* had no power to appoint *keepers of the liberties of* England; nor had the *keepers* a right to iſſue out writs for election of a new parliament; nor could the king's writ, without the ſubſequent choice of the people make them ſo. All the laws therefore made by this convention; and all the puniſhments inflicted upon offenders in purſuance of them, were not ſtrictly legal, which the court were ſo apprehenſive of, that they prevailed with the next parliament to confirm them. When this convention parliament had ſat about eight months, it was diſſolved *December* 29, partly becauſe it was not legally choſen, and becauſe it was too much preſbyterian; the prime miniſter [*Hyde*] having now formed a deſign in concert with the biſhops, of evacuating the church of all the preſbyterians.

Preſbyterian *miniſters made king's chaplains.* K. Ch. p. 162.

The managing preſbyterians ſtill buoyed themſelves up with hopes of a comprehenſion within the church, though they had parted with all their weight and influence; and from *directors* were become humble ſuppliants to thoſe very men who a few months before lay at their feet. They had now no other refuge than the king's clemency, which was directed by chancellor *Hyde* and the biſhops; but to keep them quiet, his majeſty condeſcended, at the inſtance of the earl of *Mancheſter*, to admit ten of their number into the liſt of his chaplains in ordinary, (*viz.*)

Dr. *Reynolds*,	Mr. *Calamy*,
Dr. *Spurſtow*,	Mr. *Aſhe*,
Dr. *Wallis*,	Mr. *Caſe*,
Dr. *Manton*,	Mr. *Baxter*,
Dr. *Bates*,	Mr. *Woodbridge*.

None of theſe divines were called to preach at court, excpt Dr. *Reynolds*, Dr. *Spurſtow*, Mr. *Calamy*, and Mr. *Baxter*, each of them once. Here again the preſbyterians were divided in their politics, ſome being for going as far as they could with the court, and others for drawing back. Of the former ſort were Mr. *Calamy*, Dr. *Reynolds*, and Mr. *Aſhe*, who were entirely directed by the earl of *Mancheſter*, and had frequent aſſemblies at his houſe; to them were joined Dr. *Bates*, Dr. *Manton*, and moſt of the city miniſters; but Dr. *Seaman*, Mr. *Jenkins*, and others, were of another party; theſe were a little eſtranged from the reſt of their brethren,

Baxter's *life*, p. 29.

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thren, and meddled not with politics (ſays Mr. *Baxter*), becauſe the court gave them no encouragement, their deſign being only to divide them; but the former had more confidence in their ſuperiors, and carried on a treaty, till by force and violence they were beaten out of the field.

Liturgy reſtored.

Upon the king's arrival at *Whitehall*, the liturgy of the church of *England* was reſtored in his majeſty's chapel, and in ſeveral churches both in city and country; for it was juſtly obſerved, that all acts and ordinances of the long parliament which had not the royal aſſent, were in themſelves null, and therefore prelacy was ſtill the legal eſtabliſhment, and the common-prayer the only legal form of worſhip, and that they were puniſhable by the laws of the land who officiated by any other. The king in his *declaration* had deſired, that the preſbyterians would read ſo much of the liturgy as they themſelves had no exception againſt, but moſt of them declined the propoſal. But to ſet an example to the reſt of the nation, the houſe of peers, two days after the king was proclaimed, appointed Mr. *Marſton* to read divine ſervice before them, in his formalities, according to the common-prayer book; and the *Sunday* following Dr. *Gauden* preached, and adminiſtered the ſacrament to ſeveral of the peers, who received it kneeling. On the 31ſt of *May* they ordered, that the form of prayers formerly uſed, ſhould be conſtantly read in their houſe, provided that no prejudice, penalty, or reflection, ſhall be on any who are not preſent. The houſe of commons followed the example of the lords; and before the end of the year many of the parochial clergy, who ſcrupled the uſe of the ſervice book, were proſecuted for offending againſt the ſtatutes made in that behalf; the juſtices of the peace and others inſiſting, that the laws returned with the king, and that they ought not to be diſpenſed with in the neglect of them.

K. Chr. p. 432.

Sequeſtered clergy reſtored.

The old ſequeſtered clergy flocked in great numbers about the court, magnifying their ſufferings, and making intereſt for preferments; every one took poſſeſſion of the living from which he had been ejected; by which means ſome hundreds of the preſbyterian clergy were diſpoſſeſſed at once. Upon this the heads of that party waited upon the king, and prayed, that though all who had loſt their livings for malignancy, or diſaffection to the late powers were reſtored, yet that thoſe miniſters who ſucceeded ſuch as had been ejected for *ſcandal*, might keep their places; but the court paid no regard to their petitions. However where the incumbent was dead, his majeſty yielded that the living ſhould be confirmed to the preſent poſſeſſor.

And heads of colleges.

K. Chr. p. 152.

The heads of colleges and fellows who had been ejected in the late times, were no leſs forward in their applications to be reſtored; upon which the parliament appointed a committee to receive their petitions.

Dr.

Dr. *Goodwin* having reſigned his preſidentſhip of *Magdalen College*, the lords ordered, "that Dr. *Oliver* be reſtored in as full and ample manner "as formerly he enjoyed it, till the pleaſure of his majeſty be further "known. And the three ſenior fellows were appointed to put this or-"der in execution." The ejected fellows of *New College Oxon*, petitioned at the ſame time to be reſtored; upon which the lords ordered, *May* 19, that "*Robert Grove*, *John Lampſhire*, &c. late fellows of *New* Ib. p. 153. "*College Oxon*, and all others who were unjuſtly ejected out of their fel-"lowſhips, be forthwith reſtored; and that all ſuch fellows as have "been admitted contrary to the ſtatute be forthwith ejected; and that "no new fellows be admitted contrary to the ſtatutes." And to prevent further applications of this kind, the lords paſſed this general order *June* 4. "That the chancellors of both univerſities ſhall take care, that the ſe- Ib. p. 173. "veral colleges in the ſaid univerſities ſhall be governed according to their "reſpective ſtatutes; and that ſuch perſons who have been unjuſtly put "out of their headſhips, fellowſhips, or other offices relating to the "ſeveral colleges or univerſities, may be reſtored according to the "ſaid ſtatutes of the univerſity, and founders of colleges therein."

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Purſuant to this order, there followed a very conſiderable change in both univerſities, commiſſioners being appointed by the king to hear and determine all cauſes relating to this affair, who in the months of *Auguſt* and *September* reſtored all ſuch as were unmarried to their reſpective places. In the univerſity of *Oxford*, beſides Dr. *Oliver* already mentioned, the following heads of colleges were reſtored, and the preſent poſſeſſors ejected.

Heads of colleges reſtored,	*Auguſt* 3. Preſident of	In the place of heads ejected,
Dr. *Hannibal Potter*,	*Trinity College*,	Dr. *Seth Ward*,
Dr. *Richard Bayley*,	*St. John's College*,	Mr. *Thank. Owen*,
Dr. *Francis Manſel*,	*Jeſus College*,	Mr. *Fran. Howel*,
Dr. *Robert Newlin*,	*Corp. Chr. College*,	Dr. *Edw. Staunton*,
Dr. *Gilbert Sheldon*,	*All Souls College*,	Dr. *Meredith*, *dec.*
Dr. *Thomas Yate*,	*Braz. Noſe College*,	Dr. *D. Greenwood*,
Mr. *Henry Wightwick*,	*Pembroke College*,	Dr. *Henry Langley*.

N. B. This Mr. *Wightwick* was ejected a ſecond time 1664.

———————	*St. Mary's Hall*,	Mr. *Thomas Cole*,	Hiſt. Prof. Greſh. 246, 154.
Dr. *Rob. Saunderſon*,	*Regius Prof.* in *divinity*,	Dr. *John Conant*,	
Dr. *Thomas Willis*,	*Nat. Philoſph. reader*,	Dr. *Joſh. Croſſe*,	

Dr.

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Dr. *John Fell*,	*Can.* of *Chr. Ch.* & *Uni. orator*,	Mr. *Ralph Button*,
Dr. *Robert South*,		
Dr. *Thomas Barlow*,	*Can.* of *Chr. Ch.* & *Marg. Prof.*	Dr. *Hen. Wilkinſon*, ſen.

And fellows. Beſides theſe, all ſurviving ejected fellows of colleges were inſtated without exceptions, and ſuch as had been nominated by the commiſſioners in 1648, or elected in any other manner than according to the ſtatutes, were ejected and their places declared vacant.

Reformation of the univerſity of Camb. K. Chr. p. 221.

The like alterations were made in the univerſity of *Cambridge*. The earl of *Mancheſter* chancellor, was obliged to ſend the following letter to the univerſity, dated *Auguſt* 3, for reſtoring Dr. *Martin* to the maſterſhip of *Queen's College*, whom he had ejected for *ſcandal* by letters under his hand, dated *March* 13, 1643.

Ib. p. 222.

"Whereas I am informed, that Dr. *Ed. Martin* has been wrongfully put out of his maſterſhip, theſe are to ſignify to all whom it may concern, that I do, by virtue of an authority given to me, by the lords aſſembled in parliament, reſtore him to his ſaid maſterſhip, together with all lodgings, *&c.* appertaining to his place, from henceforth to have and eujoy all profits, rights, privileges, and advantages, belonging thereunto, unleſs cauſe be ſhewn to the contrary within ten days after the date hereof." This gentleman was accordingly reſtored, and with him ſeveral others; as,

Heads of colleges reſtored,	Maſter of	In the place of heads ejected,
Dr. *J. Coſins*,	*Peter-Houſe*,	Dr. *Laz. Seaman*,
Dr. *Tho. Paſke*,	*Clare Hall*,	Reſigned to Dr. *Theo. Dillingham*,
Dr. *Benj. Laney*,	*Pembroke Hall*,	Mr. *Will. Moſes*,
Dr. *Rob. King*,	*Trinity Hall*,	Mr. *Bond*,
Dr. *Rich. Sterne*,	*Jeſus College*,	Mr. *John Worthington*,
Dr. *Edward Rainbowe*,	*Magd. Coll.* eject for refuſing Eng.	Mr. *John Sadleir*.

Faſti. p. 120.

New creations in the univerſities. Kennet's Chron. p. 220, 221, *&c.*

All the ſurviving fellows unmarried were reſtored, as in the other univerſity, by which means moſt of the preſbyterians were diſpoſſeſſed, and the education of youth taken out of their hands. To make way for the filling up theſe and other vacancies in the church, the *honours of the univerſities* were offered to almoſt any, who would declare their averſion to preſby-

preſbytery, and hearty affection for epiſcopal government. It was his majeſty's pleaſure, and the chancellor's, that there ſhould be a creation in all faculties of ſuch as had ſuffered for the royal cauſe, and had been ejected from the univerſity by the viſitors in 1648. Accordingly between ſeventy and eighty maſters of arts were created this year, among whom (ſays the *Oxford* hiſtorian) ſome that had not been ſufferers thruſt themſelves into the croud for their money; others, yet few, were gentlemen, and created by the favour of the chancellor's letters only; eighteen were created batchelors of divinity, ſeventy doctors of divinity, twenty-two doctors of phyſic, beſides doctors of laws. The creations in the univerſity of *Cambridge* were yet more numerous. On *Midſummer* day, a *grace* paſſed in the univerſity in favour of ſome candidates for degrees. *Auguſt* 2 the king ſent letters to *Cambridge* for creating nine or ten perſons, doctors of divinity; and on the fifth of *September* there were created by virtue of his majeſty's *mandamus* no leſs than ſeventy-one doctors of divinity, nine doctors of civil law, five doctors of phyſic, and five bachelors of divinity. So that within the compaſs of little more than ſix months, the univerſities conferred one hundred and fifty doctors of divinity degrees, and as many more in the other faculties. Some of theſe were deſerving perſons, but the names of them are no where to be found but in the univerſity regiſters. Had the parliament viſitors in 1648, or *O. Cromwell* in his protectorſhip, made ſo free with the honours of the univerſities, they might juſtly have been ſuppoſed to countenance the *illiterate*, and proſtitute the honour of the two great luminaries of this kingdom; but his majeſty's promoting ſuch numbers in ſo ſhort a time by a *royal mandamus*, without enquiring into their qualifications, or inſiſting upon their performing any academical exerciſe, muſt be covered with a vail, becauſe it was for the ſervice of the church. In the midſt of theſe promotions, the marquis of *Hertford* chancellor of the univerſity of *Oxford*, died, and was ſucceeded by Sir *Edward Hyde*, now lord chancellor of *England*, and created about this time earl of *Clarendon*. He was inſtalled *Nov.* 15, and continued in this office till he retired into *France* in the year 1667.

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Kennet's Chron. p. 332.

Ib. p. 251.

Theſe promotions made way for filling up the vacancies in cathedrals; *July* 5, Dr. *Killigrew*, *Jones*, *Doughty*, and *Buſby*, were inſtalled prebendaries of *Weſtminſter*; and within a mouth or ſix weeks four more were added. In the months of *July* and *Auguſt*, all the dignities in the cathedral of St. *Paul*'s were filled up, being upwards of twenty. *July* 13 twelve divines were inſtalled prebendaries in the cathedral of *Canterbury*; and before the end of the year, all the dignities in the cathedrals of *Durham*, *Cheſter*, *Litchfield*, *Briſtol*, *Hereford*, *Worceſter*, *Glouceſter*, &c.

Vacancies in cathedrals filled up. Ken. Chron. p. 179.

Ib. p. 204.

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were ſupplied with younger divines, who ran violently in the current of the times.

The old ſurviving biſhops. Kennet, p. 252.

There were only nine biſhops alive at the king's reſtoration, *viz.*

Dr. *William Juxon*,	Biſhop of *London*,
Dr. *Wiliam Pierſe*,	*Bath* and *Wells*,
Dr. *Matthew Wren*,	*Ely*,
Dr. *Robert Skinner*,	*Oxford*,
Dr. *William Roberts*,	*Bangor*,
Dr. *John Warner*,	*Rocheſter*,
Dr. *Bryan Duppa*,	*Sarum*,
Dr. *Henry King*,	*Chicheſter*,
Dr. *Accepted Frewen*,	*Litchf.* and *Coventry*.

In order to make way for a new creation, ſome of the biſhops abovementioned were tranſlated to better ſees; as

Tranſlation of biſhops. p. 176.

Dr. *Juxon* biſhop of *London*, to *Canterbury*, who was promoted more out of decency (ſays biſhop *Burnet*) as being the eldeſt and moſt eminent of the ſurviving biſhops: He never was a great man, but was now ſuperannuated.

Wood *and* Walker.

Dr. *Accepted Frewen* was tranſlated to *York Sept.* 22, and confirmed *October* 4. He was the ſon of a puritanical miniſter, and himſelf inclined that way, till ſome time after the beginning of the civil wars, when he became a great loyaliſt, and was promoted in the year 1644 to the ſee of *Litchfield* and *Coventry*: He made no figure in the learned world, and died in the year 1664.

Dr. *Bryan Duppa* was tranſlated to *Wincheſter*, and confirmed *October* 4. He had been the king's tutor, though no way equal to the ſervice. He was a meek humble man, and much beloved for his good temper (ſays biſhop *Burnet*), and would have been more eſteemed if he had died before the reſtoration, for he made not that uſe of the great wealth that flowed in upon him, as was expected. p. 177.

To make way for the election of new biſhops in a regular and canonical manner, it was firſt neceſſary to reſtore to every cathedral a dean and chapter; which being done,

New biſhops created. p. 176.

Dr. *Gilbert Sheldon* was advanced to the ſee of *London*; he was eſteemed a learned man before the civil wars, but had ſince engaged ſo deep in politics (ſays *Burnet*), that ſcarce any prints of what he had been remained; he was a dextrous man in buſineſs, and treated all men in an obliging manner, but few depended much on his profeſſions of friendſhip. He ſeemed not to have a deep ſenſe of religion, if any at all; and ſpoke of it

it moſt commonly as an engine of government, and a matter of policy, for which reaſon the king looked upon him as a wiſe and honeſt clergyman. He was one of the moſt powerful and implacable adverſaries of the non-conformiſts. *King* Charles II. 1660.

Dr. *Henchman* was conſecrated biſhop of *Sarum*, and Dr. *George Morley* biſhop of *Worceſter Octob.* 28. *December* 2 ſeven biſhops were conſecrated together in St. *Peter's Weſtminſter* (*viz.*)

Dr. *John Coſins*,	Biſhop of *Durham*,
Dr. *William Lucy*,	*St. David's*,
Dr. *Benjamin Laney*,	*Peterborough*,
Dr. *Hugh Loyd*,	*Landaff*,
Dr. *Richard Sterne*,	*Carliſle*,
Dr. *Bryan Walton*,	*Cheſter*,
Dr. *John Gauden*.	*Exeter*.

On the ſixth of *January* following four other biſhops were conſecrated (*viz.*)

Dr. *Gilbert Ironſide*,	Biſhop of *Briſtol*,
Dr. *Edward Reynolds*,	*Norwich*,
Dr. *Nicholas Monk*,	*Hereford*,
Dr. *William Nicholſon*,	*Glouceſter*.

Four or five ſees were kept vacant for the leading divines among the preſbyterians, if they would conform; but they declined, as will be ſeen hereafter. In *Scotland* and *Ireland* things were not quite ſo ripe for execution; the *ſcots* parliament diſannulled the covenant, but epiſcopacy was not eſtabliſhed in either of the kingdoms till next year.

The *engliſh* hierarchy being reſtored to its former preheminence, except the peerage of the biſhops, it remained only to conſider what was to be done with the malecontents; the *independents* and *anabaptiſts* petitioned the king only for a toleration; and the *engliſh* papiſts depending upon their intereſt at court, offered his majeſty one hundred thouſand pounds before he left *Breda*, to take off the penal laws, upon which his majeſty ordered the chancellor to inſert the following clauſe in his declaration concerning eccleſiaſtical affairs, that *others alſo be permitted to meet for religious worſhip, ſo be it they do it not to the diſturbance of the peace; and that no juſtice of peace offer to diſturb them.* When this was debated in the king's preſence after the reſtoration, the biſhops wiſely held their peace; but Mr. *Baxter* who was more zealous than prudent, declared plainly

Of the independents, anabaptiſts *and* papiſts. K. Chron. p. 142.

Ib. Comp. Hiſt. p. 258.

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plainly his diſlike of a toleration of papiſts and ſocinians; which his majeſty took ſo very ill, that he ſaid, the preſbyterians were a ſet of men who were only for ſetting up themſelves. Theſe ſtill flattered themſelves with hopes of a comprehenſion, but the *independents* and *baptiſts* were in deſpair.

Of the times before the reſtoration.

And here was an end of thoſe diſtracted times, which our hiſtorians have loaded with all the infamy and reproach that the wit of man could invent. The *puritan* miniſters have been decried as ignorant mechanicks, canting preachers, enemies to learning, and no better than public robbers. The univerſities were ſaid to be reduced to a meer *Munſter*; and that if the *goths* and *vandals*, and even the *turks*, had over-run the nation, they could not have done more to introduce barbariſm, diſloyalty, and ignorance; and yet in theſe times, and by the men who then filled the univerſity chairs, were educated the moſt learned divines and eloquent preachers of the laſt age, as the *Stillingfleeet*'s, *Tillotſon*'s, *Bull*'s, *Barrow*'s, *Whitby*'s, and others, who retained a high veneration for their learned tutors after they were ejected and diſplaced. The religious part of the common people have been ſtigmatized with the character of *hypocrites*; their looks, their dreſs and behaviour, have been repreſented in the moſt odious colours; and yet one may venture to challenge theſe declaimers to produce any period of time ſince the reformation, wherein there was leſs open prophaneneſs and impiety, and more of the ſpirit as well as appearance of religion. Perhaps there was too much rigor and preciſeneſs in indifferent matters, but the luſts of men were laid under a viſible reſtraint; and tho' the legal conſtitution was unhappily broken, and men were governed by falſe politics, yet better laws were never made againſt vice, or more vigorouſly executed. The dreſs and converſation of people was ſober and virtuous, and their manner of living remarkably frugal: There was hardly a ſingle bankruptcy to be heard of in a year; and in ſuch a caſe the bankrupt had a mark of infamy upon him that he could never wipe off. Drunkenneſs, fornication, prophane ſwearing, and every kind of debauchery, were juſtly deemed infamous, and univerſally diſcountenanced. The clergy were laborious to exceſs in preaching and praying, in catechizing youth, and viſiting their pariſhes. The magiſtrates did their duty in ſuppreſſing all kinds of games, ſtage-plays, and abuſes in public houſes. There was not a play acted on any theatre in *England* for almoſt twenty years. The *Lord*'s *day* was obſerved with unuſual reverence; and there were a ſet of as learned and pious youths training up in the univerſity as had ever been known. So that if ſuch a reformation of manners had obtained under a legal adminiſtration, they would have deſerved the character of the beſt of times.

But

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Of the times after the reſtoration.

But when the legal conſtitution was reſtored, there returned with it a torrent of debauchery and wickedneſs. The times which followed the reſtoration were the reverſe of thoſe that preceeded it; for the laws which had been enacted againſt vice for the laſt twenty years being declared null, and the magiſtrates changed, men ſet no bounds to their licentiouſneſs. A proclamation indeed was publiſhed againſt thoſe looſe and riotous cavaliers, whoſe loyalty conſiſted in drinking healths, and railing at thoſe who would not revel with them; but in reality the king was at the head of theſe diſorders; being devoted to his pleaſures, and having given himſelf up to an avowed courſe of lewdneſs; his biſhops and chaplains ſaid, that he uſually came from his miſtreſſes apartments to church, even on ſacrament days. There were two play-houſes erected in the neighbourhood of the court. *Women actreſſes* were introduced into the theatres, which had not been known till that time; the moſt lewd and obſcene plays were brought on the ſtage; and the more obſcene, the better was the king pleaſed, who graced every new play with his royal preſence. Nothing was to be ſeen at court but feaſting, hard drinking, revelling, and amorous intrigues, which engendered the moſt enormous vices. From court the contagion ſpread like wildfire among the people, inſomuch that men threw off the very profeſſion of virtue and piety, under colour of drinking the king's health; all kinds of *old cavalier rioting* and debauchery revived; the appearances of religion which remained with ſome, furniſhed matter of ridicule to libertines and ſcoffers: Some who had been concerned in the former changes, thought they could not redeem their credit better than by deriding all religion, and telling or making ſtories to render their former party ridiculous. To appear ſerious, or make conſcience either of words and actions, was the way to be accounted a ſchiſmatic, a fanatic, or a ſectarian; though if there was any real religion during the courſe of this reign, it was chiefly among thoſe people. They who did not applaud the new ceremonies were marked out for *preſbyterians*, and every preſbyterian was a *rebel*. The old clergy who had been ſequeſtered for ſcandal, having taken poſſeſſion of their livings, were intoxicated with their new felicity, and threw off all the reſtraints of *their order*; every week (ſays Mr. *Baxter*) produced reports of one or other clergyman who was taken up by the watch drunk at night, and mobbed in the ſtreets. Some were taken with lewd women; and one was reported to be drunk in the pulpit. Such was the general diſſolution of manners which attended the deluge of joy which overflowed the nation upon his majeſty's reſtoration!

K. Chron. p. 167.

Ib. p. 493.

Coke.

Life, part II. p. 287.

Death of Mr Taylor.

About this time died the reverend Mr. *Francis Taylor*, ſometime rector of *Clapham* in *Surrey*, and afterwards of *Yalden*, from whence he was called to ſit in the aſſembly of divines at *Weſtminſter*, and had a conſiderable

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ſiderable ſhare in the annotations which go under their name. From *Yalden* Mr. *Taylor* removed to *Canterbury*, and became preacher of *Chriſt Church* in that city, where I preſume he died, leaving behind him the character of an able critic in the oriental languages, and one of the moſt conſiderable divines of the aſſembly. He publiſhed ſeveral valuable works, and among others a tranſlation of the *Jeruſalem targum* on the *pentateuch* out of the *Chaldee* into *latin*, dedicated to the learned Mr. *Gataker* of *Rotherhithe*, with a prefatory epiſtle of *Selden*'s, and ſeveral others, relating to *jewiſh* antiquities. Among the letters to archbiſhop *Uſher* there is one from Mr. *Taylor*, dated from *Clapham* 1635. He correſponded alſo with *Boetius*, and moſt of the learned men of his time. He left behind him a ſon, who was blind, but ejected for non-conformity in the year 1662, from St. *Alphage* church in *Canterbury*, where he lies buried.

CHAP. V.

From the reſtoration of king CHARLES II. *to the conference at the* Savoy.

Views of the court and of the biſhops.

BEFORE we relate the conference between the epiſcopal and preſbyterian divines in order to a *comprehenſion*, it will be proper to repreſent the views of the court, and of the biſhops, who had promiſed to act with temper, and to bury all paſt offences under the foundation of the reſtoration. The point in debate was, *whether conceſſions ſhould be made, and pains taken to gain the preſbyterians?* The king ſeemed to be for it; but the court biſhops, with lord *Clarendon* at their head, were abſolutely againſt it: *Clarendon* was a man of high and arbitrary principles, and gave himſelf up to the biſhops, for the ſervice they had done him in reconciling the king to his daughter's clandeſtine marriage with the duke of *York*. If his lordſhip had been a friend to moderate meaſures, the greateſt part of the preſbyterians might have been gained; but he would not diſoblige the biſhops; the reaſons of whoſe angry behaviour, were 1. *Their high notions of the epiſcopal form of government as neceſſary to the very eſſence of a chriſtian church.* 2. *The reſentments that remained in their breaſts againſt all who had engaged with the long parliament, and had been the cauſe of their ſufferings.* 3. *The presbyterians being legally poſſeſſed of moſt of the*

benefices

benefices in church and ſtate, it was thought neceſſary to diſpoſſeſs them; and if there muſt be a ſchiſm, rather to have it out of the church than within it; for it had been obſerved, that the half conformity of the puritans before the war, had in moſt cities and corporations, occaſioned a faction between the *incumbents* and *lecturers*, which latter had endeavoured to render themſelves popular at the expence of the hierarchy. 4. Beſides, *they had too much influence in the election of repreſentatives to ſerve in parliament*; therefore inſtead of uſing methods to bring them into the church (ſays biſhop *Burnet*), they reſolved to ſeek the moſt effectual ones for caſting them out. Here was no generoſity, or ſpirit of catholiciſm, no remembrance of paſt ſervices, no compaſſion for weak or prejudiced minds, but a fixed reſolution to diſarm their opponents at all events; ſo that the enſuing conferences with the preſbyterians, were no other than an amuſement to keep them quiet, till they could obtain a law for their utter expulſion. *King* Charles II. 1660. p. 178, 179.

The king was devoted to his pleaſures, and had no principles of *real* religion; his grand deſign was to lay aſleep the former controverſies, and to unite both proteſtant and papiſt under his government; with this view he ſubmitted to the ſcheme of the biſhops, in hopes of making it ſubſervient to a *general toleration*; which nothing could render more neceſſary, than having great bodies of men ſhut out of the church, and put under ſevere penal laws, who muſt then be petitioners for a toleration which the legiſlature would probably grant; but it was his majeſty's reſolution, that *whatſoever ſhould be granted of that ſort ſhould paſs in ſo unlimited a manner, that papiſts as well as other ſectaries ſhould be comprekended within it.* The duke of *York* and all the *roman* catholics were in this ſcheme; they declared abſolutely againſt a *comprehenſion*, but were very much for a *general toleration*, as what was neceſſary for the peace of the nation, and promoting the catholic cauſe. *And of the king and duke of* York.

The well meaning preſbyterians were all this while ſtriving againſt the ſtream, and making intereſt with a ſet of men who were now laughing in their ſleeves at the abject condition to which their egregious credulity had reduced them. They offered archbiſhop *Uſher's* model of primitive epiſcopacy as a plan of accommodation; that the *ſurplice*, the *croſs* in baptiſm, and *kneeling* at the communion, ſhould be left indifferent. They were content to ſet aſide the *aſſembly's confeſſion*, and let the articles of the church of *England* take place with ſome few amendments. About the middle of *June* Mr. *Calamy*, Dr. *Reynolds*, Mr. *Aſhe*, Mr. *Baxter*, Dr. *Wallis*, Dr. *Manton*, and Dr. *Spurſtow*, waited upon the king, being introduced by the earl of *Manchеſter*, to crave his majeſty's interpoſition for reconciling the differences in the church; that the people might not be deprived of their faithful paſtors: Honeſt Mr. *Baxter* told Preſbyterians *addreſs for a comprehenſion.* K. Chron. p. 173. K. Chron. p. 182.

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told his majeſty, that the intereſt of the late uſurpers with the people aroſe from the encouragement they had given religion; and he hoped the king would not undo, but rather go beyond the good which *Cromwell*, or any other had done. They laid a good deal of ſtreſs on their own loyalty, and carefully diſtinguiſhed between their own behaviour and that of other ſectaries, who had been diſloyal and factious. The king replied, that

Ib. p. 183. "he was glad to hear of their inclinations to an agreement; that he "would do his part to bring them together, but this muſt not be by "bringing one party over to another, but by abating ſomewhat on both "ſides and meeting in the midway; and that if it was not accompliſhed "it ſhould not be his fault; nay, he ſaid, he was reſolved to ſee it "brought to paſs." Accordingly his majeſty required them to draw up ſuch propoſals as they thought meet for an agreement about church government, and to ſet down the moſt they could yield; promiſing them a meeting with ſome epiſcopal divines in his majeſty's preſence, when the propoſals were ready. Upon this they ſummoned the city miniſters to meet and conſult at *Sion College*, not excluding ſuch of their country brethren as would attend, that it might not be ſaid afterwards they took upon themſelves the concluding ſo weighty an affair. After two or three weeks conſultation they agreed upon a paper to the following purpoſe, drawn up chiefly by Dr. *Reynolds*, Dr. *Worth*, and Mr. *Calamy*, which, together with archbiſhop *Uſher*'s reduction of epiſcopacy, they offered to the king, with the following addreſs.

Baxter, part II. p. 232.

May it pleaſe your moſt excellent majeſty,

"WE your majeſty's moſt loyal ſubjects cannot but acknowledge "it as a very great mercy of God, that immediately after ſo "wonderful and peaceable reſtoration to your throne and government (for "which we bleſs his name), he has ſtirred up your royal heart, as to a "zealous teſtimony againſt prophaneneſs, ſo to endeavour an happy com-"poſing of the differences, and healing the ſad breaches which are in the "church. And we ſhall, according to our bounden duty, become "humble ſuitors to the throne of grace, that the God of peace, who "has put ſuch a thing as this into your majeſty's heart, will, by his hea-"venly wiſdom and holy ſpirit, aſſiſt you herein, that you may bring "your reſolutions to a perfect effect and iſſue ——

"In humble conformity to your majeſty's chriſtian deſigns, we taking it "for granted, that there is a firm agreement between our brethren and us, "in the doctrinal truths of the reformed religion, and in the ſubſtantial "parts of divine worſhip, humbly deſire

Firſt,

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Abſtract of their firſt paper of propoſals. Baxter, part II. p. 232.

Firſt, " That we may be ſecured of thoſe things in practice, of which " we ſeem to be agreed in principle; as,

1. " That thoſe of our flocks that are ſerious in matters of their ſal- " vation, may not be reproachfully handled by words of ſcorn, or any " abuſive language, but may be encouraged in their duties of ex- " horting and provoking one another in their moſt holy faith, and of " furthering one another in the ways of eternal life.

2. " That each congregation may have a learned, orthodox, and godly " paſtor, that the people may be publicly inſtructed by preaching every " Lord's day, by catechiſing, by frequent adminiſtring the Lord's ſup- " per and baptiſm; and that effectual proviſion by law may be made, " that ſuch as are inſufficient, negligent, or ſcandalous, may not offi- " ciate.

3. " That none may be admitted to the Lord's ſupper till they per- " ſonally own their baptiſmal covenant, by a credible profeſſion of faith " and holineſs, not contradicted by a ſcandalous life. That to ſuch on- " ly *confirmation* may be adminiſtered; and that the approbation of the " paſtor, to whom the inſtructing thoſe under his charge doth appertain " may be produced, before any perſon receives confirmation.

4. " That an effectual courſe be taken for the ſanctification of the " Lord's day, appropriating the ſame to holy exerciſes both in public and " private, without any unneceſſary divertiſements."

" Then for matters in difference (*viz.*) church government, liturgy, " and ceremonies, we humbly repreſent,

" That we do not renounce the true antient primitive epiſcopacy or " preſidency, as it was ballanced with a due commixtion of preſbyters. " If therefore your majeſty in your grave wiſdom and moderation, " ſhall conſtitute ſuch an epiſcopacy, we ſhall humbly ſubmit there- " unto. And in order to an accommodation in this weighty affair, " we deſire humbly to offer ſome particulars, which we conceive were " amiſs in the epiſcopal government, as it was practiſed before the year " 1640.

1. " The great extent of the biſhop's dioceſe, which we apprehend " too large for his perſonal inſpection.

2. " That by reaſon of this diſability, the biſhops did depute the ad- " miniſtration, in matters of ſpiritual cognizance, to commiſſaries, " chancellors, officials, whereof ſome are ſecular perſons, and could " not adminſter that power that originally belongs to the officers of the " church.

3. " That the biſhops did aſſume the ſole power of ordination and " juriſdiction to themſelves.

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4. "That ſome of the biſhops exerciſed an arbitrary power, by ſending forth articles of viſitation, enquiring unwarrantably into ſeveral things; and ſwearing church-wardens to preſent accordingly. Alſo many innovations and ceremonies were impoſed upon miniſters and people not required by law.

"For remedy of theſe evils we crave leave to offer,

1. "The late moſt reverend primate of *Ireland*, his reduction of epiſcopacy into the form of ſynodical government.

2. "We humbly deſire, that the *ſuffragans*, or *chorepiſcopi*, may be choſen by the reſpective ſynods.

3. "That no oaths, or promiſes of obedience to the biſhops, nor any unneceſſary ſubſcriptions or engagements be made neceſſary to ordination, inſtitution, or induction, miniſtration, communion, or immunities of miniſters, they being reſponſible for any tranſgreſſion of the law. And that no biſhops or eccleſiaſtical governors may exerciſe their government by their private will or pleaſure, but only by ſuch rule, canons, and conſtitutions, as ſhall be eſtabliſhed by parliament."

Secondly, "Concerning liturgy.

1. "We are ſatisfied in our judgments concerning the lawfulneſs of a liturgy, or form of worſhip, provided it be for matter agreeable to the word of God, and ſuited to the nature of the ſeveral ordinances and neceſſities of the church, neither too tedious, nor compoſed of too ſhort prayers or reſponſals, not diſſonant from the liturgies of other reformed churches, nor too rigorouſly impoſed, nor the miniſter confined thereunto, but that he may alſo make uſe of his gifts for prayer and exhortation.

2. "Foraſmuch as the book of common-prayer is in ſome things juſtly offenſive, and needs amendment, we moſt humbly pray, that ſome learned, godly, and moderate divines of both perſuaſions, may be employed to compile ſuch a form as is before deſcribed, as much as may be in ſcripture words; or at leaſt to reviſe, and reform the old; together with an addition of other various forms in ſcripture phraſe, to be uſed at the miniſter's choice."

Thirdly, "Concerning ceremonies.

"We hold ourſelves obliged in every part of divine worſhip, to do all things decently and in order, and to edification; and are willing to be determined by authority in ſuch things, as being meerly circumſtantial, are common to human actions and ſocieties, and are to be ordered by the light of nature, and human prudence.

"As to divers ceremonies formerly retained in the church of *England*, we do, in all humility, offer to your majeſty the following conſiderations.

"That

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"That the worſhip of God is in itſelf pure and perfect, and decent, "without any ſuch ceremonies. That it is then moſt pure and accept- "able, when it has leaſt of human mixtures. That theſe ceremonies "have been impoſed and advanced by ſome, ſo as to draw near to the "ſignificancy and moral efficacy of ſacraments. That they have been "rejected by many of the reformed churches abroad, and have been ever "the ſubject of contention and endleſs diſputes in this church; and there- "fore being in their own nature indifferent, and mutable, they ought to "be changed, leſt in time they ſhould be apprehended as neceſſary as the "ſubſtantials of worſhip themſelves.

"May it therefore pleaſe your majeſty graciouſly to grant, that *kneeling* "*at the Lord's ſupper*, and ſuch *holy days* as are but of human inſtitution, "may not be impoſed on ſuch as ſcruple them. That the *uſe of the* "*ſurplice and croſs in baptiſm, and bowing at the name of Jeſus*, may "be aboliſhed. And foraſmuch as erecting altars and bowing towards "them, and ſuch like (having no foundation in the law of the land) "have been introduced and impoſed, we humbly beſeech your ma- "jeſty, that ſuch innovations may not be uſed or impoſed for the fu- "ture."

Their reception.

When the preſbyterian divines came to court with theſe propoſals, the king received them favourably, and promiſed to bring both parties together. His majeſty expreſſed a ſatisfaction in hearing they were diſpoſed to a liturgy, and forms of prayer, and that they were willing to yield to the eſſence of epiſcopacy, and therefore doubted not of procuring an accommodation. The miniſters expected to have met the biſhops with their papers of propoſals, but none of them appeared, having been better inſtructed in a private conference with the lord chancellor *Hyde*, who told them, it was not their buſineſs to offer propoſals, becauſe *they were in poſſeſſion of the laws of the land*; that the *hierarchy* and *ſervice book* being the only legal eſtabliſhment, ought to be the ſtandard of agreement; and therefore their only concern was to anſwer the exceptions of the miniſters againſt it. Accordingly, inſtead of a conference, or paper of propoſals, which the miniſters expected, the biſhops having obtained a copy of the paper of the preſbyterians, drew up an anſwer in writing, which was communicated to their miniſters *July* 8.

Abſtract of the biſhops reply. K. Chron. p. 200. Baxter's *Life*, part II. p. 242.

In this anſwer, the biſhops take notice of the miniſters conceſſions in their preamble, as *that they agree with them in the ſubſtantials of doctrine and worſhip*; and infer from thence, that their particular exceptions are of leſs importance, and ought not to be ſtiffly inſiſted on to the diſturbance of the peace of the church.

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To the particulars they anſwer,

1. *Concerning church government*, "That they never heard any juſt "reaſons for a diſſent from the eccleſiaſtical hierarchy of this kingdom, "which they believe in the main to be the true *primitive epiſcopacy*, "which was more than a meer preſidency of order. Nor do they "find that it was ballanced by any authoritative commixtion of preſby- "ters, though it has been in all times exerciſed with the aſſiſtance and "councel of preſbyters in ſubordination to biſhops. They wonder "that they ſhould except againſt the government by one ſingle per- "ſon, which, if applied to the civil magiſtrate, is a moſt dangerous in- "ſinuation."

Baxter, p. 243.

As to the four particular inſtances of things amiſs.

1. "We cannot grant the extent of any dioceſe is ſo great, but that a "*biſhop* may well perform his duty, which is not a perſonal inſpection of "every man's ſoul, but the paſtoral charge, or taking care that the mi- "niſters, and other eccleſiaſtical officers within their dioceſe, do their "duties; and if ſome dioceſes ſhould be too large, the law allows *ſuf-* "*fragans*.

2. "Concerning *lay-chancellors*, *&c.* we confeſs the biſhops did de- "pute part of their eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction to *chancellors*, *commiſſaries*, "*officials*, &c. as men better ſkilled in the civil and canon laws; but "as for matters of meer ſpiritual concernment, as *excommunication*, *ab-* "*ſolution*, and other cenſures of the church, we conceive they be- "long properly to the biſhop himſelf, or his ſurrogate, wherein if "any thing has been done amiſs, we are willing it ſhould be re- "formed.

3. Whether *biſhops* are a diſtinct order from *presbyters*, or not; or "whether they have the ſole power of ordination, is not now the queſ- "tion; but we affirm, that the biſhops of this realm have conſtantly or- "dained with the aſſiſtance of preſbyters, and the impoſition of their hands "together with the biſhops, and for this purpoſe the colleges of deans "and chapters are inſtituted.

4. "As to archbiſhop *Uſher*'s model of church government, we de- "cline it, as not conſiſtent with his other learned diſcourſes on the origi- "nal of epiſcopacy, and of metropolitans; nor with the king's ſupremacy "in cauſes eccleſiaſtical."

II. *Concerning liturgy.*

"We eſteem the liturgy of the church of *England*, contained in the "book of common-prayer, and by law eſtabliſhed, to be ſuch an one "as is by them deſired, according to the qualifications which they mention;

" mention; the diſuſe of which has been the cauſe of the ſad diviſions " of the church, and the reſtoring it may be, by God's bleſſing, a ſpe- " cial means of making up the breach. Nor can the impoſition of it be " called rigorous, as long as clergymen have the liberty of uſing their " gifts before and after ſermon. Nevertheleſs we are not againſt reviſing " the liturgy, by ſuch diſcreet perſons as his majeſty ſhall think fit to em- " ploy therein." *King* Charles II. 1660.

III. *Of ceremonies.*

" Lawful authority has already determined the *ceremonies in queſtion* to " be decent and orderly, and for edification, and conſequently to be " agreeable to the general rules of the word. We allow the worſhip of " God is in itſelf perfect in eſſentials, but ſtill the church is at liberty to " improve it with circumſtantials for decency and order. Ceremonies " were never eſteemed to be *ſacraments*, nor impoſed as ſuch; they are " retained by moſt proteſtant churches; and that they have been the ſub- " ject of contention is owing to mens weakneſs, and their unwillingneſs to " ſubmit their private opinions to the public judgment of the church. " We acknowledge, that theſe things are in their nature mutable, but " we can by no means think it expedient to remove them. However as " we are no way againſt ſuch a tender and religious compaſſion in things " of this nature, as his majeſty's piety and wiſdom ſhall think fit to extend; " ſo we cannot think that the ſatisfaction of ſome private perſons, is to be " laid in the balance againſt the public peace and uniformity of the " church.

" As for *kneeling at the Lord's ſupper*, it is a geſture of the " greateſt reverence and devotion, and ſo moſt agreeable to that holy " ſervice.

" *Holy days* of human inſtitution having been obſerved by the people " of God in the old teſtament, and by our bleſſed Saviour himſelf in " the goſpel, and by all the churches of Chriſt in the primitive and " following times, as apt means to preſerve the memorials of the chief " myſteries of the chriſtian religion: And ſuch *holy days* alſo being " fit times for the honeſt recreation of the meaner ſort of people; " for theſe reaſons we humbly deſire they may be continued in the " church.

" As for the three other ceremonies, the *ſurplice*, the *croſs after bap-* " *tiſm*, and *bowing at the name of Jeſus*, though we ſee not any ſufficient " reaſon why they ſhould be utterly aboliſhed, nevertheleſs, how far forth, " in regard of tender conſciences, a liberty may be thought fit to be in- " dulged to any, his majeſty is beſt able to judge.

They

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They conclude thus, "We are ſo far from believing that his majeſty's "condeſcending to the miniſters demands, will take away not only our "differences, but the roots and cauſes of them, that we are confident "it will prove the ſeminary of new differences, both by giving diſſatiſ- "faction to thoſe that are well pleaſed with what is already eſtabliſhed, "who are much the greateſt part of his majeſty's ſubjects; and by en- "couraging unquiet ſpirits, when theſe things ſhall be granted, to make "further demands; there being no aſſurance by them given, what will "content all diſſenters, than which nothing is more neceſſary for ſettling "a firm peace in the church."

Abſtract of the preſbyterians *defence of their propoſals.* K. Chr. p. 205. Baxter, part II. p. 248.

About a week after, the preſbyterian divines ſent the biſhops a warm remonſtrance, and defence of their propoſals, drawn up chiefly by Mr. *Baxter*, to the following purpoſe.

Concerning the preamble.

"We are not inſenſible of the danger of the church, through the doc- "trinal errors of thoſe with whom we differ about points of government "and worſhip; but we chooſe to ſay nothing of the party that we are "agreed with in doctrinals, becauſe we both ſubſcribe the ſame holy ſcrip- "tures, articles of religion, and books of homilies; and the contradictions "to their own confeſſions, which too many are guilty of, we did not "think juſt to charge upon the *whole*."

Concerning church-government.

"Had you read *Gerſon*, *Bucer*, *Parker*, *Baynes*, *Salmaſius*, *Blondel*, "*&c.* you would have ſeen juſt reaſon given for our diſſent from the ec- "cleſiaſtical hierarchy as ſtated in *England*."

Inſtances of things amiſs.

"You would eaſily grant that *dioceſes* are too great, if you had ever "conſcionably tried the taſk which Dr. *Hammond* deſcribeth as the bi- "ſhop's work; or had ever believed *Ignatius*, and other antient deſ- "criptions of a biſhop's church. You cannot be ignorant, that our "biſhops have the ſole government of paſtors and people; that the "whole power of the keys is in their hands, and that their preſbyters "are but cyphers."

Con-

Concerning Ceremonies.

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"These divines argue for leaving them indifferent for the peace of the "church, as being not essential to the perfection of christian worship, es- "pecially when so many looked upon them as sinful."

They conclude thus, "We perceive your *councels against peace* are not "likely to be frustrated. Your desires concerning us are likely to be ac- "complished. You are like to be gratified with our silence and ejection; "and yet we will believe, that *blessed are the peace-makers*; and though "we are prevented by you in our pursuits of peace, and are never like "thus publicly to seek it more, yet are we resolved, as much as possible, "to live peaceably with all men."

The beginning of the sufferings of the presbyterians.

The eyes of the presbyterians were now opened, and they began to discern their weakness in expecting an agreement with the bishops, who appeared to be exasperated, and determined to tie them down to the old establishment. The former severities began already to be revived, and the laws were put in execution against some who did not make use of the old *liturgy*. Many were suspended and turned out of their livings on this account; upon which the leading presbyterians applied to the king, and humbly requested,

Who apply to the king. Baxter's *life*, part II. p. 241.

1. "That they might with all convenient speed, see his majesty's con- "clusions upon the proposals of mutual condescensions, before they pass in- "to resolves.

2. "That his majesty would publicly declare his pleasure, for the sus- "pension of all proceedings upon the act of uniformity, against non-con- "formists to the liturgy and ceremonies, till they saw the issue of their "hoped-for agreement.

3. "That until the said settlement, there may be no oath of ca- "nonical obedience, nor subscription to the liturgy and ceremonies "required, nor renunciation of their ordination by meer presbyters, "imposed as necessary to institution induction or confirmation.

4. "That his majesty would cause the broad seal to be revoked, "where persons had been put into the possession of the livings of others "not void by sequestration, but by the death of the former incum- "bents.

5. "That a remedy may be provided against the return of scandalous "ministers, into the places from whence they had been ejected."

An assembly of divines to peruse the king's declaration.

His majesty gave them a civil audience, and told them, he would put what he thought fit to grant them into the form of a *declaration*, which they

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they ſhould have the liberty of peruſing, before it was made public. A copy of this was accordingly delivered by the chancellor to Mr. *Baxter*, and other preſbyterian divines *Sept.* 4, with liberty to make exceptions, and give notice of what they diſliked. Theſe divines petitioned for ſome further amendments and alterations; upon which the king appointed a day to hear what could be ſaid on both ſides, and came to the chancellor's houſe *October* 22, attended by the dukes of *Albemarle* and *Ormond*, the earls of *Mancheſter*, *Angleſea*, and lord *Hollis*.

K. Ch. p. 279. Baxter's *life*, part II. p. 275, 276.

On the part of the biſhops were,

Dr. *Sheldon*,	Biſhop of *London*,
Dr. *Morley*,	*Worceſter*,
Dr. *Henchman*,	*Saliſbury*,
Dr. *Coſins*,	*Durham*,
Dr. *Gauden*,	*Exeter*,
Dr. *Hacket*,	*Litchf. and Coventry*,
Dr. *Barwick*,	Dean of St. *Paul's*,
Dr. *Gunning*, &c.	

On the ſide of the preſbyterians were,

Dr. *Reynolds*,	Dr. *Manton*,
Mr. *Calamy*,	Mr. *Baxter*,
Dr. *Spurſtow*,	Dr. *Wallis*,
Mr. *Aſhe*,	

As the chancellor read over the declaration, each party were to alledge their exceptions, and the king to determine. The chief debates were on the high power of the biſhops, and the neceſſity of re-ordination. Biſhop *Morley* and doctor *Gunning* ſpoke moſt on one ſide; and Mr. *Calamy* and *Baxter* on the other. Upon hearing the whole, his majeſty delivered his judgment as to what he thought proper ſhould ſtand in the *declaration*; and appointed biſhop *Morley* and *Henchman*, doctor *Reynolds* and Mr. *Calamy* to expreſs it in proper words; and if they diſagreed, the earl of *Angleſea* and lord *Hollis* to decide.

Ib. p. 278.

At length the declaration, with ſuch amendments as the king would admit, was publiſhed under the following title.

His

His majeſty's declaration to all his loving ſubjects of his kingdom of England *and dominion of* Wales, *concerning eccleſiaſtical affairs.* Given at our court at *Whitehall, October* 25, 1660, in the twelfth year of our reign.

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Abſtract of the king's declaration concerning eccleſiaſtical affairs. K. Chron. p. 289.

The declaration being long, and to be met with in moſt of our hiſtorians, I ſhall give the reader only an abſtract of it.

CHARLES REX.

" IN our letter from *Breda* we promiſed in due time to propoſe ſome-
" thing to the world for the propagation of the proteſtant religion;
" and we think ourſelf more competent to propoſe, and with God's aſ-
" ſiſtance determine many things now in difference, from the experience
" we have had in moſt of the reformed churches abroad, where we have
" had frequent conferences with the moſt learned men, who have unani-
" mouſly lamented the diſtempers, and too notorious ſchiſms in matters
" of religion in *England.*

Compl. Hiſt. Vol. III. p. 246. Baxter's *life*, part II. p. 259.

" When we were in *Holland* we were attended by many grave and
" learned miniſters from hence of the preſbyterian opinion, and to our
" great ſatisfaction we found them full of affection to us, no enemies to
" epiſcopacy or liturgy (as they have been reported to be), but modeſt-
" ly deſiring ſuch alterations as without ſhattering foundations might give
" eaſe to the tenderneſs of ſome men's conſciences. For the doing of this,
" we intended to have called a ſynod of divines, but obſerving the over
" paſſionate and turbulent way of proceeding of ſome perſons, and the
" impatience of others for a ſpeedy determination of theſe matters, we
" have been prevailed with to invert the method we propoſed, and to
" give ſome determination ourſelf to the matters in difference, till ſuch a
" ſynod may be called, as may without paſſion or prejudice, give us
" ſuch further aſſiſtance towards a perfect union of affections, as well as
" ſubmiſſion to authority as is neceſſary.

" We muſt, for the honour of all with whom we have conferred, de-
" clare, that the profeſſions and deſires of all for the advancement of piety
" and true godlineſs are the ſame; their profeſſions of zeal for the peace
" of the church, and of affection and duty to us, the ſame; they all ap-
" prove epiſcopacy and a liturgy, and diſapprove of ſacrilege, and the alie-
" nation of the revenues of the church."

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His majeſty then declares his eſteem and affection for the church of *England*, and that his eſteem of it is not leſſened by his condeſcending to diſpenſe with ſome particular ceremonies, and then proceeds to his conceſſions.

1. "We declare our purpoſe and reſolution is, and ſhall be, to promote the power of godlineſs, to encourage the public and private exerciſes of religion, to take care of the due obſervation of the Lord's day; and that inſufficient, negligent, and ſcandalous miniſters be not permitted in the church. We ſhall take care to prefer none to the epiſcopal office and charge but men of learning, virtue, and piety; and we ſhall provide the beſt we can, that the biſhops be frequent preachers, and that they do often preach in ſome church or other of their dioceſe.

2. "Becauſe ſome dioceſes may be of too large extent, we will appoint ſuch a number of ſuffragans, as ſhall be ſufficient for the due performance of their work.

3. "No biſhops ſhall ordain or exerciſe any part of juriſdiction which appertains to the cenſures of the church, without advice and aſſiſtance of the preſbyters. No chancellors, commiſſaries or officials, ſhall excommunicate, abſolve, or exerciſe any act of ſpiritual juriſdiction, wherein any of the miniſtry are concerned with reference to their paſtoral charge. Nor ſhall the archdeacon exerciſe any juriſdiction without the advice and aſſiſtance of ſix miniſters of his archdeaconry; three to be nominated by the biſhop, and three by the ſuffrage of the preſbyters within the archdeaconry.

4. "We will take care, that the preferment of *deans* and *chapters* ſhall be given to the moſt learned and pious preſbyters of the dioceſe, and that an equal number (to thoſe of the chapter) of the moſt learned and pious preſbyters of the ſame dioceſe, annually choſen by the major vote of all the preſbyters of that dioceſe preſent at ſuch elections, ſhall be always adviſing and aſſiſting, together with thoſe of the chapter, in all ordinations, at all church-cenſures, and other important acts of eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction wherein any of the miniſtry are concerned. Provided that at all ſuch meetings, the number of miniſters ſo elected, and thoſe of the chapter preſent, be equal, and to make the numbers equal, the juniors of the exceeding number ſhall withdraw to make way for the more antient. Nor ſhall any ſuffragan biſhop ordain, or exerciſe any juriſdiction, without the advice and aſſiſtance of a ſufficient number of preſbyters, annually choſen as before. And our will is, that ordination be conſtantly and ſolemnly performed by the biſhop and his aforeſaid preſbytery, at the four ſet times appointed by the church for that purpoſe.

5. "Con-

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5. "*Confirmation* ſhall be rightly and ſolemnly performed, by the in- "formation, and with the conſent of the miniſter of the place, who "ſhall admit none to the Lord's ſupper, till they have made a credible "profeſſion of their faith, and promiſed obedience to the will of God, "according to the rubric before the catechiſm; and all diligence ſhall be "uſed for the inſtruction and reformation of ſcandalous offenders, whom "the miniſter ſhall not ſuffer to partake of the Lord's ſupper till they "have openly declared their repentance, and reſolutions of amendment; "provided there be place for appeals to ſuperior powers. Every *rural* "*dean* (to be nominated by the biſhop as heretofore), with three or four "miniſters of that deanry choſen by the major part of all the miniſters "within the ſame, ſhall meet once a month, to receive complaints from "the miniſters or church-wardens of pariſhes, and to compoſe ſuch dif- "ferences as ſhall be referred to them for arbitration, and to reform ſuch "things as are amiſs, by their paſtoral reproofs and admonitions, and "what they cannot reform are to be preſented to the biſhop. More- "over, the *rural dean* and his aſſiſtants are to take care of the cate- "chizing children and youth, and that they can give a good ac- "count of their faith, before they are brought to the biſhop to be con- "firmed.

6. "No biſhop ſhall exerciſe any arbitrary power, or impoſe any "thing upon his clergy or people, but according to the law of the "land.

7. "We will appoint an equal number of divines of both perſuaſions, to "review the liturgy of the church of *England*, and to make ſuch altera- "tions as ſhall be thought neceſſary, and ſome additional forms in the "ſcripture phraſe, as near as may be, ſuited to the nature of the ſeve- "ral parts of worſhip; and that it be left to the miniſters choice to uſe one "or the other at his diſcretion. In the mean time, we deſire that the mi- "niſters in their ſeveral churches will not wholly lay aſide the uſe of the "common-prayer, but will read thoſe parts of it againſt which they "have no exception; yet our will and pleaſure is, that none be puniſh- "ed or troubled for not uſing it, till it be reviewed and effectually re- "formed.

8. *Laſtly*, "Concerning *ceremonies*, if any are practiſed contrary to "law the ſame ſhall ceaſe. Every national church has a power to ap- "point ceremonies for its members, which though before they were in- "different, yet ceaſe to be ſo when eſtabliſhed by law. We are therefore "content to indulge tender conſciences, ſo far as to diſpenſe with their "uſing ſuch ceremonies as are an offence to them, but not to aboliſh "them. We declare therefore, that none ſhall be compelled to receive "the ſacrament *kneeling*, nor to uſe the *croſs in baptiſm*, nor to *bow* at

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" the name of *Jeſus*, nor to uſe the *ſurplice*, except in the royal chapel, " and in cathedral and collegiate churches. Nor ſhall ſubſcription, nor " the oath of canonical obedience be required at *preſent*, in order to ordi- " nation, inſtitution, or induction, but only the taking the oaths of alle- " giance and ſupremacy; nor ſhall any loſe their academical degrees, or " forfeit a preſentation, or be deprived of a benefice, for not declaring his " aſſent to all the thirty-nine articles, provided he read and declare his aſ- " ſent to all the doctrinal articles, and to the ſacraments. And *we do* " *again renew our declaration from* Breda, *that no man ſhall be diſquieted* " *or called in queſtion for differences of opinion in matters of religion, which* " *do not diſturb the peace of the kingdom.*

His majeſty concludes, " with conjuring all his loving ſubjects to acqui- " eſce and ſubmit to this declaration, concerning the differences that have " ſo much diſquieted the nation at home, and given offence to the proteſ- " tant churches abroad."

Though this declaration did not ſatisfy all the *miniſters*, yet the greateſt numbers were content; but becauſe it proceeded upon the plan of *dioceſan epiſcopacy*, which they had covenanted againſt, others were extreamly uneaſy; ſome ventured upon a ſecond addreſs to the king, in which they renew their requeſts for archbiſhop *Uſher*'s ſcheme of primitive epiſcopacy, as moſt agreeable to ſcripture, moſt conducive to good diſcipline, and as that which would ſave the nation from the violation of the *ſolemn league and covenant*, which whether it were lawfully impoſed or no, they conceive now to be binding.

Concerning the preamble of his majeſty's declaration they tender theſe requeſts.

Abſtract of the ſecond paper of exceptions and requeſts of the preſbyterians. Hiſt. Nonconf. p. 14. Baxter, part II. p. 268.

1. " That as they are perſuaded it is not in his majeſty's thoughts to in- " timate that they are guilty of the offences therein mentioned, they hope " it will be a motive to haſten the union.

2. " Though they deteſt ſacrilege, yet they will not determine, " whether in ſome caſes of ſuperfluities of revenues, and the neceſ- " ſity of the church, there may not be an alienation, which is no ſa- " crilege.

3. " His majeſty having acknowledged their moderation, they ſtill hope " thay may be received into the ſettlement, and continue their ſtations " in the church.

4. " Since his majeſty has declared, that the eſſence of epiſcopacy may " be preſerved, though the extent of the juriſdiction be altered, they " hope his majeſty will conſent to ſuch an alteration as may ſatisfy their " conſciences."

They

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They then renew their requeſts for promoting of piety; of a religious and diligent miniſtry; of the requiſites of church communion; and for the obſervation of the ſabbath. They complain that pariſh diſcipline is not ſufficiently granted in his majeſty's declaration, that inferior ſynods are paſſed by, and that the biſhop is not *epiſcopus præſes*, but *epiſcopus princeps*, endued with ſole power of ordination and juriſdiction. They therefore pray again, that archbiſhop *Uſher*'s form of church government may be eſtabliſhed, at leaſt in theſe three points:

1. "That the paſtors of pariſhes may be allowed to preach, catechiſe, "and deny the communion of the church to the impenitent, ſcanda- "lous, or ſuch as do not make a credible profeſſion of faith and obedience "to the commands of Chriſt.

2. "That the paſtors of each rural deanry may meet once a month, to "receive preſentments and appeals, to admoniſh offenders, and after due "patience to proceed to excommunication.

3. "That a dioceſan ſynod of the delegates of rural ſynods may be cal- "led as often as need requires; that the biſhop may not ordain or exerciſe "ſpiritual cenſures without the conſent of the majority; and that neither "*chancellors*, *archdeacons*, *commiſſaries*, nor *officials*, may paſs cenſures "purely ſpiritual; but for the exerciſe of civil government, coercively by "mulcts, or corporal penalties, by power derived from your majeſty, as "ſupreme over all perſons and things eccleſiaſtical, we preſume not at all "to interpoſe."

"As to the liturgy.

"They rejoice that his majeſty has declared, that none ſhould ſuffer for "not uſing the common-prayer and ceremonies; but then it grieves us "(ſay they), to hear that it is given in charge to the judges at the aſſizes, "to indict men upon the act of uniformity, for not uſing the common- "prayer. That it is not only ſome obſolete words and phraſes that are of- "fenſive, but that other things need amendment; therefore we pray, "that none may be puniſhed for not uſing the book, till it be reformed "by the conſent of divines of both parties."

"Concerning ceremonies.

"They thank his majeſty for his gracious conceſſions, but pray him "to leave out of his declaration theſe words, *that we do not believe the* "*practice of the particular ceremonies excepted againſt unlawful*, becauſe

"we

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"we are not all of that opinion; but we desire, that there may be no "law nor canon for or against them, (being allowed by our opponents "as indifferent), as there is no canon against any particular gesture in sing- "ing psalms, and yet there is an uninterrupted unity."

For particular ceremonies.

1. "We humbly crave, that there may be liberty to receive the Lord's "supper either *kneeling*, *standing*, or *sitting*. 2. That the observation of "holy days of human institution may be left indifferent. 3. We thank "your majesty for liberty as to the *cross in baptism*, the *surplice*, and *bow-* "*ing at the name of Jesus*; but we pray, that this liberty may extend to "colleges and cathedrals for the benefit of youth as well as elder per- "sons, and that the canons which impose these ceremonies may be re- "pealed.

"We thank your majesty for your gracious concession of the forbear- "ance of subscription; though we do not dissent from the doctrinal arti- "cles of the church of *England*; nor do we scruple the oaths of allegi- "ance and supremacy, nor would we have the door left open for papists "and heretics to come in.

"But we take the liberty to represent to your majesty, that notwith- "standing your gracious concessions, our ministers cannot procure *insti-* "*tution* without renouncing their *ordination by presbyters*, or being *re-* "*ordained*, nor without subscription and the oaths of canonical obedience. "And we are apprehensive that your majesty's indulgence does not extend "to the abatement of re-ordination, or subscription, or the oath of ca- "nonical obedience. We therefore earnestly crave, that your majesty "will declare your pleasure, 1. That ordination and institution, and in- "duction, may be conferred without the said subscription and oath. "2. That none may be urged to be re-ordained, or denied institution for "want of ordination by prelates, that have been ordained by presbyters. "3. That none may forfeit their presentation or benefice for not read- "ing those articles of the thirty-nine, that relate to government and ce- "remonies."

Opinion of some church- men concern- ing the decla- ration. Kennet, p. 246.

However if the king's declaration, without any amendments, had pas- sed into a law, it would have prevented in a great measure the separation that followed; but neither the court, nor ministry intended it, if they could stand their ground upon the foot of the old establishment. A re- verend prelate of the church of *England* confesses, "that this declaration "has in it a spirit of true wisdom and charity, above any one public con-

"fession

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" ſeſſion that was ever made in matters of religion. It ſhews the admir-
" able temper and prudence of the king and his council in that tender
" juncture of affairs; it proves the charity and moderation of the ſuffer-
" ing biſhops, in thinking ſuch conceſſions juſt and reaſonable for peace
" and unity; and it ſhews a diſpoſition in the other party to have accepted
" the terms of union conſiſtent with our epiſcopacy and liturgy. It con-
" demns the unhappy ferment that ſoon after followed for want of this
" temper; and it may ſtand for a pattern to poſterity, whenever they are
" diſpoſed, to reſtore the diſcipline, and heal the breaches of the church."
Another conformiſt writer adds, " If ever a divine ſentence was in the
" mouth of any king, and his mouth erred not in judgment; I verily be-
" lieve it was thus with our preſent majeſty, when he compoſed that ad-
" mirable declaration, which next to holy ſcripture I adore, and think
" that the united judgment of the whole nation cannot frame a better or
" a more unexceptionable expedient, for a firm and laſting concord of
" theſe diſtracted churches."

Acceptable to moſt of the preſbyterians. Baxter's *Life*, Part II. p. 279, 284. Kennet p. 311.

The preſbyterians about *London* were ſo far pleaſed, that they drew up the following addreſs of thanks, in the name of the city miniſters, and preſented it to the king *November* 16, by the hands of the reverend Mr. *Samuel Clark*.

Moſt dread ſovereign!

" WE your majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, miniſters of
" the goſpel in your city of *London*, having peruſed your ma-
" jeſty's late declaration, and finding it ſo full of indulgence and gracious
" condeſcenſion, we cannot but judge ourſelves highly obliged, firſt to
" render our unfeigned thanks to God, and next our moſt humble and
" hearty acknowledgements to your majeſty, that we may teſtify to your
" royal ſelf, and all the world, our juſt reſentments of your majeſty's great
" goodneſs and clemency therein expreſſed."

The addreſs then recites the ſeveral condeſcenſions of his majeſty in the declaration, and concludes thus, " We crave leave to profeſs, that
" though all things in this frame of government be not exactly ſuited to
" our judgments, yet your majeſty's moderation has ſo great an influence
" on us, that we ſhall to our utmoſt endeavour the healing of the brea-
" ches, and promoting the peace and union of the church —— We would
" beg of your majeſty, with all humility upon our knees, that *re-*
" *ordination*, and the *ſurplice* in colleges might not be impoſed; and we
" hope

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"hope God will incline your majeſty's heart to gratify us in theſe our de-
"ſires alſo." Signed by

Samuel Clark,
William Cooper,
Thomas Caſe,
Jo. Rawlinſon,
Jo. Sheffield,
Thomas Gouge,
Gab. Sanger,
El. Pledger,
Matth. Pool,
Jo. Gibbon,
William Whitaker,
Tho. Jacomb,
Tho. Lye,
John Jackſon,
John Meriton,
William Bates,
With many others.

K. Chr. p. 315. The king having received the addreſs, returned this anſwer, *Gentlemen, I will endeavour to give you all ſatisfaction, and to make you as happy as myſelf.*

Some accept of preferments. Upon the terms of this declaration Dr. *Reynolds* accepted of the biſhopric of *Norwich*; Mr. *Baxter* was offered the biſhopric of *Hereford*, but refuſed upon other reaſons; and Mr. *Calamy* declined the biſhopric of *Litchfield* and *Coventry*, till the king's declaration ſhould be paſſed into a law. Dr. *Manton* having been preſented to the living of *Covent-Garden* by the earl of *Bedford*, accepted it upon the terms of the declaration, and received epiſcopal inſtitution from Dr. *Sheldon* biſhop of *London*, *Jan.* 10, 1660-61. *Having firſt ſubſcribed the doctrinal articles of the church of* England only, *and taken the oaths of allegiance and ſupremacy, and of canonical obedience in all things lawful and honeſt.* The doctor was alſo content that that the common-prayer ſhould be read in his church. Dr. *Bates* was offered the deanry of *Litchfield*: Dr. *Manton* the deanry of *Rocheſter*; and Mr. *Bowles* that of *York*; but finding how things were going at court, after ſome time, they refuſed.

K. Chron.

Declaration rejected by the h. of commons. The lords and commons, upon reading the *king's declaration*, agreed to wait upon his majeſty in a body, and return him thanks; and the commons ordered a bill into their houſe to paſs it into a law; but when the bill had been read the firſt time, the queſtion being put for a ſecond reading, it paſſed in the negative; one of the ſecretaries of ſtate oppoſing it, which was a ſufficient indication (ſays Dr. *Bates*) of the king and court's averſion to it. Sir *Matthew Hale* who was zealous for the declaration, at that very juncture was taken out of the houſe of commons, and made lord chief baron of the *Exchequer*, that he might not oppoſe the reſolutions of the miniſtry. Strange! that an houſe of commons, which on the

Remarks.

the 9th of *November* had given the king thanks for his declaration by their ſpeaker *nem. contradicente*, ſhould on the 28th of the ſame month reject it before a ſecond reading. This blaſted all the expectations of the preſbyterian clergy at once. It was now apparent that the court did not deſign *the declaration* ſhould be carried into execution, but only ſerve as a temporary expedient to keep them quiet, till the church ſhould be in circumſtances to bid them defiance. While the *dioceſan doctors* were at *Breda* (ſays Mr. *Baxter*), they did not dream that their way to the higheſt grandeur was ſo fair; then they would have been glad of the terms of the declaration of *Breda*; when they came in they proceeded by ſlow degrees, that they might feel the ground under them; for this purpoſe they propoſed the *declaration*, which being but a temporary proviſion muſt give place to laws, but when they found the parliament and populace ripe for any thing they ſhould propoſe, they dropt the declaration, and all further thoughts of accommodation.

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Preſbyterians *in deſpair Life*, p. 287.

The court and biſhops were now at eaſe, and went on briſkly with reſtoring all things to the old ſtandard; the doctrines of *paſſive obedience* and *non-reſiſtance* were revived; men of the higheſt principles, and moſt inveterate reſentments, were preferred to biſhoprics, by which they were more than compenſated for their ſufferings, by the large ſums of money they raiſed on the renewal of leaſes, which after ſo long an interval were almoſt all expired; but what a ſad uſe they made of their riches, I chooſe rather to relate in the words of biſhop *Burnet* than my own. "What "the biſhops did with their great fines was a pattern to all their lower "dignitaries, who generally took more care of themſelves than of the "church; the men of ſervice were loaded with many livings, and "many dignities. With this acceſſion of wealth, there broke in upon "the church a great deal of luxury and high living, on pretence of "hoſpitality; and with this overſet of wealth, and pomp that came up-"on men in the decline of their age, they who were now growing "into old age, became lazy and negligent in all the true concerns of the "church."

Behaviour of the court biſhops.

From this time, ſays biſhop *Kennet*, the preſbyterians began to prepare for the cry of perſecution, and not without reaſon, for *Feb.* 14, Mr. *Zach. Crofton* miniſter of *Aldgate*, was ſent to the *Tower* for writing in favour of the *covenant*; where he lay a conſiderable time at great expence, and was at laſt turned out of his pariſh without any conſideration, though he had a wife and ſeven children, and had been very zealous for the king's reſtoration. Mr. *Andrew Parſons* rector of *Wem* in *Shropſhire*, a noted loyaliſt, was fetched from his houſe in the month of *December* by ſix ſoldiers, for ſeditious preaching, and non-conformity to the ceremonies;

p. 314. *The beginning of the perſecution of the non-conformiſts.* Conf. Plea, p. 34.

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for which he was fined two hundred pounds, and to continue in priſon till it was paid.

Methods for that purpoſe.

Spies were ſent into all the congregations of preſbyterians throughout *England*, to obſerve and report their behaviour to the biſhops; and if a miniſter lamented the degeneracy of the times, or expreſſed his concern for the *ark of God*, if he preached againſt perfidiouſneſs, or glanced at the vices of the court, he was marked for an enemy to the king and government. Many eminent and loyal preſbyterians were ſent to priſon upon ſuch informations, among whom was the learned and prudent Mr. *John Howe*, and when they came to their trials, the court was guarded with ſoldiers, and their friends not ſuffered to attend them. Many were ſequeſtered from their livings, and cited into the eccleſiaſtical courts, *for not uſing the ſurplice and other ceremonies*, while the diſcipline of the church was under a kind of ſuſpenſion. So eager were the ſpiritual courts to renew the exerciſe of the ſword; and ſo fiercely was it brandiſhed againſt the falling preſbyterians!

Act for reſtoring the ſequeſtered clergy.

The convention parliament paſſed ſundry acts with relation to the late times, of which theſe following deſerve to be remembered: An act for *the confirming and reſtoring of miniſters*, which enacts, among other things, "that every ſequeſtered miniſter, who has not juſtified the late king's mur- "der, or declared againſt infant baptiſm, ſhall be reſtored to his living "before the 25th of *December* next enſuing, and the preſent incumbent "ſhall peaceably quit it, and be accountable for dilapidations, and all ar- "rears of fifths not paid." By this act ſome hundreds of nonconformiſt miniſters were diſpoſſeſſed of their livings, before the act of uniformity was penned. Here was no diſtinction between good or bad; but if the *parſon* had been epiſcopally ordained, and in poſſeſſion, he muſt be reſtored, though he had been ejected upon the ſtrongeſt evidence of immorality or ſcandal.

For confirming marriages in the late times.

The act for *confirmation of marriages* was very expedient for the peace of the kingdom, and the order and harmony of families. It enacts, "that all marriages ſince *May* 1, 1642. ſolemnized before a juſtice of "peace, or reputed juſtice; and all marriages ſince the ſaid time, had or "ſolemnized according to the direction of any ordinance, or reputed act "or ordinance of one or both houſes of parliament, ſhall be adjudged "and eſteemed to be of the ſame force and effect, as if they had been ſo- "lemnized according to the rites and ceremonies of the church of *Eng- "land.*"

Attainder of the king's judges.

An act for the *attainder of ſeveral perſons guilty of the horrid murder of his late ſacred majeſty king* Charles I. *and for the perpetual obſervation of the 30th of* January. This was the ſubject of many conferences between

tween the two houſes, in one of which chancellor *Hyde* declared, that the king having ſent him in embaſſy to the king of *Spain*, charged him to tell that monarch expreſsly, "that the horrible murder of his father "ought not to be deemed as the act of the parliament, or people of *Eng-* "*land*, but of a ſmall crew of wretches and miſcreants who had uſurp- "ed the ſovereign power, and rendered themſelves maſters of the king- "dom;" for which the commons ſent a deputation with thanks to the king. After the preamble, the act goes on to attaint the king's judges, dead or alive, except colonel *Ingoldſby* and *Thompſon*, who for their late good ſervices were pardoned, but in their room were included colonel *Lambert*, Sir *Harry Vane*, and *Hugh Peters*, who were not of the judges. *King* Charles II. 1660.

On the 30th of *Jan.* this year, the bodies of *O. Cromwell*, *Bradſhaw*, and *Ireton*, were taken out of their graves, and drawn upon hurdles to *Tyburn*, where they were hung up from ten in the morning till ſun-ſet of the next day, after which their heads were cut off, and their trunks buried all together in one hole under the gallows. Colonel *Lambert* was ſent to the iſle of *Jerſey*, where he continued ſhut up a patient priſoner almoſt thirty years, nineteen made their eſcape beyond ſea; ſeven were made objects of the king's clemency; nineteen others, who ſurrendered on the king's proclamation of *June* 6, had their lives ſaved after trial; but underwent other penalties, as impriſonment, baniſhment, and forfeiture of eſtates; ſo that ten only were executed in the month of *October*, after the new ſheriffs were entered upon their office, (*viz.*) Col. *Harriſon*, Mr. *Carew*, *Cook*, *Hugh Peters*, Mr. *Scot*, *Clement*, *Scroop*, *Jones*, *Hacker*, and *Axtel*. Cromwell *and others that were dead taken out of their graves.* Kennet, p. 367.

Biſhop *Burnet* ſays, "the trials and executions of the firſt that "ſuffered, were attended by vaſt crouds of people. All men "ſeemed pleaſed with the ſight; but the firmneſs and ſhew of "piety in the ſufferers, who went out of the world with a ſort of "triumph in the cauſe for which they ſuffered, turned the minds of the "populace, inſomuch that the king was adviſed to proceed no further." The priſoners were rudely treated in court; the ſpectators with their noiſe and clamour endeavouring to put them out of countenance. None of them denied the fact, but all pleaded *not guilty to the treaſon*, becauſe as they ſaid, they acted by authority of parliament; not conſidering, that the houſe of commons is no court of judicature; or if it was, that it was packed and purged before the king was brought to his trial. Thoſe who guarded the ſcaffold, pleaded that they acted by command of their ſuperior officers, who would have caſhiered or put them to death, if they had not obeyed. They were not permitted to enter into the merits of the cauſe between the king and parliament, but were condemned upon p. 162. *Trials of thoſe that ſuffered.*

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the ſtatute of the 25th of *Edward* III. for compaſſing and imagining the king's death,

Their execution.

The behaviour of the regicides at their execution was bold and reſolute: Colonel *Harriſon* declared at the gibbet, that he was fully perſuaded that *what he had done was the cauſe and work of God, which he was confident God would own and raiſe up again, how much ſoever it ſuffered at that time.* He went through all the indignities and ſeverities of his ſufferings, with a calmneſs or rather chearfulneſs, that aſtoniſhed the ſpectators; he was turned off, and cut down alive; for after his body was opened, he raiſed himſelf up and gave the executioner a box on the ear. When Mr. ſolicitor *Cook* and *Hugh Peters* went into the ſledge, the head of major-general *Harriſon* was put upon it, with the face bare towards them; but notwithſtanding this, Mr. *Cooke* went out of the world with ſurpriſing reſolution, *bleſſing God that he had a clear conſcience.* *Hugh Peters* was more timid; but after he had ſeen the execution and quartering of Mr. *Cooke*, he reſumed his courage at length (which ſome ſaid was artificial) and ſaid to the ſheriff, *Sir, you have here ſlain one of the ſervants of the Lord, and made me behold it, on purpoſe to terrify and diſcourage me; but God has made it an ordinance for my ſtrengthening and encouragement.* Mr. *Scot* was not allowed to ſpeak to the people, but ſaid in his prayer, *that he had been engaged in a cauſe not to be repented of; I ſay in a cauſe not to be repented of.* *Carew* appeared very chearful as he went to the gibbet, but ſaid little of the cauſe for which he ſuffered. *Clements* alſo ſaid nothing. Colonel *Jones* juſtified the king and court in their proceedings; but added, that *they did not ſatisfy him in ſo great and deep a point.* Colonel *Scroop* was drawn in the ſame ſledge, whoſe grave and venerable countenance, accompanied with courage and chearfulneſs, raiſed great compaſſion in ſome of the ſpectators, though the inſults and rudeneſs of others, was cruel and barbarous: He ſaid *he was born and bred a gentleman; and appealed to thoſe who had known him for his behaviour; he forgave the inſtruments of his ſufferings, and died for that which he judged to be the cauſe of Chriſt.* Colonel *Axtel* and *Hacker* ſuffered laſt; the former behaved with great reſolution, and holding the bible in his hand ſaid, "*The* "*very cauſe in which I was engaged is contained in this book of God; and* "*having been fully convinced in my conſcience of the juſtneſs of the war, I* "*freely engaged in the parliament's ſervice, which as I do believe was the* "*cauſe of the Lord, I ventured my life freely for it, and now die for it.*" *Hacker* read a paper to the ſame purpoſe; and after having expreſſed his charity towards his judges, jury and witneſſes, he ſaid, *I have nothing lies upon my conſcience as guilt whereof I am now condemned, and do not doubt but to have the ſentence reverſed.*

State Trials, p. 404.

Few,

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Few, if any of theſe criminals, were friends of the protector CROMWELL, but gave him all poſſible diſturbance in favour of a *commonwealth*. Mr. *H. Cromwell*, in one of his letters from *Ireland*, 1657-8 ſays, "'Tis "a ſad caſe, when men knowing the difficulties we labour under, ſeek "occaſions to quarrel and unſettle every thing again; I hear *Harri-* "*ſon*, *Carew*, and *Okey*, have done new feats. I hope God will infa- "tuate them in their endeavours to diſturb the peace of the nation; "their folly ſhews them to be no better than abuſers of religion, "and ſuch whoſe hypocriſy the Lord will avenge in due time." *Remarks.*

The *regicides* certainly confounded the cauſe of the parliament, or the neceſſity of entering into a war to bring delinquents to juſtice, with the king's execution; whereas they fall under a very diſtinct conſideration; the former might be neceſſary, when the latter had neither law nor equity to ſupport it; for admitting (with them), that the king is accountable to his parliament; the houſe of commons alone is not the parliament; and if it was, it could not be ſo, after it was under reſtraint, and one half of the members forcibly kept from their places by the military power. They had no precedent for their conduct, nor any meaſure of law to try and condemn their ſovereign: Though the ſcripture ſays, *he that ſheds man's blood, by man ſhall his blood be ſhed*; yet this is not a rule of duty for private perſons, when there is a government ſubſiſting. If the king had fallen in battle it had been a different caſe; but how criminal ſoever his majeſty might be in their apprehenſions, they had no warrant to ſit as his judges, and therefore could have no right by their verdict or ſentence to put him to death.

Act for an anniverſary obſervation of the 29th *of* May.

There was another act paſſed this ſeſſions, for a perpetual anniverſary thankſgiving on the 29th of *May*, for his majeſty's happy reſtoration; upon which occaſion the biſhops were commanded to draw up a ſuitable form of prayer; and Mr. *Robinſon*, in the preface to his *review of the caſe of liturgies*, ſays, that in the firſt form, which is ſince altered, there are theſe unwarrantable expreſſions, which I mention only to ſhew the ſpirit of the times. —— "We beſeech thee to give us grace, to re- "member, and provide for our latter end, by a careful and ſtudious imi- "tation of this thy bleſſed ſaint and martyr, and all other thy ſaints and "martyrs that have gone before us; that we may be made worthy to re- "ceive the benefit by their prayers, which they, in communion with thy "church catholic, offer up unto thee for that part of it here malignant, "and yet in fight with, and danger from the fleſh ——"

Milton's *and* Goodwin's *books burnt.*

The books of the great *Milton*, and Mr. *John Goodwin*, publiſhed in defence of the ſentence of death, paſſed upon his late majeſty, were called in by proclamation. And upon the 27th of *Auguſt*, *Milton*'s *defenſio pro populo* anglicano *contra* Salmaſium; and his *anſwer* to a book entituled,

the

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Burnet, p. 163, 164.

the portraiture of his ſacred majeſty in his ſolitude and ſufferings, were burnt by the hands of the common hangman; together with Mr. *John Goodwin*'s book, entituled, *the obſtructors of juſtice*; but the authors abſconded till the ſtorm was over. It was a ſurprize to all, that they eſcaped proſecution. None but *Goodwin* and *Peters* had magnified the king's execution in their ſermons; but *Goodwin*'s being a ſtrenuous *arminian* procured him friends. *Milton* had appeared ſo boldly, though with much wit, and ſo great purity and elegance of ſtile, upon the argument of the king's death, that it was thought a ſtrange omiſſion not to except him out of the act of indemnity; but he lived many years after, though blind, to acquire immortal renown by his celebrated poem of *Paradiſe loſt*.

Popery revives in England.

The tide of joy which overflowed the nation at the king's reſtoration, brought with it the return of popery, which had been at a very low ebb during the late commotions: Great numbers of that religion came over with his majeſty, and crouded about the court, magnifying their ſufferings for the late king. A liſt of the lords, gentlemen, and other officers, who were killed in his ſervice, was printed in red letters, by which it appeared that ſeveral noblemen, ten knights and baronets, fourteen colonels, ſeven lieutenant-colonels, fourteen majors, ſixty-ſix captains, eighteen lieutenants and cornets, and thirty-eight gentlemen, loſt their lives in the civil war, beſides great numbers who were wounded, and whoſe eſtates were ſequeſtered. The queen-mother came from *France*, and reſided at *Somerſet-houſe* with her catholic attendants both religious and ſecular. Several *romiſh* prieſts who had been confined in *Newgate*, *Lancaſter*, and other gaols, were by order of council ſet at liberty. Many popiſh prieſts were ſent over from *Douay* into *England*, as miſſionaries for propagating that religion; and their clergy appeared openly in defiance of the laws; they were buſy about the court and city in diſperſing popiſh books of devotion; and the king gave open countenance and protection to ſuch as had been ſerviceable to him abroad, and came over with him, or ſoon followed him, which (biſhop *Kennet* ſays) his majeſty could not avoid. Upon the whole, more *roman* catholics appeared openly this year, than in all the twelve years of the inter-regnum.

And in Ireland.

In *Ireland* the papiſts took poſſeſſion of their eſtates, which had been forfeited by the rebellion and maſſacre, and turned out the purchaſers; which occaſioned ſuch commotions in that kingdom, that the king was obliged to iſſue out a proclamation, commanding them to wait the determinations of the enſuing parliament. The body of their clergy by an inſtrument, bearing date *Jan.* 1, 1660, *O. S.* ſigned and ſealed by the chief prelates and officials of their religion, ventured to depute a perſon

of

of their own communion, to congratulate his majeſty's reſtoration, and to preſent their humble ſupplications for the free exerciſe of their religion, purſuant to the articles of 1648, whom the king received very favourably, and encouraged to hope for an accompliſhment of their requeſts in due time. Such amazing changes happened within nine months after the king's arrival at *Whitehall*. *King Charles II. 1660.*

The only perſons who under pretence of religion attempted any thing againſt the government, were ſmall number of enthuſiaſts, who ſaid they were for *king Jeſus:* Their leader was *Thomas Venner* a wine-cooper, who in his little conventicle in *Coleman-Street*, warmed his admirers with paſſionate expectations of a fifth univerſal monarchy, under the perſonal reign of *king Jeſus* upon earth, and that the ſaints were to take the kingdom themſelves. To introduce this imaginary kingdom, they marched out of their meeting-houſe towards St. *Paul's Church-Yard*, on *Sunday Jan.* 6, to the number of about fifty men well armed, and with a reſolution to ſubvert the preſent government or die in the attempt. They publiſhed a declaration of the deſign of their riſing, and placed centinels at proper places. The lord mayor ſent the trained bands to diſperſe them, whom they quickly routed, but in the evening retired to *Cane Wood*, between *High-gate* and *Hampſtead*. On *Wedneſday* morning they returned and diſperſed a party of the king's ſoldiers in *Threadneedle-Street*. In *Wood-Street* they repelled the trained bands, and ſome of the horſe-guards; but *Venner* himſelf was knocked down, and ſome of his company ſlain; from hence the remainder retreated to *Cripplegate*, and took poſſeſſion of an houſe, which they threatened to defend with a deſperate reſolution, but no-body appearing to countenance their frenzy, they ſurrendered after they had loſt about half their number; *Venner* and one of his officers, were hanged before their meeting-houſe door in *Coleman-Street*, *Jan.* 19, and a few days after, nine more were executed in divers parts of the city. *Inſurrection of the* fifth monarchy *men.*

This mad inſurrection gave the court a handle for breaking through the late *declaration of indulgence*, within three months after it was publiſhed; for *Jan.* 2 there was an order of council againſt the meetings of ſectaries in great numbers, and at unuſual times; and on the 10th of *January* a proclamation was publiſhed, whereby his majeſty forbids the *anabaptiſts*, *quakers*, and *fifth monarchy men*, to aſſemble or meet together under pretence of worſhipping God, except it be in ſome parochial church, or chapel, or in private houſes by the perſons there inhabiting. All meetings in any other places are declared to be unlawful and riotous. And his majeſty commands all mayors, and other peace-officers, to ſearch for ſuch conventicles, and cauſe the perſons therein to be bound over to the next ſeſſions. Upon this the *independents*, *baptiſts*, and *quakers*, who diſſented *Conſequences of* Venner's *inſurrection.*

King Charles II. 1660.

ed from the eſtabliſhment, thought fit publicly to diſown and renounce the late inſurrection.

Diſowned by the independents.

The *independents*, though not named in the proclamation, were obnoxious to the government, and ſuſpected to concur in all deſigns that might change the conſtitution into a commonwealth: To wipe off this odium, there was publiſhed, *a renunciation and declaration of the congregational churches, and public preachers of the ſame judgment, living in and about the city of* London, *againſt the late horrid inſurrection and rebellion acted in the ſaid city.* Dated *Jan.* 1660. In this declaration they diſown the principles of a *fifth monarchy*, or *the perſonal reign of king Jeſus on earth*, as diſhonourable to him, and prejudicial to his church; and abhor the propagating this or any other opinion by force or blood. They refer to their late meeting of meſſengers from one hundred and twenty churches of their way at the *Savoy*, in which they declare, (*Chap.* XXIV. *Of their confeſſion*) That civil magiſtrates are of divine appointment, and that it is the duty of all ſubjects to pray for them, to honour their perſons, to pay them tribute, to obey their lawful commands, and to be ſubject to their authority; and that infidelity, or difference in religion, does not make void the magiſtrates juſt and legal authority, nor free the people from theirobedience. Accordingly they ceaſe not to pray for all ſorts of bleſſings, ſpiritual and temporal, upon the perſon and government of his majeſty, and by the grace of God will continue to do ſo themſelves, and perſuade others thereunto. And with regard to the late impious and prodigiouſly daring rebellion; they add, *curſed be their anger, for it was fierce; and their wrath, for it was cruel: O my ſoul! come not thou into their ſecret, but let God divide them in* Jacob, *and ſcatter them in* Iſrael. Signed by

Joſ. Caryl,	*Samuel Slater,*	*William Greenhill,*
George Griffiths,	*George Cockayn,*	*Matth. Barker,*
Richard Kenrick,	*Thomas Goodwin,*	*Tho. Malory,*
Robert Bragge,	*Thomas Brooks,*	*John Loder,*
Ralph Venning,	*Corn. Helme,*	*John Yates,*
John Oxenbridge,	*John Hodges,*	*Thomas Owen,*
Philip Nye,	*John Bachiler,*	*Nath. Mather,*
John Rowe.	*Seth Wood,*	*Will. Stoughton,*
Thomas Weld,		

By the baptiſts.

The *baptiſts* publiſhed an apology in behalf of themſelves, and their brethren of the ſame judgment, with a *proteſtation againſt the late wicked*

ed and moſt horrid treaſon and rebellion in this city of London; in which they avow their loyalty to the king, and promiſe that their practice ſhall be conformable; ſubſcribed by *William Kiffen*, *Henry Den*, *John Batty*, *Thomas Lamb*, *Thomas Cowper*, and about twenty-nine or thirty other names. They alſo addreſſed the king, that the innocent might not ſuffer with the guilty; proteſting in the moſt ſolemn manner, that they had not the leaſt knowledge of the late inſurrection, nor did directly or indirectly, contrive, promote, aſſiſt, or approve of it. They offered to give ſecurity for their peaceable behaviour, and for their ſupporting his majeſty's perſon and government. But notwithſtanding this, their religious aſſemblies were diſturbed in all places, and their miniſters impriſoned; great numbers were crouded into *Newgate*, and other priſons, where they remained under cloſe confinement till the king's coronation, when the general pardon publiſhed on that occaſion ſet them at liberty. *King* Charles II. 1660.

The *quakers* alſo addreſſed the king upon this occaſion in the following words:

Oh king Charles!

"OUR deſire is, that thou mayeſt live for evet in the fear of God, and thy council. We beſeech thee, and thy council, to read theſe following lines, in tender bowels, and compaſſion for our ſouls, and for your good. *By the* quakers. Kennet, p. 366.

"And this conſider, we are about four hundred impriſoned in and about this city, of men and women from their families; beſides, in the country gaols above ten hundred. We deſire, that our meetings may not be broken up, but that all may come to a fair trial, that our innocency may be cleared up ——"

London, 16th day *eleventh month*, 1660.

On the 28th of the ſame month, they publiſhed the declaration referred to in their addreſs, entituled, *a declaration from the harmleſs and innocent people of God called* QUAKERS, *againſt all ſedition, plotters and fighters in the world, for removing the ground of jealouſy and ſuſpicion from both magiſtrates and people in the kingdom, concerning wars and fightings.* Preſented to the king the 21ſt day of the eleventh month, 1660. Upon which his majeſty promiſed them, on the word of a king, that they ſhould not ſuffer for their opinions as long as they lived peaceably; but his promiſes were little regarded. Ib. p. 364.

King Charles II. 1660.

Preſbyterians *in trouble.* Rapin. p. 264.

The preſbyterian clergy were in ſome degree affected with theſe commotions, though envy itſelf could not charge them with guilt; but it was the wiſh and deſire of the prelatical party, that they might diſcover their uneaſineſſes in ſuch a manner as might expoſe them to trouble; for their ruin was already determined, only ſome pretexts were wanting to cover the deſign, particularly ſuch as affected the peace of the kingdom, and might not reflect on his majeſty's declaration from *Breda*, which promiſed, *that no perſon ſhould be moleſted purely for religion.* But they were inſulted by the mob in the ſtreets; when their families were ſinging pſalms in their houſes, they were frequently interrupted by blowing of horns, or throwing ſtones at the windows. The preſbyterian miniſters made the beſt retreat they could, after they had unadviſedly delivered themſelves up into the hands of their enemies; for while they were careful to maintain an inviolable loyalty to his majeſty's perſon and government, they contended for their religious principles in the preſs; ſeveral new pamphlets were publiſhed, and a great many old ones reprinted, about *the magiſtrates right of impoſing things indifferent in the worſhip of God* —— *Againſt bowing at the name of Jeſus* —— *The unlawfulneſs of the ceremonies of the church of* England —— *The common-prayer book unmaſked* —— *Grievances and corruptions in church-government*, &c. moſt of which were anſwered by divines of the epiſcopal party.

Bp. Stillingfleet's Irenicum.

But the moſt remarkable treatiſe that appeared about this time, and which if it had taken place, muſt have prevented the miſchiefs that followed, was that of the reverend Dr. *Edward Stillingfleet* rector of *Sutton* in *Bedfordſhire*, and afterwards the learned and worthy biſhop of *Worceſter*, who firſt made himſelf known to the world at this time by his *Irenicum*; or, *a weapon ſalve for the church's wounds*; printed 1661, in which he attempts to prove, that no form of church-government is of *divine right*, and that the church had no power to impoſe *things indifferent.* I ſhall beg the reader's attention to a few paſſages out of his preface. "The deſign of our Saviour (ſays he) was to eaſe men of "their former burdens, and not to lay on more; the duties he required "were no other but ſuch as were neceſſary, and withal very juſt and "reaſonable; he that came to take away the inſupportable yoke of *jewiſh* ceremonies, certainly did never intend to gall the necks of his diſciples with another inſtead of it; and it would be ſtrange the church "ſhould require more than Chriſt himſelf did, and make other conditions "of her communion than our Saviour did of diſcipleſhip. What poſſible reaſon can be aſſigned or given why ſuch things ſhould not be ſufficient for communion with a church, which are ſufficient for eternal "ſalvation? And certainly thoſe things are ſufficient for that, which

Ib. p. 8, 9, 10.

are

" are laid down as the neceſſary duties of chriſtianity by our Lord and " Saviour in his word. What ground can there be why chriſtians ſhould " not ſtand upon the ſame terms now, which they did in the time of " Chriſt and his apoſtles? Was not religion ſufficiently guarded and fen- " ced in then? Was their ever more true and cordial reverence in the " worſhip of God? What charter hath Chriſt given the church to bind " men up to more than himſelf has done? Or to exclude thoſe from " her ſociety, who may be admitted into heaven? Will Chriſt ever thank " men at the great day, for keeping ſuch out from communion with his " church, who he will vouchſafe not only crowns of glory to, but it " may be *aureolæ* too, if there be any ſuch things there! The grand " commiſſion the apoſtles were ſent out with, was only to teach what " Chriſt had commanded them; not the leaſt intimation of any power " given them to impoſe or require any thing beyond what himſelf had " ſpoken to them, or they were directed to, by the immediate guidance of " the ſpirit of God. It is not, whether the things commanded and re- " quired be lawful or not; it is not, whether *indifferences* may be de- " termined or no; It is not how far chriſtians are bound to ſubmit to " a reſtraint of their chriſtian liberty, which I now enquire after, but " whether they conſult the church's peace and unity who ſuſpend it upon " ſuch things. —— We never read of the apoſtles making laws but of " things neceſſary, as *Acts* xv. 19. It was not enough with them that " the things would be neceſſary when they had required them; but they " looked upon an antecedent neceſſity either abſolute or for the preſent " ſtate, which was the only ground of their impoſing theſe commands " upon the *gentile* chriſtians. But the Holy Ghoſt never thought thoſe " things fit to be made matters of law, to which all parties ſhould con- " form. All that the apoſtles required as to this, was mutual forbearance " and condeſcenſion towards each other in them. The apoſtles valued " not *indifferences* at all; and thoſe things they accounted as *ſuch* which " were of no concernment to their ſalvation. And what reaſon is there " why men ſhould be tied up ſo ſtrictly to ſuch things which they may " do or let alone, and yet be very good chriſtians; Without all contro- " verſy, the main inlet of all the diſtractions, confuſions, and diviſions " of the chriſtian world, has been by adding other conditions of church " communion than Chriſt has done. —— Would there ever be the leſs " peace and unity in a church, if a diverſity were allowed as to practices " ſuppoſed indifferent? Yea, there would be ſo much more, as there " was a mutual forbearance and condeſcenſion as to ſuch things. The " unity of the church is an unity of love and affection, and not a bare " uniformity of practice and opinion —— There is nothing in the pri- " mitive church more deſerving our imitation, than that admirable tem-

King Charles II. 1660.

" per, moderation and condeſcenſion, which was uſed in it towards its " members. It was never thought worth the while to make any ſtand- " ing laws for rites and cuſtoms that had no other original but tradi- " tion, much leſs to ſuſpend men her communion for not obſerving " them —— "

Ib. p. 66, 67. The doctor's propoſals for an accommodation were, 1. That nothing " be impoſed as neceſſary, but what is clearly revealed in the word of God. " 2. That nothing be required or determined, but what is ſufficiently " known to be indifferent in its own nature. 3. That whatever is thus " determined, be in order only to a due performance of what is in general " required in the word of God, and not to be looked upon as any part of " divine worſhip or ſervice. 4. That no ſanctions be made, nor mulcts " or penalties be inflicted, on ſuch who only diſſent from the uſe of ſome " things whoſe lawfulneſs they at preſent ſcruple, till ſufficient time and " and means be uſed for their information of the nature and indifferency " of theſe things. I am ſure (ſays the doctor) it is contrary to the pri- " mitive practice, and the moderation then uſed, to ſuſpend or deprive " men of their miniſterial function, for not conforming in habits and " geſtures, or the like. *Laſtly*, That religion be not clogged with cere- " monies; for when they are multiplied too much, though lawful, " they eat out the heart, heat, life and vigor of chriſtianity —— " If the doctor had ſteadily adhered to theſe principles he could hardly have ſubſcribed the act of uniformity next year, much leſs have writ ſo warmly againſt the diſſenters, as he did twenty years afterwards. But all he could ſay or do at preſent availed nothing, the preſbyterians were in diſgrace, and nothing could ſtem the torrent of popular fury that was now coming upon them.

1661. *King's marriage.*

The earl of *Clarendon* lord chancellor, was prime miniſter, and at the head of the king's councils. The year began with new ſcenes of pleaſure and diverſion, occaſioned by the king's marriage with the infanta of *Portugal*, which was conſummated *April* 30. The match was promoted by general *Monk* and lord *Clarendon*, if, according to the *Oxford* hiſtorian, the latter was not the firſt mover of it. And it was reckoned very ſtrange, that a proteſtant chancellor ſhould advice the king to a popiſh princeſs, when a catholic king propoſed at the ſame time a proteſtant conſort. But his lordſhip had further views, for it was generally talked among the merchants, that the *infanta* could have no children, in which caſe the chancellor's daughter, who had been privately married to the king's brother, muſt ſucceed, and her iſſue by the duke of *York* become heirs to the throne; which happened accordingly in the perſons of Queen *Mary* II. and Queen *Anne*. Such were the aſpiring views of this great man, which, together with his haughty behaviour, in the end proved his ruin.

The

King Charles II. 1661.

The convention parliament being diſſolved, a new one was elected, and ſummoned to meet *May* 8. The houſe of commons by the intereſt of the *court party*, had a conſiderable majority of ſuch as were zealous enemies of the preſbyterians, and abettors of the principles of archbiſhop *Laud*; many of whom having impaired their fortunes in the late wars, became tools of the miniſtry in all their arbitrary and violent meaſures. The court kept above one hundred of them in conſtant pay, who went by the name of the *club of voters*, and received large ſums of money out of the *Exchequer*, till they had almoſt ſubverted the conſtitution; and then, becauſe they would not put the finiſhing hand to what they had unadviſedly begun, they were diſbanded.

Character of the new parliament. Rapin.

The king's and lord Clarendon's *ſpeech.* K. Chr. p. 437.

The king acquainted the houſes at the opening of the ſeſſions, that, "*he valued himſelf much upon keeping his word, and upon making good whatſoever he had promiſed to his ſubjects.*" But the chancellor who commented upon the king's ſpeech, ſpoke a different language, and told the houſe, "that there were a ſort of patients in the kingdom that deſerved "their utmoſt ſeverity, and none of their lenity; theſe were the *ſeditious preachers*, who could not be contented to be diſpenſed with for "their full obedience to ſome laws eſtabliſhed, without reproaching and "inveighing againſt thoſe laws how eſtabliſhed ſoever; who tell their auditories that when the apoſtle bid them ſtand to their liberties, he bid "them ſtand to their arms, and who by repeating the very expreſſions, "and teaching the very doctrines they ſet on foot in the year 1640, ſufficiently declare that they have no mind that twenty years ſhould put "an end to the miſeries we have undergone. What good chriſtians can "think without horror, of theſe miniſters of the goſpel, who by their "function ſhould be meſſengers of peace, but are in their practice "only the trumpets of war, and incendiaries towards rebellion? —— And "if the perſons and place can aggravate their offence, ſo no doubt it does "before God and man. Methinks the preaching rebellion and treaſon "out of the pulpit, ſhould be as much worſe than advancing it in the "market, as poiſoning a man at a communion, would be worſe than "killing him at a tavern ——" His lordſhip concludes thus: "If you "do not provide for the thorough quenching theſe firebrands; king lords "and commons ſhall be the meaner ſubjects, and the whole kingdom "will be kindled into a general flame." This was a home thruſt at the preſbyterians; the chancellor did not explain himſelf upon the authors of theſe ſeditious ſermons, his deſign being not to accuſe particular perſons, but to obtain a general order which might ſuppreſs all preachers who were not of the church of *England*; and the parliament was prepared to run blindfold into all the court meaſures; for in this ſeſſions the *militia* was given abſolutely to the king —— the *ſolemn league and covenant* was declared.

K. Chron. p. 510, 511.

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clared void, and illegal —— the act for diſabling perſons in holy orders to exerciſe temporal juriſdiction was repealed —— the biſhops were reſtored to their ſeats in parliament —— the old eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction was revived by the repeal of the 17th of *Charles* I. except the *oath ex officio* —— and it was made a præmunire to call the king a papiſt.

King's ſecond ſpeech to his parliament.

The ſtorm was all this while gathering very black over the preſbyterians; for when the parliament met a ſecond time, *Nov.* 20, the king complimented the biſhops, who appeared now again in their places among the peers, and obſerved in his ſpeech, that it was a felicity he had much deſired to ſee, as the only thing wanting to reſtore the old conſtitution. He then ſpoke the language of the chancellor, and told the commons, "that "there were many wicked inſtruments who laboured night and day to "diſturb the public peace —— That it was worthy of their care to pro- "vide proper remedies for the diſeaſes of that kind; that if they found "new diſeaſes they muſt find new remedies. That the difficulties which "concerned religion were too hard for him, and therefore he recommend- "ed them to their care and deliberation who could beſt provide for them." The tendency of this ſpeech was to make way for breaking through the *Breda declaration*, and to furniſh the parliament with a pretence for treating the non-conformiſts with rigor, to which they were themſelves too well enclined.

Sham plots fathered on the preſbyterians.

Yarrington's *plot.*

K. Chron. p. 602.

Lord *Clarendon*, in a conference between the two houſes, affirmed poſitively, that there was a real conſpiracy againſt the peace of the kingdom; and though it was diſconcerted in the city, it was carried on in divers counties; a committee was therefore appointed to enquire into the truth of the report; but after all their examinations not one ſingle perſon was convicted, or ſo much as proſecuted for it. Great pains were taken to faſten ſome treaſonable deſigns on the preſbyterians; letters were ſent from unknown hands to the chiefs of the party in ſeveral parts of the kingdom, intimating the project of a general inſurrection, in which *their friends* were concerned, and deſiring them to communicate it to certain perſons in their neighbourhood, whom they name in their letters, that they may be ready at time and place. A letter of this kind was directed to the reverend Mr. *Sparry* in *Worceſterſhire*, deſiring him and captain *Yarrington* to be ready with money; and to acquaint Mr. *Oatland* and Mr. *Baxter* with the deſign. This, with a packet of the ſame kind, was ſaid to be left under a hedge by a *Scots* pedlar; and as ſoon as they were found, they were carried to Sir *J. Packington*, who immediately committed *Sparry*, *Oatland*, and *Yarington* to priſon. The militia of the county was raiſed, and the city of *Worceſter* put into a poſture of defence; but the ſham was ſo notorious, that the earl of *Briſtol*, though a papiſt, was aſhamed of it; and after

after ſome time the priſoners, for want of evidence, were releaſed. The members for *Oxfordſhire*, *Herefordſhire*, and *Staffordſhire*, informed the commons, that they had rumours of the like conſpiracies in their counties. Biſhop *Burnet* ſays, "that many were taken up, but none tried; "that this was done to faſten an odium on the preſbyterians, and to help "carry the penal laws through the houſe; and there were appearances "of foul dealing (ſays he) among the fiercer ſort." Mr. *Locke* adds, that the reports of a general inſurrection were ſpread over the whole nation, by the very perſons who invented them; and though lord *Clarendon* could not but be acquainted with the *farce*, he kept it on foot, to facilitate paſſing the ſevere laws that were now coming upon the carpet. The government could not with decency attack the *non-conformiſts* purely on account of their religion; the declaration from *Breda* was too expreſs on that article; they were therefore to be charged with raiſing diſturbances in the ſtate, But ſuppoſing the fact to be true, that ſome few malecontents had been ſeditiouſly diſpoſed, which yet was never made out, what reaſon can be aſſigned why it ſhould be charged upon the principles of a whole body of men, who were unqueſtionably willing to be quiet?

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p. 148.

Rapin, p. 289.

It was nevertheleſs on this baſe and diſhonourable ſuggeſtion, that the firſt penal law which paſſed againſt the non-conformiſts this ſeſſion was founded, entitled,

K. Chron. p. 602.

An act for the well-governing and regulating corporations; which enacts, "that within the ſeveral cities, corporations, boroughs, cinque ports, "and other port towns within the kingdom of *England*, dominion of "*Wales*, and town of *Berwick* on *Tweed*, all mayors, aldermen, recorders, bailiffs, town-clerks, common-council-men, and other perſons, bearing any office or offices of magiſtracy, or places, or truſts, "or other imployment, relating to or concerning the government of "the ſaid reſpective cities, corporations, and boroughs, and cinque "ports, and their members, and other port-towns, ſhall take the *oaths* "*of allegiance and ſupremacy*, and this oath following,

Corporation act. Stat. 13. Car. II. Seſſ. 2. Cap. 1.

"I *A. B.* do declare and believe, that it is not lawful upon any pre-"tence whatſoever to take arms againſt the king; and that I do ab-"hor that traiterous poſition, of taking arms by his authority againſt his "perſon, or againſt thoſe that are commiſſioned by him."

They ſhall alſo ſubſcribe the following declaration,

"I *A. B.*

King Charles II. 1661.

" I *A. B.* do declare, that there lies no obligation upon me from the " ſolemn league and covenant, and that the ſame was an unlawful oath " impoſed on the ſubject, againſt the laws and liberties of the king- " dom."

" Provided alſo, and be it enacted by the authority aforeſaid, that " no perſon ſhall hereafter be elected, or choſen into any of the offi- " ces or places aforeſaid, that ſhall not have within one year next before " ſuch election or choice, taken the ſacrament of the Lord's ſupper, ac- " cording to the rights of the church of *England*; and that every per- " ſon ſo elected ſhall take the aforeſaid oaths, and ſubſcribe the ſaid " declaration at the ſame time when the oath for the due execution of " the ſaid places and offices, ſhall be reſpectively adminiſtered."

Remarks. Thus all non-conformiſts were turned out of all the branches of the magiſtracy at once, and rendered incapable of ſerving their country in the offices of a common-council-man, or a burgeſs or bailiff of the ſmalleſt corporation. The oath impoſed in this act robbed them of their right as *ſubjects*; Mr. *Eachard* confeſſes that it ſeems at once to give up the whole conſtitution; and no wonder (ſays he) if many of the clergy as well as laity, on the account of this act, eſpouſed a doctrine which if rigidly taken, was hard to be reconciled to the *great deliverance* p. 287, 310. afterwards. Mr. *Rapin* adds, that to ſay that it *is not lawful on any pretence whatſoever to reſiſt the king*, is properly ſpeaking to deliver up the liberties of the nation into his hands. The high churchmen had then elevated ideas of the royal authority, but even this parliament did not think fit afterwards, to admit the dangerous conſequences of their own maxims.

Commiſſioners were appointed, and employed during this and the following year, to viſit the ſeveral corporations in *England*, and to turn out of office ſuch as were in the leaſt ſuſpected; who executed their commiſſions with ſo much rigor, that the corporations had not one member left, who was not entirely devoted to the king and the church.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

From the conference at the Savoy, *to the act of uniformity.*

ACcording to his majeſty's declaration of *October* 25, 1660, concerning eccleſiaſtical affairs, twelve biſhops and nine aſſiſtants were appointed on the part of the epiſcopal church of *England*, and as many miniſters on the ſide of the preſbyterians, to aſſemble at the biſhop of *London's* lodgings at the *Savoy*, "to review the book of common-prayer, "comparing it with the moſt ancient and pureſt liturgies; and to take "into their ſerious and grave conſiderations the ſeveral directions and rules, "forms of prayer, and things in the ſaid book of common-prayer con-"tained, and to adviſe and conſult upon the ſame, and the ſeveral ob-"jections and exceptions which ſhall now be raiſed againſt the ſame; and "if occaſion be, to make ſuch reaſonable and neceſſary alterations, cor-"rections and amendments, as ſhall be agreed upon to be needful and ex-"pedient, for giving ſatisfaction to tender conſciences, and the reſtoring "and continuance of peace and unity in the churches under his majeſ-"ty's government and direction." They were to continue four months from the 25th of *March* 1661, and then preſent the reſult of their conferences to his majeſty under their ſeveral hands.

King Charles II. 1661.

Conference at the Savoy.

The names of the epiſcopal divines on the ſide of the eſtabliſhment at the Savoy conference *were,*

The Moſt Rev. Dr. *Accepted Frewen* Abp. of *York*,
The Right Rev. Dr. *Gilbert Sheldon* Bp. of *London*,
Dr. *John Coſins* Bp. of *Durham*,
Dr. *John Warner* Bp. of *Rocheſter*,
Dr. *Henry King*, Bp. of *Chicheſter*,
Dr. *Humphrey Henchman* Bp. of *Sarum*,
Dr. *George Morley* Bp. of *Worceſter*,
Dr. *Robert Saunderſon* Bp. of *Lincoln*,
Dr. *Benjamin Laney* Bp. of *Peterborough*,
Dr. *Bryan Walton* Bp. of *Cheſter*,
Dr. *Richard Sterne* Bp. of *Carliſle*,
Dr. *John Gauden* Bp. of *Exeter*,

King Charles II. 1661.

Their aſſiſtants.

John Earle D. D. dean of *Weſtm.*
Peter Heylin D. D.
John Hacket D. D.
John Barwick D. D.
Peter Gunning D. D.
John Pearſon D. D.
Thomas Pierce D. D.
Antony Sparrow D. D.
Herbert Thorndyke B. D.

The names of the preſbyterian divines, or thoſe who were for alterations in the hierarchy of the church, at the *Savoy conference* were,

The Rt. Rev. *Edward Reynolds* Bp. of *Norwich*,
The Rev. *Antony Tuckney* D. D. M. St. *John's Col. Cam.*
John Conant D. D. Reg. Prof. *Oxon*,
William Spurſtow D. D. vicar, *Hackney*,
John Wallis D. D. Sav. Prof. Geom.
Thomas Manton D. D. Maſt. of *Cov. Garden*,
Edmund Calamy B. D. of *Aldermanbury*,
Mr. *Richard Baxter* Cl. late of *Kiderminſter*,
Mr. *Arthur Jackſon* clerk of St. *Faith's*,
Mr. *Thomas Caſe* clerk, Rect. of St. *Giles*,
Mr. *Sam. Clarke* clerk, of St. *Bennet Fink*,
Mr. *Matth. Newcomen* clerk of *Dedham*.

Their aſſiſtants.

The Rev. *Thomas Horton* D. D.
Thomas Jacomb D. D.
William Bates D. D.
William Cooper D. D.
John Lightfoot D. D.
The Rev. *John Collins* D. D.
Benj. Woodbridge B. D.
Mr. *John Rawlinſon* clerk.
Mr. *Will. Drake* clerk.

Opening of the conference. Baxter's *life*, part II. p. 305.

When the commiſſioners were aſſembled the firſt time *April* 15, the archbiſhop of *York* ſtood up and ſaid, he knew little of the buſineſs they were met about, and therefore referred it to Dr. *Sheldon* biſhop of *London*, who gave it as his opinion, that the preſbyterians having deſired this conference, they [the biſhops] ſhould neither ſay nor do any thing till the others had brought in all their exceptions and complaints againſt the liturgy in writing, with their additional forms and amendments. The preſbyterians humbly moved for a *conference* according to the words of the commiſſion,

miſſion, but the biſhop of *London* inſiſting peremptorily upon his own method, the others conſented to bring in their *exceptions* at one time, and their *additions* at another. For this purpoſe biſhop *Reynolds*, Dr. *Wallis*, and the reſt of the preſbyterian party, met from day to day to collect their exceptions; but the additions, or drawing up a new form, was intruſted with Mr. *Baxter* alone. "Biſhop *Sheldon* ſaw well enough (ſays "*Burnet*) what the effect would be of obliging them to make all their "demands at once, that the number would raiſe a mighty outcry againſt "them, as a people that could never be ſatisfied." On the other hand the preſbyterians were divided in their ſentiments; ſome were for inſiſting only on a few important things, reckoning that if they were gained, and an union followed, it might be eaſier to obtain others afterwards. But the majority, by the influence of Mr. *Baxter*, were for extending their deſires to the utmoſt, and thought themſelves bound by the words of the commiſſion, to offer every thing they thought might conduce to the peace of the church, without conſidering what an aſpect this would have with the world, or what influence their numerous demands might have upon the minds of thoſe, who were now their ſuperiors in numbers and ſtrength; but when they were put in mind that the *king's commiſſion* gave them no power to alter the government of the church, nor to inſiſt upon archbiſhop *Uſher*'s model, nor ſo much as to claim the conceſſion of his majeſty's late declaration, they were quite heartleſs; for they were now convinced that all they were to expect was a few amendments in the liturgy and common-prayer book. This was concluded before-hand at court, and nothing more intended than to drop the preſbyterians with the ſhow of decency.

King Charles II. 1661.

Ib. p. 306.

p. 180.

The miniſters were under this further hardſhip, that they were to tranſact for a body of men from whom they had no power, and therefore could not oblige to abide by their deciſions; they told the king and the *prime miniſter*, that they ſhould be glad to conſult their abſent brethren, and receive from them a commiſſion in form, but this was denied, and they were required to give in their own ſenſe of things, to which they conſented, provided the biſhops at the ſame time would bring in their conceſſions; but theſe being content to abide by the liturgy as it then ſtood, had nothing to offer, nor would they admit of any alterations but what the preſbyterians ſhould make appear to be neceſſary. With this dark and melancholy proſpect the conference was opened. *It would interrupt the courſe

Hardſhips of the preſbyterians.

* N. B. *All the papers relating to the conference at the* Savoy *are collected in a book, entituled*, THE HISTORY OF NON-CONFORMITY, as it was argued and ſtated by commiſſioners on both ſides appointed by his majeſty king *Charles* II. in the year 1661. *Octavo. Edit. 2d.* 1708.

King Charles II. 1661.

courſe of this hiſtory too much, to inſert all the exceptions of the preſbyterians to the preſent liturgy, and the papers which paſſed between the commiſſioners, with the letter of the preſbyterian miniſters to the archbiſhop and biſhops, and the report they made of the whole to the king. I ſhall only take notice in this place, that inſtead of drawing up a few ſupplemental forms, and making ſome amendments to the old liturgy, Mr. *Baxter* compoſed an entire new one in the language of ſcripture, which he called the *reformed liturgy*; not with a deſign entirely to ſet aſide the old one, but to give men liberty to uſe either as they approved. It was drawn up in a ſhort compaſs of time, and after it had been examined, and approved by his brethren, was preſented to the biſhops in the conference, together with their exceptions to the *old liturgy*. This gave great offence, as preſuming that a liturgy drawn up by a ſingle hand in fourteen days, was to be preferred, or ſtand in competition with *one*, which had been received in the church for a whole century. Beſides, it was inconſiſtent with the commiſſion, and the biſhops declaration of varying no further from the *old ſtandard* than ſhould appear to be neceſſary, and therefore the *reformed liturgy*, as it was called, was rejected at once without being examined.

Proceedings of the commiſſioners.

When the preſbyterians brought in their exceptions to the liturgy, they preſented at the ſame time a PETITION FOR PEACE, beſeeching the biſhops to yield to their amendments; to free them from the ſubſcriptions and oaths in his majeſty's late declaration, and not to inſiſt upon the *re-ordination* of thoſe who had been ordained without a dioceſan biſhop, nor upon the *ſurplice*, the *croſs in baptiſm*, and other *indifferent ceremonies*; for this purpoſe they make uſe of various motives and arguments, ſufficient in my judgment, to influence all who had any concern for the honour of God, and the ſalvation of ſouls. The biſhops gave a particular anſwer to theſe exceptions; to which the preſbyterians made ſuch a reply, as in the opinion of their adverſaries, ſhewed them to be men of learning, and well verſed in the practice of the antient church; however, the biſhops would indulge nothing to their prejudices; upon which they ſent them a large expoſtulatory letter, wherein, after having repeated their objections, they lay the wounds of the church at their door.

A diſputation propoſed. Baxter's *life*, part II. p. p. 337.

The term for the treaty being almoſt ſpun out in a paper controverſy, about ten days before the commiſſion expired, a diſputation was agreed on, to argue the *neceſſity* of alterations in the preſent liturgy. Three of each party were choſe to manage the argument; Dr. *Pearſon*, *Gunning*, and *Sparrow*, on one ſide; and Dr. *Bates*, *Jacomb*, and Mr. *Baxter*, on the other. The reſt were at liberty to withdraw if they pleaſed. Mr. *Baxter* was opponent, and began to prove the ſinfulneſs of impoſitions; but

but through want of order, frequent interruptions, and perſonal reflections, the diſpute iſſued in nothing; a number of young divines interrupting the preſbyterian miniſters and laughing them to ſcorn. At length biſhop *Coſins* produced a paper, containing an expedient to ſhorten the debate, which was, to put the miniſters on diſtinguiſhing between *thoſe things which they charged as* SINFUL, *and thoſe which were only* INEXPEDIENT. The three diſputants on the miniſters ſide, were deſired to draw up an anſwer to this paper, which they did, and charged the rubric and injunctions of the church with eight things flatly *ſinful*, and contrary to the word of God. *King* Charles II. 1661. K. Chr. p. 504.

1. That no miniſter be admitted to baptize without uſing the *ſign of the croſs*. Baxter's *Life*, part II. p. 341.

2. That no miniſter be admitted to officiate without wearing a *ſurplice*.

3. That none be admitted to the Lord's ſupper witout he receive it *kneeling*.

4. That miniſters be obliged to pronounce all baptized perſons *regenerated by the Holy Ghoſt*, whether they be the children of chriſtians or not.

5. That miniſters be obliged to deliver the ſacrament of the body and blood of Chriſt to the *unfit both in health and ſickneſs*, and that, by perſonal application, putting it into their hands, even thoſe who are forced to receive it againſt their wills, through conſciouſneſs of their impenitency.

6. That miniſters are obliged to abſolve the *unfit*, and that in abſolute expreſſions.

7. That miniſters are forced to give thanks for all whom they bury, as *brethren whom God has taken to himſelf*.

8. That none may be preachers who do not ſubſcribe, that *there is nothing in the common-prayer book, book of ordination, and the thirty-nine articles, contrary to the word of God*.

After a great deal of looſe diſcourſe, it was agreed to debate the third article, *of denying the communion to ſuch as could not kneel*. The *miniſters* proved their aſſertion thus, that it was denying the ſacrament to ſuch whom the Holy Ghoſt commanded us to receive; *Rom.* xiv. 1, 2, 3. *Him that is weak in the faith receive ye, but not to doubtful diſputations: One believes he may eat all things; another that is weak, eateth herbs: Let not him that eateth, deſpiſe him that eateth not; and let not him that eateth not, judge him that eateth, for God has received him.* The epiſcopal divines would not underſtand this of the *communion*. They alſo diſtinguiſhed between things lawful in themſelves, and things both lawful in themſelves *and required by lawful authority*. In the former caſe they admit a liberty, but the latter being enjoined *The ſubject of the diſpute.*

by

King Charles II. 1661.

by *authority*, became neceſſary. The miniſters replied, that things about which there is to be a forbearance ought not to be enjoined by authority, and made neceſſary; and for governors to reject men by this rule is to defeat the apoſtle's reaſoning, and ſo contradict the law of God. But when Dr. *Gunning* had read certain citations and authorities for the other ſide of the queſtion, biſhop *Coſins* the moderator called out to the reſt of the biſhops and doctors, and put the queſtion, *all you that think Dr.* Gunning *has proved that* Romans xiv. *ſpeaketh not of receiving the ſacrament, ſay* ay. Upon which there was a general cry among the hearers, *ay, ay*; the epiſcopal divines having great numbers of their party in the hall; whereas the *miniſters* had not above two or three gentlemen and ſcholars who had the courage to appear with them. Nevertheleſs they maintained their point, and (as biſhop *Burnet* obſerves) inſiſted upon it, that a *law which excludes all from the ſacrament who dare not kneel, was unlawful, as it was a limitation in point of communion put upon the laws of Chriſt, which ought to be the only condition of thoſe that have a right to it.*

K. Ch. p. 506.

At length the epiſcopal divines became opponents upon the ſame queſtion, and argued thus; *that command which enjoins only an act in itſelf lawful is not ſinful.* Which Mr. *Baxter* denied. They then added, *that that command which enjoins only an act in itſelf lawful, and no other act or circumſtance unlawful, is not ſinful.* This alſo Mr. *Baxter* denied. They then advanced further, *that command which enjoins only an act in itſelf lawful, and no other act whereby an unjuſt penalty is enjoined, or any circumſtance, whence directly or* per accidens *any ſin is conſequent which the commander ought to provide againſt, hath in it all things requiſite to the lawfulneſs of a command, and particularly cannot be charged with enjoining an act* per accidens *unlawful, nor of commanding an act under an unjuſt penalty.* This alſo was denied, becauſe though it does not command that which is ſinful, it may reſtrain from that which is lawful, and it may be applied to undue ſubjects. Other reaſons were aſſigned; but the diſpute broke off with noiſe and confuſion, and high reflections upon Mr. *Baxter*'s dark and cloudy imagination, and his perplexed, ſcholaſtic, metaphyſical manner of diſtinguiſhing, which tended rather to confound than to clear up, that which was doubtful; and biſhop *Saunderſon* being the in the chair pronounced that Dr. *Gunning* had the better of the argument.

K. Chr. p. 505.

Remarks. Biſhop *Morley* ſaid, that Mr. *Baxter*'s denying that plain propoſition was deſtructive of all authority human and divine; that it ſtruck the church out of all its claims for making canons, and for ſettling order and diſcipline; nay, that it took away all legiſlative power from the king and parliament, and even from God himſelf; for no act can be ſo good in itſelf

ſelf but may lead to a ſin *by accident*; and if to command ſuch an act be a ſin, then every command muſt be a ſin. *King* Charles II. 1661.

Biſhop *Burnet* adds, "that *Baxter* and *Gunning* ſpent ſeveral days in "logical arguing, to the diverſion of the town, who looked upon them "as a couple of *fencers* engaged in a diſpute that could not be brought "to any end. The biſhops inſiſted *upon the laws being ſtill in force*; *to* "*which they would admit of no exception, unleſs it was proved that the* "*matter of them was ſinful.* They charged the preſbyterians with mak-"ing a ſchiſm for that which they could not prove to be ſinful. They "ſaid there was no reaſon to gratify ſuch men; that one demand granted "would draw on many more; that all authority in church and ſtate was "ſtruck at by the poſition they had inſiſted on, namely, *that it was not* "*lawful to impoſe things indifferent*, ſince theſe ſeemed to be the only "matters in which authority could interfere." Thus ended the diſputation.

From arguments the miniſters deſcended to entreaties, and prayed the biſhops to have compaſſion on ſcrupulous minds, and not deſpiſe their weaker brethren. If the non-conformiſts ſhould be ejected, they urged, that there would not be clergymen enough to fill the vacant pulpits; they put them in mind of their peaceable behaviour in the late times; what they had ſuffered for the royal cauſe, and the great ſhare they had in reſtoring the king; they pleaded his majeſty's late declaration, and the deſign of the preſent conference. To all which the biſhops replied, that they were only commiſſioned *to make ſuch alterations in the liturgy as ſhould be neceſſary, and ſuch as ſhould be agreed upon.* The miniſters replied, that the word *neceſſary* muſt refer to the ſatisfying tender conſciences; but the biſhops inſiſted, that they ſaw no alterations neceſſary, and therefore were not obliged to make any, till they could prove them ſo. The miniſters prayed them to conſider the ill conſequence that might follow upon a ſeparation. But all was to no purpoſe, their lordſhips were in the ſaddle, and if we may believe Mr. *Baxter*, would not abate the ſmalleſt ceremony, nor correct the groſſeſt error, for the peace of the church. Thus the king's commiſſion expired *July* 25, and the conferences ended without any proſpect of accommodation. *The* preſbyterians *deſcend to entreaties.*

It was agreed at the concluſion, that each party might repreſent to his majeſty, that they were all agreed upon the ends of the conference, which were the *church's welfare*, *unity*, *and peace*, but ſtill diſagreed as to the means of procuring them. The biſhops thought they had no occaſion to repreſent their caſe in writing; but the preſbyterian commiſſioners met by themſelves, and drew up an account of their proceedings, with a petition for that relief which they could not obtain from the biſhops. They preſented it to the king by biſhop *Reynolds*, doctor *Bates*, doctor *Manton*, and Mr. *Baxter*; but received no anſwer. Baxter's *life*, part II. p. 366.

Before

King Charles II. 1661.

Before we leave this famous conference at the *Savoy*, it will not be amiſs to remark the behaviour of the commiſſioners on both ſides, ſome of whom ſeldom or never appeared; as Dr. *King* biſhop of *Chicheſter*, Dr. *Heylin*, *Barwick*, and *Earle*; *Sheldon* biſhop of *London* came ſeldom, though he, with *Henchman* and *Morley*, had the chief management of affairs; others who were preſent, did not much concern themſelves in the debate, as Dr. *Frewen* archbiſhop of *York*; *Lucy* of St. *David's*; *Warner* of *Rocheſter*; *Saunderſon* of *Lincoln*; *Laney* of *Peterborough*; *Walton* of *Cheſter*; *Sterne* of *Carliſle*; Dr. *Hacket* and Dr. *Sparrow*— On the ſide of the preſbyterians Dr. *Horton* never appeared, nor Dr. *Drake*, becauſe of a *miſnomer* in the commiſſion; Dr. *Lightfoot*, *Tuckney*, and Mr. *Woodbridge*, were preſent only once or twice.

Behaviour of the commiſſioners.

Baxter, part II. p. 307. K. Chron. p. 507.

Doctor Morley.

Among the biſhops; Dr. *Morley* was the chief ſpeaker; his manner was vehement, and he was againſt all abatements. He frequently interrupted Mr. *Baxter*; and when Dr. *Bates* ſaid, *pray, my lord, give him leave to ſpeak*, he could not obtain it.

Baxter, part II. p. 363, &c.

Bp. Coſins.

Biſhop *Coſins* was there conſtantly, and though he was enclined to moderate meaſures, ſaid ſome very ſevere things. When the miniſters prayed the biſhops to have ſome compaſſion on their brethren, and not caſt ſuch *great numbers unneceſſarily* out of the miniſtry, he replied, *what do you threaten us with numbers? For my part, I think the king would do well to make you name them all.* Again, when the miniſters complained, that after ſo many years calamity the biſhops would not yield to that which their predeceſſors offered before the war, biſhop *Coſins* replied, *Do you threaten us then with a new war? 'Tis time for the king to look to you.*

Bp. Gauden.

Biſhop *Gauden* often took part with the preſbyterian divines, and was the only moderator among the biſhops, except biſhop *Reynolds*, who ſpoke much the firſt day for abatements and moderation; but afterwards ſitting among the biſhops, he only ſpoke now and then a qualifying word, though he was heartily grieved for the fruitleſs iſſue of the conference.

Of the diſputants.

Of the diſputants, 'tis ſaid, Dr. *Pearſon*, afterwards biſhop of *Cheſter*, diſputed accurately, ſoberly, and calmly. The preſbyterian miniſters had a great regard for him, and believed, that if he had been an umpire in the controverſy, his conceſſions would have greatly relieved them.

Dr. *Gunning* was the moſt forward ſpeaker, and ſtuck at nothing. Biſhop *Burnet* ſays, that all the arts of ſophiſtry were uſed by him in as confident a manner as if they had been ſound reaſoning; that he was unweariedly active to very little purpoſe, and being very fond of the popiſh rituals and ceremonies, he was much ſet upon reconciling the church of *England* to *Rome*.

On

King Charles II. 1660.

On the ſide of the preſbyterians, Dr. *Bates* and *Manton* behaved with great modeſty; the moſt active diſputant was Mr. *Baxter*, who had a very metaphyſical head and fertile invention, and was one of the moſt ready men of his time for an argument, but too eager and tenacious of his own opinions. Next to him was Mr. *Calamy*, who had a great intereſt among the preſbyterian miniſters in city and country, and for his age and gravity was reſpected as their father.

Of the auditors. Life, p. 337.

Among the auditors, Mr. *Baxter* obſerves there was with the biſhops a croud of young divines who behaved indecently; but mentions only two or three ſcholars and laymen, who as auditors, came in with the preſbyterians, as Mr. *Miles*, Mr. *Tillotſon*, &c.

Account of abp. Tillotſon.

This Mr. *Tillotſon* was afterwards the moſt reverend and learned archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, one of the moſt celebrated divines and preachers of the age. We ſhall have frequent occaſion to mention him hereafter, and therefore I ſhall give a ſhort account of him in this place: He was born in *Yorkſhire* 1630, and received his firſt education among the *puritans*; and though he had free-er notions, he ſtill ſtuck to the ſtrictneſs of life to which he was bred, and retained a juſt value, and a due tenderneſs, for men of that perſuaſion. He was admitted ſtudent of *Clare Hall* in *Cambridge*, under the tuition of Mr. *David Clarkſon* in the year 1647. He was batchelor of arts 1650, and within the compaſs of a year was elected fellow. He had then a ſweetneſs of temper which he retained as long as he lived; and in thoſe early years was reſpected as a perſon of very great parts and prudence. In the year 1661 he continued a non-conformiſt, and has a ſermon in the morning exerciſes on *Matt.* vii. 12. He appeared with the preſbyterians at the *Savoy* diſputation; and though he conformed upon the act of uniformity in 1662, he was always inclined to the puritans, never fond of the ceremonies of the church, but would diſpenſe ſometimes with thoſe, who could not conſcientiouſly ſubmit to them. He owned the diſſenters had ſome plauſible objections againſt the common-prayer; and in the opinion of ſome, perſuaded men rather to bear with the church, than be zealous for it. In the year 1663 he was preferred to the rectory of *Keddington* in *Suffolk*, vacant by the non-ſubſcription of Mr. *Samuel Fairclough*. Next year he was choſen preacher to *Lincoln's-Inn*, and lecturer of St. *Lawrence*'s church in *London*, where his excellent ſermons, delivered in a moſt graceful manner, drew the attention of great numbers of the quality, and of moſt of the divines and gentlemen in the city. In 1669 he was made canon of *Chriſt Church* in *Canterbury*; and in 1672 dean of that church, and reſidentiary; but roſe no higher till the revolution of king *William* and queen *Mary*, when he was firſt made clerk of the cloſet, and then advanced at once to the archbiſhopric of *Canterbury*, in the room of Dr. *Sancroft*

Ath. Ox. p. 968.

King Charles II. 1661.

Sancroft a non-juror. He was a divine of moderate principles to the laſt, and always diſpoſed to promote a toleration, and if poſſible a comprehenſion of the diſſenters within the church. Upon the whole, he was a ſecond *Cranmer*, and one of the moſt valuable prelates that this, or it may be, any other church ever produced.

Cenſures of the conference.

Various cenſures were paſſed within doors upon the *Savoy* conference; the *independents* were diſguſted, becauſe none of them were conſulted, though it does not appear to me what concern they could have in it, their views being only to a toleration, not a comprehenſion. Some blamed their brethren for yielding too much, and others thought they might have yielded more; but when they ſaw the fruitleſs end of the treaty, and the papers which were publiſhed, moſt of them were ſatisfied. —— Biſhop *Burnet* ſays, the conference did rather hurt than good, it heightened the ſharpneſs which was already on people's minds to ſuch a degree, that it needed no addition to raiſe it higher —— Mr. *Robinſon* ſays, "It was notorious that the buſineſs of the epiſcopal party was not to conſult the "intereſt of religion, but to cover a political deſign, which was too bad "to appear at firſt; nor did they mean to heal the church's wounds, ſo "much as to revenge their own. When they knew what the preſbyterians ſcrupled, they ſaid, now they knew their minds they would have "matters ſo fixed, that not one of that ſort ſhould be able to keep his "living. They did not deſire, but rather fear their compliance." Nay, ſo unacceptable was the publiſhing the papers relating to the conference, that biſhop *Saunderſon* and ſome of his brethren cautioned their clergy againſt reading them. From this time the preſbyterians were out of the queſtion, and the ſettlement of the church referred entirely to the convocation and parliament.

p. 181. *Anſwer to* Bennet *of liturgies.* p. 382.

A convocation.

It had been debated in council, whether there ſhould be a convocation ſummoned while the conference at the *Savoy* was depending; but at the interceſſion of Dr. *Heylin* and others, the court was prevailed with to conſent that there ſhould; and ſuch care was taken in the choice of members (as biſhop *Burnet* obſerves), that every thing went among them as was directed by biſhop *Sheldon* and *Morley*. If a convocation had been held with the convention parliament, the majority would have been againſt the hierarchy; but 'tis not to be wondered they were otherwiſe now, when ſome hundreds of the preſbyterian clergy, who were in poſſeſſion of ſequeſtered livings, had been diſpoſſeſſed; and the neceſſity of ordination by a biſhop, being urged upon thoſe who had been ordained by preſbyters only, great numbers were denied their votes in elections. Nevertheleſs the preſbyterian intereſt carried it in *London* for Mr. *Baxter* and *Calamy* by three voices: but the biſhop of *London* having a power of chooſing two out of four, or four out of ſix within a certain circuit, left them both out; by which

which means the city of *London* had no clerks in the convocation. The author of the *conformiſts plea* ſays, "that to frame a convocation to their "their mind, great care and pains were uſed to keep out, and to get men "in, by very undue proceedings; and that proteſtations were made againſt "all incumbents not ordained by biſhops." *King* Charles II. 1661. p. 35.

The *Savoy* conference having ended without ſucceſs, the king ſent a letter to the *convocation Nov.* 20, commanding them *to review the book of common-prayer, and make ſuch additions and amendments* as they thought neceſſary. Letters to the ſame purpoſe were ſent to the archbiſhop of *York*, to be communicated to the clergy of his province, who for the greater expedition, ſent proxies with procuratorial letters to thoſe of *Canterbury*, and obliged themſelves to abide by their votes under forfeiture of their goods and chattels. *They are ordered to review the liturgy.*

"It is inconceivable, ſays Dr. *Nichols*, what difficulties the biſhops had "to contend with, about making theſe alterations; they were not only "to conquer their own former reſentments, and the unreaſonable de-"mands of the preſbyterians, but they had the court to deal with, who "puſhed them on to all acts of ſeverity." Whereas on the contrary, the tide was ſtrong on their ſide, the biſhops puſhed on the court, who were willing to give them the reins, that when the breach was made as wide as poſſible, a door might be opened for the toleration of papiſts. The review of the common-prayer book engaged the convocation a whole month; and on the 20th of *December* it was ſigned, and approved by all the members of both houſes. Kennet, p. 574.

The alterations were theſe,

1. The rubric for *ſinging of leſſons*, &c. was omitted, the diſtinct reading of them being thought more proper. *Alterations in the liturgy.* K. Chr. p. 585.

2. Several collects for ſundays and holy days complained of, were omitted, and others ſubſtituted in their room.

3. Communicants at the Lord's ſupper were enjoined to ſignify their names to the curate ſome time the day before.

4. The preface to the ten commandments was reſtored.

5. The exhortations to the holy communion were amended.

6. The general confeſſion in the communion office was appointed to be read by one of the miniſters.

7. In the office for *Chriſtmas day* the words *this day* were changed for *as at this time.*

8. In the prayer of conſecration, the *prieſt* is directed to break the bread.

9. The rubric for explaining the reaſon of kneeling at the ſacrament was reſtored.

King Charles II. 1661.

10. Private baptiſm is not to be adminiſtered but by a lawful miniſter.

11. The anſwer to the queſtion in the catechiſm, *why then are children baptized?* is thus amended, *becauſe they promiſe them both by their ſureties; which promiſe, when they come to age, themſelves are bound to perform.*

12. In the laſt rubric before the catechiſm theſe words are expunged, *and that no man ſhall think that any detriment ſhall come to children by deferring of their confirmation*, &c.

13. It is appointed that the curate of every pariſh ſhall either bring or ſend in writing, with his hand ſubſcribed thereunto, the names of all ſuch perſons within his pariſh, as he ſhall think fit to be preſented to the biſhop to be confirmed.

14. The rubric after confirmation was thus ſoftened; *none ſhall be admitted to the communion till ſuch time as he be confirmed; or be ready and deſirous to be confirmed.*

15. In the form of matrimony, inſtead of, *till death us depart*, it is, *till death us do part.*

16. In the rubrics after the form of matrimony, it is thus altered. *After which, if there be no ſermon declaring the duties of man and wife, the miniſter ſhall read as followeth* —— And inſtead of the ſecond rubric it is adviſed *to be convenient*, that the new married perſons ſhould receive the communion at the time of marriage, or at the firſt opportunity afterwards.

17. In the order for viſitation of the ſick it is thus amended; *Here the ſick perſon ſhall be moved to make ſpecial confeſſion of his ſins, if he feel his conſcience troubled with any weighty matter; after which the prieſt ſhall abſolve him, if he humbly and heartily deſire it, after this ſort* ——

18. In the communion for the ſick the miniſter is not enjoined to adminiſter the ſacrament to every ſick perſon that ſhall deſire it, but only as he ſhall judge expedient.

19. In the order for the burial of the dead it is thus altered: The prieſts and clerks meeting the corps at the entrance of the church-yard, and going before it either into the church, or towards the grave, ſhall ſay or ſing, —— In the office itſelf, theſe words, *in ſure and certain hope of reſurrection to eternal life*, are thus altered, in ſure and certain hope of *the* reſurrection to eternal life; and to leſſen the objection of *God's taking to himſelf the ſoul of this our dear brother departed*, &c. the following rubric is added: *Here is to be noted, that the office enſuing is not to be uſed for any that die unbaptized, or excommunicate, or who have laid violent hands upon themſelves.*

20. In

King Charles II. 1661.

20. In the *churching of women* the new rubric directs, that the woman, at the uſual time after her delivery, ſhall come into the church decently apparelled, and there ſhall kneel down in ſome convenient place, *as has been accuſtomed, or as the ordinary ſhall direct*, and the cxvith or cxxviith pſalm ſhall be read.

Dr. *Teniſon*, afterwards archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, ſays, "they made about ſix hundred ſmall alterations or additions; but then adds, if there was reaſon for theſe changes, there was equal, if not greater reaſon for ſome further improvements. If they had foreſeen what is ſince come to paſs, I charitably believe they would not have done all they did, and juſt ſo much and no more; and yet I alſo believe, if they had offered to move much further, *a ſtone would have been laid under their wheel, by a ſecret but powerful hand*; for the myſtery of popery did even then work." Biſhop *Burnet* confeſſes, that no alterations were made in favour of the preſbyterians, for it was reſolved to gratify them in nothing. Compl. Hiſt. p. 252. *in marg.*

Other additions. Burnet.

But beſides the alterations and amendments already mentioned, there were ſeveral additional forms of prayer, as for the thirtieth of *January* and the twenty ninth of *May*. Forms of prayer to be uſed at ſea; and a new office for the adminiſtration of baptiſm to grown perſons. Some corrections were made in the kalendar. More new leſſons were taken out of the *Apocrypha*, as *the ſtory of* Bell *and the* Dragon, *&c.* But it was agreed, that no apocryphal leſſons ſhould be read on Sundays. Theſe were all the conceſſions the convocation would admit; and this was all the fruit of the conference at the *Savoy*, by which, according to Mr. *Baxter* and biſhop *Burnet*, the common-prayer book was rendered more exceptionable, and the terms of conformity much harder than before the civil war.

Liturgy amended ſent up to the king and council and H. of Peers. Kennet, p. 631.

The common prayer book thus altered and amended, was ſent up to the king and council, and from thence tranſmitted to the houſe of peers, *Feb.* 24, with this meſſage, that his majeſty had duly conſidered of the alterations, and does with the advice of his council fully approve and allow the ſame; and doth recommend it to the houſe of peers, that the ſaid *books of common-prayer, and of the forms of ordination, and conſecration of biſhops, prieſts and deacons, with thoſe additions and alterations that have been made, and preſented to his majeſty by the convocation, be the book which in and by the intended act of uniformity, ſhall be appointed to be uſed by all that officiate in all cathedral and collegiate churches and chapels*, &c. *and in all pariſh churches of* England *and* Wales, *under ſuch ſanctions or penalties as the parliament ſhall think fit.* When the *lords* had gone through the book, the lord chancellor *Hyde*, by order of the houſe, gave the biſhops thanks *March* 15, for their care in this buſineſs;

King Charles II. 1661.

neſs; and deſired their lordſhips to give the like thanks to the lower houſe of convocation, and acquaint them, that their amendments were well received and approved, though ſome of them met with a conſiderable oppoſition. From the lords they were ſent down to the commons, and inſerted in the act of uniformity, as will be ſeen under the next year.

Preſbyterians *in diſtreſs.* K. Chron. p. 641.

But before this famous act had paſſed either houſe, the preſbyterians were reduced to the utmoſt diſtreſs. In the month of *March* 1661-62, the grand jury at *Exeter* found above forty bills of indictment againſt ſome eminent non-conformiſt miniſters, for not reading common-prayer according to law. They likewiſe preſented the travelling about of divers itinerant preachers, ejected out of ſequeſtered livings, as dangerous to the peace of the nation. They complained of their teaching ſedition and rebellion in private houſes, and other congregations, tending to foment a new war. They alſo preſented ſuch as neglected their own pariſh-churches, and run abroad to hear factious miniſters; and ſuch as walked in the church-yards, or other places, while divine ſervice was reading; all which were the certain forerunners of a general perſecution.

Epiſcopacy reſtored in Scotland. Burnet. p. 113. *&c.*

In *Scotland* the court carried their meaſures with a high hand, for having got a parliament to their mind, the earl of *Middleton* a moſt notorious debauchee, opened it, with preſenting a letter of his majeſty to the houſe; after which they paſſed an act, declaring all *leagues not made with the king's authority illegal:* This ſtruck at the root of the *covenant made with* England *in* 1643. They paſſed another act reſcinding all acts made ſince the late troubles, and another impowering the king to ſettle the government of the church *as he ſhould pleaſe.* It was a mad, roaring time (ſays the biſhop), and no wonder it was ſo, when the men of affairs were almoſt perpetually drunk. The king hereupon directed that the church ſhould be governed by ſynods, preſbyters, and kirk ſeſſions, till he ſhould appoint another government, which he did by a letter to his council in *Scotland*, bearing date *Aug.* 14, 1661, in which he recites the inconveniencies which had attended the preſtyterian government for the laſt twenty three years, and its inconſiſtency with monarchy. —— "Therefore (ſays he) from our reſpect to the glo-
" ry of God, the good and intereſt of the proteſtant religion, and the
" better harmony with the government of the church of *England,*
" *we declare our firm reſolution to interpoſe our royal authority, for reſtor-*
" *ing the church of* Scotland *to its right government by biſhops, as it was*
" *before the late troubles* —— And our will and pleaſure is, that you
" take effectual care to reſtore the rents belonging to the ſeveral bi-
" ſhopricks; that you prohibit the aſſembling of miniſters in their ſyno-
" dical meetings till our further pleaſure; and that you keep a watch-
" ful

p. 116.

" ful eye over thoſe, who by diſcourſe or preaching endeavour to alienate " the affections of our people from us or our government ——" Purſuant to theſe directions, the lords of the council ordered the heralds to make public proclamation at the *market croſs* in *Edinburgh Sept.* 6, of this his majeſty's royal will and pleaſure. In the month of *December*, a commiſſion was iſſued out to the biſhops of *London* and *Worceſter*, to ordain and conſecrate according to the rites and ceremonies of the church of *England*, Mr. *James Sharp* archbiſhop of St. *Andrews*, Mr. *Andrew Fairfoul* archbiſhop of *Glaſgow*, Mr. *Robert Leighton* biſhop of *Dunblain*, and Mr. *James Hamilton* biſhop of *Galloway*. A very bad choice, ſays biſhop *Burnet*; *Sharp* was one of the falſeſt and vileſt diſſemblers in the world. *Fairfoul* was next akin to a natural. *Leighton* was an excellent prelate; but *Hamilton*'s life was ſcarce free from ſcandal: He had ſworn to the covenant, and when one objected to him, that it went againſt his conſcience, he ſaid, *ſuch medicines as could not be chewed muſt be ſwallowed whole.* The *engliſh* biſhops inſiſted upon their renouncing their preſbyterian orders, which they conſented to, and were in one and the ſame day ordained firſt deacons, then prieſts, and laſt of all biſhops, according to the rites of the church of *England*.

King Charles II. 1661.

Ib. p. 133, 134.

Burnet. p. 139, 140.

Biſhop *Burnet* ſays, that though the king had a natural hatred to preſbytery, he went very coldly into this deſign; nay that he had a viſible reluctance againſt it, becauſe of the temper of the *ſcots* nation, and his unwillingneſs to involve his government in new troubles; but the earl of *Clarendon* puſhed it forward with great zeal; and the duke of *Ormond* ſaid, that epiſcopacy could not be eſtabliſhed in *Ireland*, if preſbytery continued in *Scotland*. The earls of *Lauderdale* and *Crawford* indeed oppoſed it, but the council of *Scotland* not proteſting, it was determined; but it was a large ſtrain of the prerogative, for a king by a royal proclamation, to alter the government of a church eſtabliſhed by law, without conſent of parliament, convocation, or ſynod of any kind whatſoever; for it was not till *May* the next year, that this affair was decided in parliament.

Againſt the king's mind. Hiſt. p. 130, 131. Kennet. p. 557.

Some of the *Scots* miniſters preached boldly againſt this change of government; and among others, Mr. *James Guthrie* miniſter of *Sterlin*, for which, and ſome other things, he was convicted of ſedition and treaſon. Biſhop *Burnet*, who ſaw him ſuffer, ſays, that he expreſſed a contempt of death; that he ſpoke an hour upon the ladder with the compoſure of a man who was delivering a ſermon rather than his laſt words; that he juſtified all he had done, exhorting all people to adhere to the covenant, which he magnified highly. He was executed *June* 14 1661, and concluded his dying Speech with theſe words, " I take God " to record upon my ſoul, that I would not exchange this ſcaffold " with

Mr. Guthrie *executed.* Hiſt. Stuarts. p. 144.

K. Chron. p. 459. Burn. p. 126, 127.

King Charles II. 1661.

" with the palace or mitre of the greateſt prelate in *Britain*. Bleſſed " be God, who hath ſhewed mercy to ſuch a wretch, and has revealed " his ſon in me, and made me a miniſter of the everlaſting goſpel; and " that he has deſigned, in the midſt of much contradiction from Satan " and the world, to ſeal my miniſtry upon the hearts of not a few of " this people, and eſpecially in the congregation and preſbytery of *Stir-* " *lin.*" There died with him on the ſame ſcaffold, young captain *Govan*, whoſe laſt words were theſe, " I bear witneſs with my blood " to the perſecuted government of this church, by ſynods and preſbyte- " ries. I bear witneſs to the ſolemn league and covenant, and ſeal it " with my blood. I likewiſe teſtify againſt all popery, prelacy, idolatry, " ſuperſtition, and the ſervice book, which is no better than a relic of " the *romiſh* idolatry ——" Soon after this, the rights of patronages were reſtored, and all the preſbyterian miniſters ſilenced, though the court had not a ſupply of men of any ſort to fill up their vacancies.

Ib. p. 152. 153.

Character of the old ſcots preſbyterians. Ib. p. 156, 157.

The account that biſhop *Burnet* gives of the old *ſcots* preſbyterian miniſters, who were poſſeſſed of the church livings before the reſtoration, is very remarkable, and deſerves a place in this hiſtory. " They were " (ſays he) a brave and ſolemn people; their ſpirits were eager, and their " tempers ſower, but they had an appearance that created reſpect; they " viſited their pariſhes much, and were ſo full of ſcripture, and ſo " ready at extempore prayer, that from that they grew to practiſe ex- " tempore ſermons; for the cuſtom in *Scotland* was, after dinner or ſup- " per, to read a chapter in the bible, and when they happened to come " in, if it was acceptable, they would on a ſudden expound the chapter; " by this means the people had ſuch a vaſt degree of knowledge, that " the poor cottagers could pray extempore. Their preachers went all " in one tract in their ſermons, of doctrine, reaſon, and uſe; and this " was ſo methodical, that the people could follow a ſermon quite " through every branch of it. It can hardly be imagined to what a " degree theſe miniſters were loved, and reverenced by their people. " They kept ſcandalous perſons under ſevere diſcipline; for breach of " the ſabbath, for an oath, or drunkenneſs, they were cited before the " kirk ſeſſions, and ſolemnly rebuked for it; for fornication they ſtood " on the ſtool of repentance in the church, at the time of worſhip, for " three days, receiving admonition, and making profeſſions of repen- " tance, which ſome did with many tears, and exhortations to others to " take warning by them; for adultery they ſat in the ſame place ſix " months covered with ſackcloth. But with all this (ſays the biſhop), " they had but a narrow compaſs of learning, were very affected in " their deportment, and were apt in their ſermons to make themſelves " popular,

" popular, by preaching againſt the ſins of princes and courts, which the " people delighted to hear, becauſe they had no ſhare in them." *King* Charles II. 1661.

The biſhops and clergy who ſucceeded the preſbyterians were of a quite different ſtamp; moſt of them were very mean divines, vicious in their morals, idle and negligent of their cures; by which means they became obnoxious to the whole nation, and were hardly capable of ſupporting their authority through the reign of king *Charles* II. even with the aſſiſtance of the civil power. Biſhop *Burnet* adds, that they were mean and deſpicable in all reſpects; the worſt preachers he ever heard; ignorant to a reproach, and many of them openly vicious; that they were a diſgrace to their order, and to the ſacred functions, and were indeed the dregs and refuſe of the northern parts. The few who were above contempt or ſcandal were men of ſuch violent tempers, that they were as much hated as the others were deſpiſed. *And of the* ſcots *bps. and new clergy.* p. 158.

In *Ireland* the hierarchy was reſtored after the ſame manner as in *Scotland*; the king by his letters patent in right of his power to nominate biſhops to the vacant ſees, iſſued his royal mandate to Dr. *Bramhall* archbiſhop of *Armagh*, and Dr. *Taylor* biſhop of *Down* and *Connor*, by virtue of which they conſecrated two archbiſhops, and ten biſhops, in one day. His grace inſiſted on the re-ordination of thoſe who had been ordained in the late times without the hands of a biſhop, but with this ſoftning clauſe in their orders. *Non annihilantes priores ordines (ſi quos habuit) nec validitatem, aut invaliditatem eorundum determinantes, multo minus omnes ordines ſacros eccleſiarum forinſecarum condemnantes, quos proprio judicio relinquimus: Sed ſolummodo ſupplentes quicquid prius defuit per canones eccleſiæ* anglicanæ *requiſitum* —— i. e. " Not " annihilating his former orders (if he had any), nor determining con- " cerning their validity or invalidity, much leſs condemning all the ſa- " cred ordinations of foreign churches, whom we leave to their own " judge, but only ſupplying what was wanting according to the canons " of the church of *England* ——" Without ſuch an explication as this, few of the clergy of *Ireland* would have kept their ſtations in the church. On the 17th of *May* the lords ſpiritual and temporal, and the commons in parliament aſſembled in *Ireland*, declared their approbation and high eſteem of epiſcopal government, and of the book of common-prayer, according to the uſe of the church of *England*; and thus the old conſtitution in church as well as ſtate, was reſtored in the three kingdoms. *Epiſcopacy reſtored in* Ireland. Ken. p. 440, 441. Ib. p. 449.

The *french* miniſters, who had been tools to perſuade the *engliſh* preſbyterians to reſtore the king *without a treaty*, went along with the torrent, and complimented the church of *England* upon her re-eſtabliſhment; they commended the liturgy, which they formerly treated with *Conduct of the* french *proteſtants.*

King Charles II. 1661.

contemptuous language. Some few of them pretended to bemoan the want of epiſcopacy among themſelves, and to wonder that any of the *engliſh* preſbyterians ſhould ſcruple conformity. The *french* church at the *Savoy*, ſubmitted to the rites and ceremonies of the *engliſh* hierarchy; and Mr. *Du Boſc* miniſter of *Caen*, writes to the miniſter of the *Savoy*, that he was as dear to him under the *ſurplice* of *England*, as under the *robe* of *France*. So complaiſant were theſe mercenary divines, towards thoſe who diſallowed their orders, diſowned their churches, and the validity of all their adminiſtrations.

K. Chr. p. 462. Kennet, p. 475.

King's pretended zeal for the hierarchy.

Lord *Clarendon* and the biſhops having got over the *Savoy* conference, and carried the ſervice-book with the amendments through the convocation, were now improving the preſent temper of the parliament to procure it the ſanction of the legiſlature; for this purpoſe the king, *though a papiſt*, is made to ſpeak the language of a zealous churchman. In his ſpeech to the parliament, *Feb.* 28, he has theſe words; "gentlemen, "I hear you are zealous for the church, and very ſollicitous, and even "jealous, that there is not expedition enough uſed in that affair. I thank "you for it, ſince I preſume it proceeds from a good root of piety and "devotion; but I muſt tell you, that I have the worſt luck in the "world, if after all the reproaches of being a *papiſt*, while I was abroad, "I am ſuſpected of being a *preſbyterian* now I am come home. I "know you will not take it unkindly if I tell you, I am as zealous for "the church of *England* as any of you can be, and am enough ac-"quainted with the enemies of it on all ſides. I am as much in love "with the book of common-prayer as you can wiſh, and have pre-"judices enough againſt thoſe who do not love it; who I hope, in time, "will be better informed, and change their minds. And you may be "confident, I do as much deſire to ſee an uniformity ſettled as any among "you; and pray truſt me in that affair, I promiſe you to haſten the "diſpatch of it with all convenient ſpeed; you may rely upon me in it. "I have tranſmitted the book of common-prayer with the amendments, "to the houſe of lords —— but when when we have done all we can, "the well ſettling that affair will require great prudence and diſcretion, "and the abſence of all paſſion and precipitation."

Rapin. p. 290.

In favour of the papiſts, who declare their principles.

The reaſon of the king's requiring *diſcretion* in the parliament, and the abſence of paſſion, was not in favour of the preſbyterians, but the papiſts, who went all the lengths of the prerogative, and publiſhed a remonſtrance about this time, "wherein they acknowledge his majeſty "to be God's vice-gerent upon earth in all temporal affairs; "that they are bound to obey him under pain of ſin, and that "they renounce all foreign power and authority, as incapable of ab-

" of abſolving them from this obligation." It was given out, that they were to have forty chapels in and about the city of *London*, and much more was underſtood by them (ſays archbiſhop *Teniſon*), who have penetrated into the deſigns of a certain paper, commonly called the *declaration of Somerſet-Houſe*; but the deſign miſcarried, partly by their diviſions among themſelves, and partly by the reſoluteneſs of the prime miniſter, who charged them with principles inconſiſtent with the peace of the kingdom. Father *Orleans* ſays, " there were great debates in this " parliament about liberty of conſcience —— The catholic party was " ſupported by the earl of *Briſtol*, a man in great repute; the proteſ- " tant party by chancellor *Hyde*, chief of an oppoſite faction, and a " perſon of no leſs conſideration, who putting himſelf at the head of " the prevailing church of *England* party in that parliament, declared not " only againſt the *roman* catholics, but againſt the preſbyterians, and " all thoſe the church of *England* calls non-conformiſts. The king, " *who was no good chriſtian in his actions, but a catholic in his heart*, did " all that could be expected from his eaſy temper, to maintain the com- " mon liberty, *that ſo the catholics might have a ſhare in it*; but the " church of *England*, and chancellor *Hyde*, were ſo hot upon that " point, that his majeſty was obliged to yield rather to the chancellor's " importunity than to his reaſon." However, by the favour of the queen-mother, ſwarms of papiſts came over into *England*, and ſettled about the court, they ſet up private ſeminaries for the education of youth; and though they could not obtain an open toleration, they multiplied exceedingly, and laid the foundation of all the dangers which threatened the conſtitution and proteſtant religion, in the latter part of this and in the next reign.

King Charles II. 1661.

Compl. Hiſt. p. 252, *in marg.* K. Chron. p. 495. Ib. p. 498.

Towards the latter end of this year, the court and biſhops not content with their triumphs over the living preſbyterians, deſcended into the grave, and dug up the bodies of thoſe who had been depoſited in *Weſtminſter-Abbey* in the late times, leſt their duſt ſhould one time or other mix with the loyaliſts; for beſides the bodies of *Cromwell*, and others already mentioned, his majeſty's warrant to the dean and chapter of *Weſtminſter* was now obtained, to take up the bodies of ſuch perſons who had been unwarrantably buried in the chapel of king *Henry* VII. and in other chapels and places within the collegiate church of *Weſtminſter* ſince the year 1641, and to interr them in the church-yard adjacent; by which warrant they might have taken up all the bodies that had been buried there for twenty years paſt. Purſuant to theſe orders, on the 12th and 14th of *September* they went to work, and took up about twenty, among whom were,

Dead bodies of the moſt conſiderable perſons in the late times dug up. Ken. Chron. p. 536.

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The body of ELIZABETH CROMWELL, mother of OLIVER, daughter of Sir *Richard Stewart*, who died *Nov.* 18, 1654, and was buried in *Henry* the ſeventh's chapel.

The body of ELIZABETH CLAYPOLE, daughter of OLIVER, who died *Aug.* 7, 1658, and was buried in a vault made for her in *Henry* the ſeventh's chapel.

The body of ROBERT BLAKE, the famous *engliſh* admiral, who after his victorious fight at *Santa Cruz*, died in *Plymouth-Sound*, *Auguſt* 7, 1657, and was buried in *Henry* the ſeventh's chapel: A man whoſe great ſervices to the *engliſh* nation will be an everlaſting monument of his renown.

The body of the famous Mr. JOHN PYM, a *corniſh* gentleman, and member of the long parliament, who was buried in the year 1643, and attended to his grave by moſt of the lords and commons in parliament.

The body of Dr. DORISLAUS, employed as an aſſiſtant in drawing up the charge againſt the king, for which he was murdered by the royaliſts, when he was ambaſſador to the ſtates of *Holland* in 1649.

The body of Sir WILLIAM CONSTABLE, one of the king's judges, governor of *Glouceſter*, and colonel of a regiment of foot, who died 1655.

The body of colonel EDWARD POPHAM, one of the admirals of the fleet, who died 1651.

The body of WILLIAM STROUD *Eſq*; one of the five members of parliament demanded by king *Charles* I.

The body of colonel HUMPHREY MACKWORTH, one of *O. Cromwell*'s colonels, buried in *Henry* the ſeventh's chapel, 1654.

The body of DENNIS BOND *Eſq*; one of the council of ſtate, who died *Aug.* 8, 1658.

The body of THOMAS MAY *Eſq*; who compiled the hiſtory of the long parliament with great integrity, and in a beautiful ſtile. He died in the year 1650.

The body of colonel JOHN MELDRUM, a *ſcots* man, who died in the wars.

The body of colonel BOSCAWEN, a *corniſh* man.

To theſe may be added, ſeveral eminent preſbyterian divines; as,

The body of Dr. *William Twiſſe*, prolocutor of the aſſembly of divines, buried in the ſouth croſs of the abbey church, *July* 24, 1645.

The body of Mr. *Stephen Marſhal*, buried in the ſouth iſle, *Nov.* 23, 1655.

The

King Charles II. 1661.

The body of Mr. *William Strong*, preacher in the abbey church, and buried there July 4, 1654. Theſe with ſome others of leſſer note, both men and women, were thrown together into one pit in St. *Margaret*'s church-yard, near the back-door of one of the prebendaries: But the work was ſo indecent, and drew ſuch a general *odium* on the government, that a ſtop was put to any further proceedings.

Of the quakers.

Among others who were obnoxious to the miniſtry, were the people called QUAKERS, who having declared openly againſt the lawfulneſs of making uſe of carnal weapons, even in ſelf-defence, had the courage to petition the houſe of lords for a *toleration* of their religion, and for a diſpenſation from taking the oaths, which they held unlawful, not from any diſſaffection to the government, or a belief that they were leſs obliged by an *affirmation*, but from a perſuaſion that all oaths were unlawful; and that *ſwearing* upon the moſt ſolemn occaſions, was forbidden in the new teſtament. The lords in a committee rejected their petition, and inſtead of granting them relief, paſſed the following act *May* 2, the preamble to which ſets forth, "that whereas ſundry perſons have taken "up an opinion, that an oath, even before a magiſtrate, is unlawful, "and contrary to the word of God. And whereas under pretence of "religious worſhip, the ſaid perſons do aſſemble in great numbers in "ſeveral parts of the kingdom, ſeparating themſelves from the reſt of his "majeſty's ſubjects, and from the public congregations and uſual places "of divine worſhip; be it therefore enacted, that if any ſuch perſons "after the 24th of *March* 1661-2, ſhall refuſe to take an oath when "lawfully tendered, or perſuade others to do it, or maintain in writing "or otherwiſe, the unlawfulneſs of taking an oath; or if they ſhall aſ-"ſemble for religious worſhip to the number of five or more, of the "age of fifteen, they ſhall for the firſt offence forfeit five pounds; for the "ſecond ten pounds; and for the third ſhall abjure the realm, or be "tranſported to the plantations: And the juſtices of peace at their open "ſeſſions, may hear and finally determine in the affair." This act was paſſed by commiſſion, and had a dreadful influence upon that people, though it was notorious they were far from ſedition or diſſaffection to the government. *G. Fox* in his addreſs to the king, acquaints his majeſty, that three thouſand and ſixty-eight of their friends had been impriſoned ſince his majeſty's reſtoration; that their meetings were daily broken up by men with clubs and arms, and their friends thrown into the water, and trampled under foot, till the blood guſhed out, which gave riſe to their meeting in the open ſtreets. Another narrative was printed, ſigned by twelve witneſſes, which ſays, that more than four thouſand two hundred quakers were impriſoned; and of them five hundred were in and about *Lon-*

Act againſt quakers. 13 Car. II. cap. 1.

Sewel, p. 346. K. Chron. p. 651.

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London, and the ſuburbs; ſeveral of whom were dead in the gaols. But theſe were only the beginning of ſorrows.

State of religion.

RELIGION, which had been in vogue in the late times, was now univerſally diſcountenanced; the name of it was hardly mentioned but with contempt, in a health or a play. Thoſe who obſerved the ſabbath, and ſcrupled prophane ſwearing and drinking healths, were expoſed under the opprobrious names of puritans, fanatics, presbyterians, republicans, ſeditious perſons, *&c.* The presbyterian miniſters were every where ſuſpended or deprived, for ſome unguarded expreſſions in ther ſermons or prayers. Lord *Clarendon* was at the head of all this madneſs, and declared in parliament, "that the king could diſtinguiſh between *tenderneſs* of conſcience and *pride* of conſcience; that he was a prince of ſo excellent "a nature, and of *ſo tender a conſcience himſelf*, that he had the "higheſt compaſſion for all errors of that kind, and would never ſuffer "the weak to undergo the puniſhment ordained for the wicked." Such was the deep penetration of the chancellor; and ſuch the reward the preſbyterians received for their paſt ſervices!

Extravagancies of the court and nation.

The profligate manners of the court, at the ſame time, ſpread over the whole land, and occaſioned ſuch a general licentiouſneſs, that the king took notice of it in his ſpeech at the end of this ſeſſion of parliament. "I cannot but obſerve (ſays his majeſty) that the whole nation "ſeems to be a little corrupted in their exceſs of living; ſure all men ſpend "much more in their clothes, in their diet, and all other expences, than "they have been uſed to do; I hope it has been only the exceſs of joy "after ſo long ſuffering, that has tranſported us to theſe other exceſſes, but "let us take heed that the continuance of them does not indeed corrupt our "natures. I do believe I have been faulty myſelf; I promiſe you I will "reform, and if you will join with me in your ſeveral capacities, we "ſhall by our examples do more good both in city and country than any "new laws would do." This was a frank acknowledgement, and a good reſolution, but it was not in the king's nature to retrench his expences, or controul his vices for the public good.

1662.

Q. mother at Somerſet-Houſe.

Though the revenues of the crown were augmented above double what they had been at any time ſince the reformation; and though the king had a vaſt dowry with his queen, whom he married this ſpring, yet all was not ſufficient to defray the extravagance of the court; for beſides the king's own expences, the queen-mother maintained a ſplendid court of *roman* catholics at *Somerſet-Houſe*, and might have done ſo as long as ſhe had lived, if ſhe could have kept within moderate bounds; but her conduct was ſo imprudent and profuſe, that ſhe was obliged to return to *France* after three or four years, where ſhe died in the year 1669. A lady of ſuch

ſuch bigotry in religion, and intrigue in politics, that her alliance to this nation was little leſs than a judgment from heaven. *King* Charles II. 1662.

To procure more ready money for theſe extravagancies, it was reſolved to ſell the town of *Dunkirk* to the *french*, for five hundred thouſand pounds. The lord chancellor *Clarendon* was the projector of this vile bargain, as appears by the letters of count *D'Eſtrades*, publiſhed ſince his death, in one of which his lordſhip acknowledges, that the *thought came from himſelf.* Several mercenary pamphlets were diſperſed to juſtify this ſale; but the war with *France* in the reigns of king *William* and queen *Anne*, have ſufficiently convinced us, that it was a fatal ſtab to our trade and commerce: inſomuch that even the queen's laſt miniſtry durſt not venture to make a peace with *France*, till the fortifications of it were demoliſhed. *Sale of* Dunkirk. Rapin, p. 300, 301, 302, 303.

But to divert the people's eyes to other objects, it was reſolved to go on with the proſecution of ſtate criminals, and with humbling and cruſhing the non-conformiſts: Three of the late king's judges being apprehended in *Holland*, by the forward zeal of Sir *G. Downing* (viz.) colonel *Okey*, *Corbet*, and *Berkſtead*, were brought over to *England* by permiſſion of the ſtates, and executed on the act of attainder, *April* 19. They died with the ſame reſolution and courage as the former had done, declaring they had no malice againſt the late king, but apprehended the authority of parliament ſufficient to juſtify their conduct. *Execution of more of the king's judges.*

Before the parliament roſe, the houſe addreſſed the king to bring colonel *Lambert* and Sir *Henry Vane*, priſoners in the *Tower*, to their trial; and accordingly *June* 4, they were arraigned at the *King's-Bench Bar*; the former for levying war againſt the king; and the latter for compaſſing his death. *Lambert* was convicted, but for his ſubmiſſive behaviour pardoned as to life, and confined in the iſle of *Guernſey*, where he remained a patient priſoner till his death, which happened about thirty years after. Sir *Harry Vane* had ſuch an intereſt in the convention parliament, that both lords and commons petitioned for his life, which his majeſty promiſed; and yet afterwards, at the inſtigation of the preſent houſe of commons, he was tried and executed. Sir *Harry* made a brave defence, but it was determined to ſacrifice him to the ghoſt of the earl of *Strafford*; and when his friends would have had him petition for his life, he refuſed, ſaying, *if the king had not a greater regard for his word and honour than he had for his life, he might take it.* Nevertheleſs biſhop *Burnet* ſays, " He was naturally a fearful man, and had a head as dark in the notions " of religion; but when he ſaw his death was determined, he compoſed " himſelf to it with a reſolution that ſurprized all that knew how little " of that was natural to him —— He was beheaded on *Tower-Hill June* " 14, where a new and very indecent practice was begun; it was obſerved *Trials of colonel* Lambert *and Sir* H. Vane. *Execution of Sir* H. Vane. Burnet, p. 163, 164.

King Charles II. 1662.

" ſerved that the dying ſpeeches of the *regicides*, had left impreſſions on " the hearers that were not at all to the advantage of the government; " and ſtrains of a peculiar nature being expected from him, drummers " were placed under the ſcaffold, who, as ſoon as he began to ſpeak of " the public, upon a ſign given, ſtruck up with their drums. But this " put him into no diſorder; he deſired they might be ſtopt, for he " knew what was meant by it. Then he went to his devotion; and " as he was taking leave of thoſe about him, he happened to ſay ſome- " thing again with relation to the times, when the drums ſtruck up a " ſecond time; ſo he gave over, ſaying, *it was a ſorry cauſe that would* " *not bear the words of a dying man*; and died with ſo much compoſed- " neſs, that it was generally thought the government loſt more than it " gained by his death." The *Oxford* hiſtorian ſays, he appeared on the ſcaffold like an old *roman*, and died without the leaſt ſymptom of concern or trouble.

The act of uniformity brought into parliament. Kennet, p. 604.

But the grand affair that employed the parliament this ſpring, was the famous *act of uniformity of public prayers*, &c. deſigned for the incloſure of the church, and the *only door of admiſſion* to all eccleſiaſtical preferments. The review of the common-prayer had been in convocation three or four months, and was brought into parliament, with their alterations and amendments, before *Chriſtmas*; the bill was read the firſt time in the houſe of commons *Jan.* 14, and paſſed after ſundry debates but by ſix voices, *yea's* 186; *no's* 180; but it met with greater obſtacles among the lords, who offered ſeveral amendments, which occaſioned conferences between the two houſes. The lords would have exempted *ſchool-maſters, tutors, and thoſe who had the education of youth*; and in the diſabling clauſe would have included only *livings with cure*. But the commons being ſupported by the court would abate nothing, nor conſent to any proviſion for ſuch as ſhould be ejected. They would indulge no latitude in the *ſurplice, or croſs in baptiſm*, for fear of eſtabliſhing a ſchiſm, and weakening the authority of the church, as to her right of impoſing indifferent rites and ceremonies. And the court were willing to ſhut out as many as they could from the eſtabliſhment, to make a *general toleration* more neceſſary. When the lords urged the king's declaration from *Breda*, the commons replied, that it would be ſtrange to call a ſchiſmatical conſcience a tender one; but ſuppoſe this had been meant (ſay they), his majeſty can be guilty of no breach of promiſe, becauſe the declaration had theſe two limitations, a *reference to parliament*; —— and *ſo far as was conſiſtent with the peace of the kingdom.* *May* 8 the reſult of the conference with the houſe of commons being reported to the lords, the houſe laid aſide their objections, and concurred with the commons, and the bill paſſed; but as biſhop *Burnet* obſerves, with no great majority,

Ib. p. 677.

Ib. p. 679.

And paſſed.

majority. *May* 19 it received the royal aſſent, and was to take place from the 24th of *Auguſt* following. This act being perfixed to the book of common-prayer, and lying open to public view, I ſhall only give the reader an abſtract of it. It is entituled

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" *An act for the uniformity of public prayers, and adminiſtration of* " *ſacraments, and other rites and ceremonies, and for eſtabliſhing the forms* " *of making, ordaining, and conſecrating biſhops, prieſts, and deacons, in* " *the church of* England.

Abſtract of it.

The preamble ſets forth, " that from the firſt of queen *Elizabeth* there " had been one uniform order of common ſervice and prayer enjoined to " be uſed by act of parliament, which had been very comfortable to all " good people, till a great number of people in divers parts of the realm, " living without knowledge and the due fear of God, did wilfully and " ſchiſmatically, refuſe to come to their pariſh churches, upon ſundays, " and other days appointed to be kept as holy days. And whereas, by the " ſcandalous neglect of miniſters in uſing the liturgy during the late " unhappy troubles, many people have been led into factions and ſchiſms, " to the decay of religion, and the hazard of many ſouls; therefore " for preventing the like for time to come, the king had granted a com- " miſſion, to review the book of common-prayer, to thoſe biſhops and " divines who met at the *Savoy*; and afterwards his majeſty required " the clergy in convocation to reviſe it again; which alterations and " amendments having been approved by his majeſty, and both houſes " of parliament; therefore for ſettling the peace of the nation, for the " honour of religion, and to the intent that every perſon may know the " rule to which he is to conform in public worſhip, it is enacted by " the king's moſt excellent majeſty, *&c.*

" That all and ſingular miniſters ſhall be bound to ſay and uſe the " morning prayer, evening prayer, and all other common-prayers, in " ſuch order and form as is mentioned in the book; and that every " parſon, vicar, or other miniſter whatſoever, ſhall before the feaſt of " St. *Bartholomew* which ſhall be in the year of our Lord 1662, open- " ly and publicly before the congregation aſſembled for religious wor- " ſhip, declare his unfeigned *aſſent* and *conſent* to the uſe of all things " contained and preſcribed in the ſaid book, in theſe words, and no " other."

" *I* A. B. *do hereby declare my unfeigned aſſent and conſent to all and eve-* " *ry thing contained and preſcribed in and by the book, entitled, the book of* " *common prayer, and adminiſtration of ſacraments, and other rites and* " *ceremonies of the church, according to the uſe of the church of* Eng- " land, *together with the pſalter, or pſalms of* David, *pointed as they*

King Charles II. 1662.

" *are to to be ſung or ſaid in churches; and the form and manner of* " *making, ordaining, and conſecrating of biſhops, prieſts, and deacons.*"

" The penalty for neglecting or refuſing to make this declaration, is " deprivation *ipſo facto* of all his ſpiritual promotions.

" And it is further enacted, that every dean, canon, and prebendary; " all maſters, heads, fellows, chaplains, and tutors, in any college, " hall, houſe of learning, or hoſpital; all public profeſſors, readers in " either univerſity, and in every college and elſewhere; and all parſons, " vicars, curates, lecturers; and every ſchool-maſter keeping any public " or private ſchool; and every perſon inſtructing youth in any private fa- " mily, ſhall before the feaſt of St. *Bartholomew* 1662, ſubſcribe the " following declaration (*viz.*)

" *I* A. B. *do declare, that it is not lawful upon any pretence whatſoever,* " *to take arms againſt the king; and that I do abhor that traiterous poſition* " *of taking arms by his authority, againſt his perſon or againſt thoſe that* " *are commiſſioned by him; and that I will conform to the liturgy of the* " *church of* England, *as it is now by law eſtabliſhed. And I do hold, that* " *there lies no obligation upon me, or any other perſon, from the oath com-* " *monly called the* ſolemn league and covenant, *to endeavour any change* " *or alteration of government either in church or ſtate; and that the ſame* " *was in itſelf an unlawful oath, and impoſed upon the ſubjects of* " *this realm, againſt the known laws and liberties of this king-* " *dom.*"

" This declaration is to be ſubſcribed by the perſons abovementioned " before the archbiſhop, biſhop, or ordinary of the dioceſe, on pain of " deprivation, for thoſe who were poſſeſſed of livings; and for ſchool- " maſters and tutors three months impriſonment, for the firſt offence; " and for every other offence three months impriſonment, and the for- " feiture of five pounds to his majeſty. Provided that after the 25th " of *March* 1682, the renouncing of the *ſolemn league and covenant* " ſhall be omitted.

" It is further enacted, that no perſon ſhall be capable of any " benefice, or preſume to conſecrate and adminiſter the holy ſacra- " ment of the Lord's ſupper, before he be ordained a prieſt by epiſ- " copal ordination, on pain of forfeiting for every offence one hund- " red pounds.

" No form, or order of common-prayer, ſhall be uſed in any church, " chapel, or other place of public worſhip, or in either of the univerſi- " ties, than is here preſcribed and appointed.

" None ſhall be received as lecturers, or be permitted to preach, or " read any ſermon or lecture in any church or chapel, unleſs he be ap- " proved and licenſed by the archbiſhop or biſhop, and ſhall read the

" thirty-

" thirty-nine articles of religion, with a declaration of his *unfeigned aſ-* *King Charles II. 1662.*
" *ſent* and *conſent* to the ſame: And unleſs the firſt time he preaches any
" lecture or ſermon, he ſhall openly read the common prayer, and de-
" clare his aſſent to it; and ſhall on the firſt lecture-day of every month
" afterwards before lecture, or ſermon, read the common-prayer and
" ſervice, under pain of being diſabled to preach; and if he preach
" while ſo diſabled, to ſuffer three months impriſonment for every of-
" fence.

" The ſeveral laws and ſtatutes formerly made for uniformity of
" prayer, *&c.* ſhall be in force for confirming the preſent book of
" common-prayer, and ſhall be applied for puniſhing all offences con-
" trary to the ſaid laws, with relation to the ſaid book, and no
" other.

" A true printed copy of the ſaid book is to be provided in every
" pariſh church, chapel, college, and hall, at the coſt and charge of the
" pariſhioners, or ſociety, before the feaſt of St. *Bartholomew*, on pain
" of forfeiting three pounds a month, for ſo long as they ſhall be un-
" provided of it."

Remarks. It was certainly unreaſonable in the legiſlature to limit the time of ſubſcription to ſo ſhort a period, it being next to impoſſible that the clergy in all parts of the kingdom ſhould read and examine the alterations within that time. The dean and prebendaries of *Peterborough* declared, that they could not obtain copies before *Auguſt* 17, the *Sunday* immediately preceding the feaſt of St. *Bartholomew*; ſo that all the members of that cathedral did not and could not read the ſervice in manner and form as the act directs, and therefore they were obliged to have recourſe to the favour of their ordinary to diſpenſe with their default; however, their preferments were then legally forfeited, as appears by the act of the 15th of *Charles* II. chap. 6, entituled, *an act for the relief of ſuch as by ſickneſs, or other impediments, were diſabled from ſubſcribing the declaration of the act of uniformity:* which ſays, " that thoſe who " did not ſubſcribe within the time limited were utterly diſabled, and *ip-* " *ſo facto* deprived, and their benefices void, as if they were naturally " dead." And if this was the caſe at *Peterborough*, what muſt be the condition of the clergy in the more *northern* counties? In fact, there was not one divine in ten that lived at any conſiderable diſtance from *London*, who did peruſe it within that time; but the matter was driven on with ſo much precipitancy (ſays biſhop *Burnet*), that it ſeems implied, that the clergy *ſhould* ſubſcribe implicitly to a book they had never ſeen, and this *was* done by too many, as the biſhops themſelves confeſſed. p. 185.

King Charles II. 1662.

The terms of conformity now were,

(1.) *Re-ordination*, if they had not been epiſcopally ordained before.

Terms of conformity.

(2.) *A declaration of their unfeigned aſſent and conſent to all and every thing preſcribed and contained in the book of common-prayer, and adminiſtration of ſacraments, and other rites and ceremonies of the church of* England, *together with the pſalter, and the form and manner of making, ordaining, and conſecrating of biſhops, prieſts, and deacons.*

(3.) *To take the oath of canonical obedience.*

(4.) *To abjure the* ſolemn league and covenant, which many conſcientious miniſters could not diſentangle themſelves from.

(5.) *To abjure the lawfulneſs of taking arms againſt the king, or any commiſſioned by him, on any pretence whatſoever.*

Higher than before the civil wars.

It appears from hence, that the terms of conformity were higher than before the civil wars; and the common-prayer book more exceptionable, for inſtead of ſtriking out the *apocryphal* leſſons, more were inſerted, as the ſtory of *Bel and the dragon*; and ſome new holy days were added, as St. *Barnabas*, and the converſion of St. *Paul*; a few alterations, and new collects were made by the biſhops themſelves, but care was taken (ſays *Burnet*), that nothing ſhould be altered, as was moved by the preſbyterians —— The validity of preſbyterian ordination was renounced, by which the miniſtrations of the foreign churches were diſowned —— Lecturers and ſchool-maſters were put upon the ſame foot with incumbents, as to oaths and ſubſcriptions —— A new declaration was invented, which none who underſtood the conſtitution of *England* could ſafely ſubſcribe— and to terrify the clergy into a compliance, no ſettled proviſion was made for thoſe who ſhould be deprived of their livings, but all were referred to the royal clemency —— A ſeverity (ſays biſhop *Burnet*), neither practiſed by queen *Elizabeth* in enacting the liturgy, nor by *Cromwell* in ejecting the royaliſts, in both which a fifth of the benefice was reſerved for their ſubſiſtence.

p. 182,

Rapin's *Remarks.* p. 293.

Mr. *Rapin* has ſeveral remarks on this act: If we compare it with the king's declaration from *Breda* (ſays he) it will eaſily be ſeen what care the miniſters about the king, who were the real authors or promoters of this act, had for his honour and promiſe; though ſome therefore may look upon this act as the great ſupport and bulwark of the church, others no leſs attached to its intereſts, will perhaps look upon it as her diſgrace and ſcandal —— His ſecond remark is, for the reader to take notice of the amount of the promiſes made to the preſbyterians by the king's party, upon the aſſurance of which they had ſo chearfully laboured for his reſtoration, and followed the directions tranſmitted by his friends —— His third

third remark is, that by an artifice, the moſt groſs conſpiracies were invented which had no manner of reality; or ſuppoſing they had, could no ways be charged on the preſbyterians, who were not to anſwer for the crimes of other ſects. *King* Charles II. 1662.

On the other hand, biſhop *Kennet* ſays, "the world has reaſon to admire not only the wiſdom of this act, but even the moderation of it, "as being effectually made for *miniſterial conformity alone*, and leaving "the people unable to complain of any impoſition. And it would certainly have had the deſired, and moſt happy effect, of unity and peace "(ſays his lordſhip), if the government had been in earneſt in the execution of it." Muſt the bleſſings of unity and peace then be built on the foundation of perſecution, plunder, perfidy, and the waſtes of conſcience? If his majeſty's declaration concerning eccleſiaſtical affairs breathed the ſpirit of true wiſdom and charity, and ought to ſtand for a pattern to poſterity, whenever they are diſpoſed to heal the breaches of the church (as the biſhop has elſewhere declared) where could be the wiſdom and moderation of this act, which turned out *two thouſand miniſters* into the world to beg their bread upon ſuch ſevere terms? And whereas the biſhop ſays, *the people* had no reaſon to complain of impoſition, was it no hardſhip to be obliged to go to church, and join in a form of worſhip that went againſt their conſciences? Does not the act revive and confirm all the penal laws of queen *Elizabeth* and king *James*, in theſe words, "Be it farther enacted, that the ſeveral good laws and ſtatutes of this "realm, which have been formerly made, and are now in force for the "uniformity of prayers, and adminiſtration of the ſacraments within "this realm of *England*, and places aforeſaid, ſhall ſtand in full force "and ſtrength to all intents and purpoſes whatſoever, and ſhall be applied, practiſed, and be put in uſe for the puniſhing all offences contrary "to the ſaid law." Surely this muſt affect the *laity!* 'Tis more to be admired in my opinion, that the clergy of *England*, and all officers both civil and military, could ſubſcribe a declaration which gave up the whole conſtitution into the hands of an arbitrary prince; for if the king had aboliſhed the uſe of parliaments, and commanded his ſubjects to embrace the popiſh religion, which way could they have relieved themſelves, when they had ſworn, *that it was not lawful to take up arms againſt the king, or any commiſſioned by him, on any pretence whatſoever, on pain of high treaſon?* 'Tis hard to reconcile this doctrine with the REVOLUTION of king WILLIAM and queen MARY. I ſhall only add, that many of the moſt learned and judicious divines of the church have wiſhed, for their own ſakes, that the act might be amended and altered.

Remarks of biſhop Kennet. p. 262. *Remarks.* Kennet, p. 246.

Mr.

King Charles II. 1662.

Mr. *Collyer* a non-juring clergyman, who ſuffered for his principles, ſpeaks more like a gentleman and a chriſtian than the biſhop; "The misfortune of the preſbyterians (ſays he), cannot be remembered without regret; thoſe who quit their intereſts are certainly in earneſt, and deſerve a charitable conſtruction. Miſtakes in religion are to be tenderly uſed, and conſcience ought to be pitied when it can't be relieved."

Of Mr. Collyer.

Authors or promoters of this act. *Lord* Clarendon. p. 185. Collyer, p. 888.

'Tis fit the authors and promoters of this memorable act, which broke the peace of the church, and eſtabliſhed a ſeparation, ſhould ſtand upon record; Among theſe the earl of *Clarendon* deſerves the firſt place, who was once for moderate meaſures, but afterwards altered his conduct (ſays biſhop *Burnet*), out of reſpect to the biſhops. The rhetoric and intereſt of this great miniſter (ſays *Collyer*), might poſſibly make an impreſſion upon both houſes, and occaſion the paſſing the act of uniformity in the condition it now ſtands; he entertained the preſbyterians with hopes, while he was cutting away the ground from under their feet. Strange! that one and the ſame hand could conſiſtently with *conſcience* and *honour*, draw up the the king's declaration from *Breda*, and his late declaration concerning eccleſiaſtical affairs, and this ſevere act of uniformity.

Biſhop Sheldon. p. 177.

Next to chancellor *Hyde* was Dr. *Sheldon*, biſhop of *London*, and afterwards archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, of whom notice has been already taken; he was a facetious man (ſays *Burnet*), but of no great religion. When the earl of *Mancheſter* told the king, he was afraid the terms of conformity were ſo hard that many miniſters would not comply; the biſhop replied, he was afraid they would, *but now we know their minds (ſays he), we will make them all knaves if they conform.* And when Dr. *Allen* ſaid, 'tis pity the door is ſo ſtrait; he anſwered, *'tis no pity at all; if we had thought ſo many of them would have conformed, we would have made it ſtraiter.* And Mr. *Baxter* adds, that as far as he could perceive, it was by ſome deſigned it ſhould be ſo.

Other biſhops and clergymen.

Next to biſhop *Sheldon*, was biſhop *Morley* a pious man (ſays *Burnet*), but extreamly paſſionate and very obſtinate. *Morley* was thought the honeſter man, but *Sheldon* the abler ſtateſman. To theſe may be added Dr. *Gunning* biſhop of *Ely*; *Henchman* of *London*; *Dolben* of *Rocheſter*; *Stern* of *York*; Dr. *Pierce*, *Sparrow*, and *Barwick*, all creatures of the court, and tools of the prerogative.

The parliament. p. 306, &c.

But neither the courtiers nor biſhops could have accompliſhed their deſigns, without tampering with the parliament. Care was therefore taken of the beſt ſpeakers, and men of influence among the commons. The parliament was undoubtedly acted by a ſpirit of revenge (ſays *Rapin*), and being of principles directly oppoſite to the preſbyterians, who were for re-

reducing the royal power within certain limits, they reſolved to put it out of their power for ever to reſtrain the prerogative, or alter the government of the church; and the king being in continual want of money, was content to ſacrifice the preſbyterians for a large ſupply of the nation's money, eſpecially when he knew he was ſerving the cauſe of popery at the ſame time, by making way for a general toleration. *King* Charles II. 1662.

Conduct of the Preſbyterians.

The preſbyterian miniſters had only three months to conſider what to do with themſelves and their families. There were ſeveral conſultations both in city and country to know each others ſentiments; and it happened here, as it did afterwards about taking the oaths to king *William* and queen *Mary*; ſome who perſuaded their brethren to diſſent, complied themſelves and got the others livings. 'Tis not to be ſuppoſed they had all the ſame ſcruples. Biſhop *Kennet* ſays, that *renouncing the covenant* was the greateſt obſtacle of conformity to the preſbyterians. But his lordſhip is miſtaken; for if abjuring the covenant had been omitted, they could not have taken the *corporation oath*. Some could not in conſcience comply with the very form of the hierarchy. Great numbers ſcrupled the buſineſs of *re-ordination*, which implied a renouncing the validity of their former miniſtrations. But that which the diſſenters of all denominations refuſed, was *giving their aſſent and conſent to all and every thing contained in the book of common-prayer*. This they apprehended to be more than was due to any human compoſure. Cal. Cont. p. 471.

Their difficulties.

Mr. *Eachard* repreſents them as under great difficulties; " Some (ſays " he), were poſitive againſt any compliance, but great numbers were " doubtful and uncertain, and had great ſtruggles between the attrac- " tions of conſcience and honour, intereſt and humour. The act was " ſtrictly penned, and preſſed hard upon late principles and practices. " A continual intercourſe of letters paſſed between thoſe in the city, and " the reſt in the countries, how to proceed in this nice affair. Some- " times the chief of them were for compliance, as I have been aſſured " (ſays he), by the beſt hands, and then upon further conſideration they " changed their minds. They were under conſiderable temptations on " both ſides; on one ſide their livings and preferments were no ſmall in- " ducement towards their compliance; on the other ſide, beſides their " conſciences, they were much encouraged by the greatneſs of their " numbers, and were made to believe, that if they unanimouſly ſtood " out the church muſt come to them, ſince the people would never " bear ſo ſhocking a change —— Beſides they had great expectations " from ſeveral friends at court, and particularly the popiſh party, who " gave them great encouragement, not only by a promiſe of penſions to " ſome, but alſo by a toleration, and ſuſpenſion of the act it ſelf, which " not long after was partly made good. No doubt but the non-com-

" pliance

King Charles II. 1662.

"pliance of ſeveral proceeded purely from from a tender conſcience, "and in that caſe ought not only to be pitied, but rather applauded than "condemned." Biſhop *Burnet* adds, that the leaders of the preſbyterian party took great pains to have them all ſtick together: They ſaid, that if great numbers ſtood out, it was more likely to produce new laws in their favour; ſo it was thought (ſays his lordſhip), that many went out in the croud to keep their friends company.

Remarks. 'Tis poſſible ſome noblemen, and others who were in the intereſt of the preſbyterians, might adviſe them to adhere to each other; but it is hardly credible, that men of abilities and good ſenſe ſhould throw up their livings, ſacrifice their uſefulneſs, and beggar their families, for the ſake of good company.

Some of them quit their livings. Baxter's *life.* Part II. p. 384.

Some of the non-conformiſts quitted their ſtations in the church before the 24th of *Auguſt*, as Mr. *Baxter* and others, with an intent to let all the miniſters in *England* know their reſolution beforehand. Others about *London* preached their farewel ſermons the *Sunday* before *Bartholomew day*; ſeveral of which were afterwards collected into a volume, and printed with their effigies in the title page; as the reverend Dr. *Manton*, *Bates*, *Jacomb*, *Calamy*, *Matth Mead*, and others. The like was done in ſeveral counties of *England*; and ſuch a paſſionate zeal for the welfare of their people ran through their ſermons, as diſſolved their audiences into tears.

Miniſters ejected by the act of uniformity. p. 185, 192.

At length the fatal St. *Bartholomew* came, when about two thouſand relinquiſhed their preferments in the church, or refuſed to accept of any upon the terms of the act of uniformity: An example hardly to be paralleled in the chriſtian world! It raiſed a grievous cry over the nation, for here were many men much valued (ſays biſhop *Burnet*), and diſtinguiſhed by their abilities and zeal, now caſt out ignominiouſly, reduced to great poverty, provoked by much ſpiteful uſage, and caſt upon thoſe popular practices, which both their principles and their circumſtances ſeemed to juſtify, of forming ſeparate congregations, and of diverting men from the public worſhip. This begot eſteem, and raiſed compaſſion, as having a fair appearance of ſuffering perſecution for conſcience. Mr. *Locke* calls them worthy, learned, pious, orthodox divines, who did not throw themſelves out of ſervice, but were forcibly ejected. Nor were they caſt out becauſe there was a ſupply of miniſters to carry on the work of religion, for there was room for the employment of more hands, if they were to be found.

Their hardſhips greater than the papiſts at the reformation.

At the reformation from popery by queen *Elizabeth*, there were not above two hundred deprived of their livings; beſides they were treated with great mildneſs, and had ſome allowances out of their livings; whereas theſe were treated with the utmoſt ſeverity, and caſt entirely upon providence for a ſupply. They were driven from their

their houſes, from the ſociety of their friends; and what was yet more affecting, from all their uſefulneſs, though they had merited much of the king, and laboured indefatigably for his reſtoration. The former were men of another faith, and owned a foreign head of the church; whereas theſe were of the ſame faith with the eſtabliſhed church, and differed only about rites and ceremonies. It has been ſaid, that greater numbers were ejected in the late times upon the foot of the covenant; but if this were true, it was in a time of war, when the civil and religious differences between the king and parliament were ſo intermixed, that it was impoſſible to ſeparate one from the other; the whole nation was in confuſion, and thoſe who ſuffered by the *covenant*, ſuffered more for their loyalty, than their religion; for when the war was ended, the covenant was relaxed, and ſuch would live peaceably returned to their vacant cures, or were admitted to others.

King Charles II. 1662.

Beſides the *ingratitude* of the high churchmen upon this occaſion ought to be taken notice of. "Who can anſwer for the violence and "injuſtice of actions in a civil war (ſays a divine of the church of *Eng-* "*land)?* Thoſe ſufferings were in a time of general calamity, but theſe "were ejected not only in a time of peace, but a time of joy to all the "land, and after an act of oblivion, when all pretended to be reconciled "and made friends, and to whoſe common rejoicings theſe ſuffering mi- "niſters had contributed their earneſt prayers and great endeavours." Another divine of the ſame church writes, "I muſt own, that in my "judgment, however both ſides have been exceſſively to blame, yet that "the ſeverities uſed by the church to the diſſenters are leſs excuſable "than thoſe uſed by the diſſenters to the church. My reaſon is, that "the former were uſed in time of peace, and a ſettled government, "whereas the latter were inflicted in times of tumult and confuſion; "ſo that the plunderings and ravagings endured by the *church miniſters*, "were owing (many of them at leaſt), to the rudeneſs of the ſoldiers, "and the chances of war; they were plundered not becauſe they were "conformiſts, but cavaliers, and of the king's party. The allowing of "the ſequeſtered miniſters a fifth part of their livings was a chriſtian act, "and what, I confeſs, I ſhould have been glad to have ſeen imitated at "the reſtoration. But no mercy was to be ſhewn to theſe unhappy ſuf- "ferers, though it was impoſſible on a ſudden to fill up the gap that was "made by their removal."

And than the loy aliſts in time of the civil wars.

Conf. Plea for non-conform. p. 12, 13.

Biſhop *Burnet* ſays, the old clergy, now much enriched, were deſpiſed, but the young clergy who came from the univerſity did good ſervice. But though all the ſtriplings in both univerſities were employed, a great many poor livings in the country had no incumbents for a conſiderable time. The author of *the five groans of the church*, a very ſtrict conformiſt, com-

Difficulty of filling the vacancies.

King Charles II. 1662.

complains with great warmth, of above three thouſand miniſters admitted into the church, who were unfit to teach becauſe of their youth; of fifteen hundred debauched men ordained; of the ordination of many illiterate men; of one thouſand three hundred forty two factious miniſters a little before ordained; and that of twelve thouſand church livings, or thereabouts, three thouſand or more being impropriate, and four thouſand one hundred ſixty five *fine cures*, there was but a poor remainder left for a painful and honeſt miniſtry.

Compariſon between the old and new preachers. Conf. Plea, Part. I. *in* pref. *and* p. 53.

Such were the ſpoils of uniformity! And though Mr. *Eachard* ſays, there was more ſenſe and ſound doctrine preached in one twelve month after the preſbyterian miniſters were turned out, than in nigh twenty years before; yet another *church writer*, who knew them better, calls the young clergy "florid and genteel preachers, of a more romantic than "true majeſtic and divine ſtile, who tickled and captivated people at "firſt, but did little ſervice to the ſouls of men, and in proceſs of time "had fewer admirers and friends than at firſt ——" He adds, "that in "the late times they all ſpake the ſame things, and carried on the ſame "work, which was the inſtruction, converſion, conſolation, and edifi-"cation of ſouls, not biting one another, nor grudging at one another. "I never heard (ſays he), in many hundreds of ſermons, diverſities of "opinions either ſet up by ſome, or pulled down by others; we heard "indeed that ſome were *independents*, others *preſbyterians*, and others "*epiſcopal*, but we heard no ſuch things from the pulpits. Some men "think that the preaching of thoſe days was meer fanaticiſm, bleſſing the "uſurpation, railing againſt biſhops, or deifying *Calvin* with an infalli-"bility; but *Calvin* was preached no farther than Chriſt ſpake in him; "*non* Calvinum *ſed Chriſtum prædicabant*."

The truth of this obſervation will appear further, by mentioning the names of ſome of thoſe miniſters, whoſe learning and piety were univerſally acknowledged, and who were capable of preaching and writing as good ſenſe, and to as good purpoſe, as moſt of their ſucceſſors; as Dr. *Gilpin*, *Bates*, *Manton*, *Jacomb*, *Owen*, *Goodwin*, *Collins*, *Conant*, *Grew*, *Burgeſs*, and *Anneſly*; Mr. *Bowles*, *Baxter*, *Clarkſon*, *Woodbridge*, *Newcomen*, *Calamy*, *Jackſon*, *Pool*, *Caryl*, *Charnock*, *Gouge*, *Jenkins*, *Gale*, *Corbet*, *Cradock*, *Matth*, *Mead*, *Howe*, *Kentiſh*, *Alſop*, *Vincent*, *Greenhill*, *S. Clark*, *Flavel*, *Phil. Henry*, and others of like character, whom I have heard vilified, and repreſented according to the fancies, paſſions, or intereſts of men (ſays a learned conformiſt), but I dare not "but be juſt to them, as to eminent profeſſors of the chriſtian faith, "and think that common chriſtianity has ſuffered much by their ſilenc-"ing and diſparagement. A great part of the world is made to be-"lieve, that *the non conformiſts* are not fit to be employed in the church,

Conf. Plea, *in* pref. Part I.

"nor

" nor truſted by the ſtate; but what they are God knows, and the world " may know, if they pleaſe to conſult their writings——They are not to " them that know them, what they are reported by them that know them " not —— I know them ſufficiently to make me bewail their condition, " and the vaſt damage to thouſands of ſouls by their excluſion, not only " in the out ſkirts, but in the very heart of *England*, who are committed " in many parts, to them that neither can nor will promote their everlaſt- " ing intereſts." Upon the whole, though I do not pretend that all the ejected miniſters were equally learned, pious and deſerving, yet upon a calm and ſedate view of things I can't help concluding, that in the main they were a body of as *eminent confeſſors* for truth and liberty, as this or any other nation has produced. *King* Charles II. 1662.

Many complied with the terms of conformity, not becauſe they approved them, but for the ſake of their families, or becauſe they were unwilling to be buried in ſilence, as biſhop *Reynolds*, *Wilkins*, *Hopkins*, *Fowler*, &c. Several young ſtudents, who were deſigned for the pulpit, applied themſelves to law or phyſic, or diverted to ſome ſecular employment. Biſhop *Kennet* in order to extenuate their calamities, has taken pains to point out the favours the ejected miniſters received from private perſons: Some (ſays he) found friends among the nobility and gentry, who relieved their neceſſities; ſome were taken as chaplains into good families, or officiated in hoſpitals, priſons, or chapels of eaſe; ſome became tutors, or ſchool-maſters; ſome who went beyond ſea were well received in foreign parts; ſome became eminent phyſicians and lawyers; ſome had good eſtates of their own, and others married great fortunes: But how does this extenuate the guilt of the church or legiſlature, who would have deprived them of theſe retreats if it had been in their power? The biſhop adds, " *Therefore we do ill to charge the church with perſecution, when* " *the laws were made by the civil government, with a view to the peace and* " *ſafety of the ſtate, rather than to any honour or intereſt of the church.*" It ſeems therefore the load of perſecution muſt lie wholly upon the legiſlature: But had the biſhops and clergy no hand in this affair? Did they not puſh the civil government upon theſe extremities, and not only concur, but proſecute the penal laws with unrelenting rigor throughout the greateſt part of this reign? The church and ſtate are ſaid to be ſo incorporated as to make but one *conſtitution*, and the *penal laws* are ſhifted from one to the other till they are quite loſt; the *church* can't be charged with *perſecution*, becauſe it makes no laws; nor can the civil government be charged with it, becauſe it makes them not againſt conſcience, but with a view to the ſafety of the ſtate; with ſuch idle ſophiſms are men to be amuſed, when 'tis to cover a reproach!

The condition of others.

K. Chron. p. 888, &c.

King Charles II. 1662.

Dr. *Bates* ſays, "they [the miniſters] fell a ſacrifice to the wrath and "revenge of the old clergy, and to the ſervile compliance of the young "gentry with the court, and their diſtaſte of ſerious religion. That this "is no raſh imputation upon the ruling clergy is evident (ſays the doctor), "not only from their concurrence in paſſing theſe laws, (for actions have "a language as convincing as thoſe of words), but from Dr. *Sheldon* their "great leader, who expreſſed his fears to the earl of *Mancheſter*, leſt the "preſbyterians ſhould comply. The act was paſſed after the king had "engaged his faith and honour in his declaration from *Breda*, to preſerve "liberty of conſcience inviolable; which promiſe opened the way for his "reſtoration; and after the royaliſts had given public aſſurance, that all "former animoſities ſhould be laid aſide as rubbiſh, under the foundation "of univerſal concord."

Dr. Bates's *account. Fun. Serm. for Mr.* Baxter.

Sufferings of the ejected miniſters. K. Chr. p. 838. p. 192.

Sad were the calamities of far the greater part of theſe unhappy ſufferers, who with their families muſt have periſhed, if private collections in *London*, and divers places of the country, had not been made for their ſubſiſtence. Biſhop *Burnet* ſays, they caſt themſelves on the providence of God, and the charity of friends. The reverend and pious Mr. *Thomas Gouge*, late of St. *Sepulchres*, was their advocate, who with two or three of his brethren, made frequent application to ſeveral worthy citizens, of whom they received conſiderable ſums of money for ſome years, till that charity was diverted into another channel; but nevertheleſs, "many "hundreds of them (according to Mr. *Baxter*) with their wives and "children had neither houſe nor bread; the people they left were not "able to relieve them, nor durſt they if they had been able, becauſe it "would have been called a maintenance of ſchiſm or faction. Many of the "miniſters being afraid to lay down their miniſtry after they had been or-"dained to it, preached to ſuch as would hear them, in fields and private "houſes, till they were apprehended and caſt into gaols, where many of "them periſhed —— The people were no leſs divided, ſome conformed, "and others were driven to a greater diſtance from the church, and re-"ſolved to abide by their faithful paſtors at all events: They murmured "at the government, and called the biſhops and conforming clergy cruel "perſecutors; for which, and for their freqenting the private aſſemblies of "their miniſters, they were fined and impriſoned, till many families left "their native country, and ſettled in the plantations."

Mr. Baxter's *account.*

Other accounts.

The presbyterian miniſters, though men of gravity, and far advanced in years, were rallied in the pulpits under the opprobrious names of *ſchiſmatics* and *fanatics*; they were expoſed in the play-houſe, and inſulted by the mob, inſomuch that they were obliged to lay aſide their habits, and walk in diſguiſe. "Such magiſtrates were put into commiſſion as exe-"cuted the penal laws with ſeverity. Informers were encouraged and reward-

Part IV. p. 40.

" rewarded. It is impoſſible (ſays the *conformiſt plea for the non-con-* *King* Charles II. 1662.
" *formiſt*) to relate the number of ſufferings both of miniſters and peo-
" ple; the great trials, with hardſhips upon their perſons, eſtates, and
" families, by uncomfortable ſeparations, diſperſions, unſettlements, and
" removes; diſgraces, reproaches, impriſonments, chargeable journies,
" expences in law, tedious ſickneſſes, and incurable diſeaſes ending in
" death; great diſquietments and frights to the wives and families, and
" their doleful effects upon them—Their congregations had enough to do,
" beſides a ſmall maintenance, to help them out of priſons, or maintain
" them there. Though they were as frugal as poſſible, they could hardly
" live; ſome lived on little more than brown bread and water; many
" had but eight or ten pounds a year to maintain a family, ſo that a
" piece of fleſh has not come to one of their tables in ſix weeks time;
" their allowance could ſcarce afford them bread and cheeſe. One went
" to plow ſix days and preached on the Lord's day; another was forced
" to cut tobacco for a livelihood —— The zealous juſtices of peace knew *Ib.* part IV.
" the calamities of the *miniſters;* when they iſſued out warrants upon ſome p. 43.
" of the *hearers,* becauſe of the poverty of the preachers. Out of re-
" ſpect to the worth and modeſty of ſome of them (ſays my author),
" I forbear their names." Upon theſe foundations, and with theſe
triumphs, was the preſent conſtitution of the church of *England* reſtor-
ed. I ſhall make no further remarks upon it, but leave it to the cenſure
of the reader.

Among the preſbyterian divines who died this year, was Mr. *John* *Death of Mr* *Ley* M. A. born at *Warwick Feb.* 4 1583, and educated in *Chriſt Church* Ley, Ath. *Oxford,* where he took the degrees in arts, and was preſented to the living Ox. Vol. II. of *Great Budworth* in *Cheſhire.* He was afterwards prebendary of *Chef-* p. 190. *ter,* and ſub-dean and clerk of the convocation once or twice. In the year 1641 he took part with the parliament, was one of the aſſembly of divines, chairman of the committee for examination of miniſters, and preſident of *Sion College.* In the year 1645 he ſucceeded Dr. *Hyde* in the rich parſonage of *Brightwell, Berks.* In 1653 he was one of the *tryers,* and at length obtained the rectory of *Solyhull* in *Com. Warw.* but having broken a vein by over-ſtraining himſelf in ſpeaking, he reſign-ed his living, and retired to *Sutton Colfield,* where he died *May* 16, 1662, in the ſeventy-ninth year of his age. He was a very learned perſon, well read in the fathers and councils, a popular preacher, a pious and devout chriſtian, and one of the main pillars (ſays Mr. *Wood*), of the preſbyterian cauſe.

Mr. *Henry Jeanes* M. A. was born in *Somerſetſhire* about the year *Of Mr.* 1611, and educated in *New Inn,* and afterwards in *Hart Hall Oxon,* Jeanes. where he took the degrees in arts, and entered into holy orders. He was

an

King Charles II. 1662.

an admired preacher in the univerſity, and was quickly preferred to the rectory of *Beercrocomb*, and vicarage of *Kingſton* in *Somerſetſhire*. In the year 1641 he cloſed with the parliament, and became rector of *Chedſey* near *Bridgewater*. Here he took into his family ſeveral young perſons, and inſtructed them in the liberal arts and ſciences; he was a moſt excellent philoſopher, a noted metaphyſician, and well verſed in polemical divinity. With all theſe qualifications (ſays Mr. *Wood*), he was a contemner of the world, generous, free-hearted, jolly, witty, and facetious. He writ many books, and died in the city of *Wells* a little before the fatal day of St. *Bartholomew*, and was buried in the cathedral church there. *Ætatis* 52.

Of Dr. Chambers.

Dr. *Humphrey Chambers* was born in *Somerſetſhire*, and educated in *Univerſity College Oxon*. In the year 1623 he was made rector of *Claverton* in *Somerſetſhire*, but was afterwards ſilenced by his dioceſan, biſhop *Piers*, for preaching up the morality of the ſabbath, and impriſoned for two years. He was one of the aſſembly of divines. In the year 1648 he was crated D. D. and had the rich rectory of *Peuſey* given him by the earl of *Pembroke*. After the king's reſtoration, he kept his living till the very day the act of uniformity took place, when having preached his farewel ſermon on *Pſal.* cxxvi. 6, he went home, fell ſick and died, and was buried in hs church at *Peuſey Sept.* 8, without the ſervice of the church, which had juſt then taken place.

Of Mr. Aſh.

Mr. *Simeon Aſh* was educated in *Emanuel College Cambridge*. His firſt ſtation in the church was in *Staffordſhire*, where he contracted an acquaintance with the moſt eminent puritans. He was diſplaced from his living for refuſing to read the *book of ſports*, and not conforming to the ceremonies. After ſome time he got liberty to preach in an exempt church at *Wroxhall*, under the protection of Sir *John Burgoin*; and elſewhere, under the lord *Brook* in *Warwickſhire*. At the commencement of the civil war he became chaplain to the earl of *Mancheſter*, and had a conſiderable part in the *Cambridge* viſitation. After the king's death, he vigorouſly oppoſed the new commonwealth, and declaimed publicly againſt the *engagement*. He was concerned in all the deſigns for bringing in the king, and went with other *London* divines to congratulate his majeſty at *Breda*; He was a chriſtian of primitive ſimplicity, and a non-conformiſt of the old ſtamp, being eminently ſincere, charitable, holy, and of a chearful ſpirit. He had a good paternal eſtate, and was very hoſpitable, his houſe being much frequented by his brethren, by whom he was highly eſteemed. He died in an advanced age on the very evening before *Bartholomew day*, in a chearful and firm expectation of a future happineſs.

Mr.

King Charles II. 1662.

Of Mr. Edward Bowles.

Mr. *Edward Bowles* M. A. born 1613, and educated in *Katherine-Hall Cambridge*, under Dr. *Sibbes* and Dr. *Brownrigge*, He was firſt chaplain to the earl of *Manchester*, and upon the reduction of *York* to the parliament, ſettled in that city. He was a wiſe and prudent man, having a clear head and a warm heart; an excellent ſcholar, and an uſeful preacher. He attended lord *Fairfax* when general *Monk* paſſed thro' *Yorkſhire*, and preſented an addreſs to the general for a free parliament. He was very zealous and active in promoting the king's reſtoration, and waited on his majeſty with lord *Fairfax* at *Breda*. 'Tis credibly reported that the deanary of *York* was offered him, but not being ſatisfied with conformity, he was excluded the *minſter*, though he continued preaching at *All hallows*, and afterwards at St. *Martins*, as he had opportunity. When the fatal *Bartholomew day* approached he grew ſick of the times, and died in the flower of his life, aged forty nine, and was buried on the eve of St. *Bartholomew* 1662.

CHAP. VII.

From the act of uniformity to the baniſhment of the earl of Clarendon *in the year* 1667.

View of the ſeveral parties. Of the non-conformiſts.

AT this time, ſays biſhop *Burnet*, the name of PURITANS was changed into that of PROTESTANT NON-CONFORMISTS, who were ſubdivided into *preſbyterians*, *independents*, *anabaptiſts*, and *quakers*; theſe being ſhut out of the eſtabliſhment, had nothing now in view but a toleration, which the credulous preſbyterians ſaid they had ſtrong aſſurances of, before the act of uniformity paſſed into a law; but in this they were diſappointed, as well as in every thing elſe; for which the *independents* told them they might thank themſelves, becauſe their *managers* had proteſted againſt including the papiſts; whereas the legiſlature and the biſhops were concerned to prevent any miſchief from that quarter, and to their care the preſbyterians ſhould have left it. Some obſerving how much the court and parliament were ſet againſt them, were for removing with their miniſters to *Holland*; and others propoſed *New England*; but the papiſts, at a meeting at the earl of *Briſtol*'s houſe, agreed to do whatever they could to keep the non-conformiſts in *England*, and buoy them up with hopes of a toleration.

Burnet. p. 193.

The

King Charles II. 1662.

Of the king and court.

The king was a concealed *roman* catholic, and had ſwarms of that perſuaſion about his perſon and court, who had fought for his father in the wars, or been civil to him in his exile; their deſign was to introduce a toleration of their religion, by the royal indulgence, in common with other diſſenters from the eſtabliſhment; and the king was ſo far in their meaſures, that he declared openly, *he would give liberty to all or none.* The court was therefore content that the act of uniformity ſhould paſs in the ſevereſt terms, on purpoſe *to make the number of diſſenters more conſiderable*; and when this was objected, it was replied, *the more diſſenters the better*, becauſe it will make a toleration more needful, in which the papiſts will be included. The papiſts had two maxims from which they never departed; one was, *to keep themſelves united, and promote a general toleration, or a general proſecution.* The other, *to divide the proteſtants as much as poſſible among themſelves.* For this reaſon the ſword was put into the hands of ſuch magiſtrates as would inflame the differences, and exaſperate their ſpirits one againſt the other. Nor were there wanting ſome hot-headed young clergymen, who run greedily into the ſnare, and became the tools of popery and arbitrary power, till the proteſtant religion was expiring, and muſt inevitably have been loſt, had it not been revived almoſt by a miracle. With a like view the laws againſt prophaneneſs and immorality were relaxed, mens morals were neglected, interludes, maſquerades, promiſcuous dancing, prophane ſwearing, drunkenneſs, and an univerſal diſſolution of manners, were connived at, and the very name of godlineſs became a reproach.

Burnet.

Of the parliament.

The parliament being made up of a ſet of penſioners and mercenaries, went into all the court meaſures, and enacted more penal laws for religion, than it may be, all the parliaments put together ſince the reformation. They preſſed the act of uniformity with inflexible rigour, and enforced it with ſo many other penal laws, that under their wing popery grew to ſuch a height, as to threaten the extirpation of the *northern hereſy.* At length many of the members being dead, and others grown fat with the ſpoils of the public, they would have retrieved their errors, and diſtinguiſhed between *proteſtant non-conformiſts* and *popiſh recuſants*, but it was too late; and the king having found ways and means to ſubſiſt without parliaments, reſolved to adhere to his ſtanding maxim, *to give eaſe to all diſſenters or to none.*

Of the clergy.

'Tis impoſſible to excuſe the clergy from their ſhare in the troubles of this reign. If the convocation of 1662, in their review of the liturgy, had made any amendments for the ſatisfaction of the preſbyterians, they would undoubtedly have paſſed both houſes of parliament, and healed in ſome meaſure the diviſions of the church; but they were actuated by a ſpirit of revenge, and not only promoted ſuch laws as might deprive the

the preſbyterians of the power of hurting them for the future; but aſſiſted in putting them in execution. None had a greater ſhare in inflaming the minds of the people, and in ſounding the trumpet to perſecution. But here the reader muſt diſtinguiſh between thoſe zealots, who from reſentment, bigotry, or ſiniſter views, ſet themſelves to encourage and promote all the methods of oppreſſion and tyranny; and thoſe, who though they complyed with the terms of conformity themſelves, were diſpoſed to an accommodation with the proteſtant non-conformiſts upon moderate terms. *King* Charles II. 1662.

The biſhops were generally of the former ſort; they were old and exaſperated, fond of their perſecuting principles, and fearful of every thing that tended to relieve the preſbyterians. They went with zeal into all the ſlaviſh doctrines of the prerogative, and voted with the court in every thing they required. But even ſome of theſe biſhops, who at firſt were very zealous to throw the preſbyterians out of the church, afterwards grew more temperate; Dr. *Laney* biſhop of *Peterborough*, who made a great buſtle in the *Savoy* conference, was willing at length to wipe his hands of the dirty work, and (to uſe his own expreſſion) could look through his fingers, and ſuffer a worthy non conformiſt to preach publicly near him for years together —— Biſhop *Saunderſon* had a roll of non-conformiſt miniſters under his angry eye, deſigned for diſcipline, but when he was near his end, he ordered the roll to be burnt, and ſaid, he would die in peace —— And moſt remarkable is the paſſage in the laſt will and teſtament of Dr. *Coſins* biſhop of *Durham*, a zealous enemy of the preſbyterians, and who had met with ill uſage in the late times. — "I "take it to be my duty (ſays he), and that of all the biſhops and mi- "niſters of the church, to do our utmoſt endeavour, that at laſt an end "may be put to the differences of religion, or at leaſt, that they may be "leſſened." Such was the different temper of this learned prelate in the vigour of life, and when he came to review things calmly on his dying bed. To theſe might be added biſhop *Gauden*, *Wilkins*, *Reynolds*, and a few others, who were always moderate, and are ſaid to carry the wounds of the church in their hearts to the grave; but the far greater majority of the bench, eſpecially thoſe who frequented the court, were of different principles. *The biſhops.*

The like may be obſerved of the inferior clergy, who were divided a few years after, into thoſe of the *court* and the *country*; the former were of an angry ſuperſtitious ſpirit, and far more ſtrenuous for a few indifferent ceremonies, than for the peace of the church, or its more important articles; their ſermons were filled with the reverence due to their *holy mother*, with the ſacred dignity of their own indelible characters, with the ſlaviſh doctrines of paſſive obedience and non-reſiſtance, and with the *The inferior clergy. High church.*

King Charles II. 1662.

moſt bitter raillery and invectives againſt the routed preſbyterians; they encouraged the enacting ſevere laws, and carried them into execution as long as their ſuperiors would permit, without any regard to mercy or merit, but took comparatively little or no care, by their doctrine or example, of the morals of the people, which were ſhamefully neglected throughout the nation. The clergy of this character were by far the more numerous for twenty years after the reſtoration; the tide of church preferments running in this channel, and their doctrines being the moſt faſhionable.

And low church.

The *country* clergy were of a quite different ſpirit; they were determined proteſtants and true churchmen, but more diſpoſed to a coalition with proteſtant diſſenters than with papiſts: Among theſe may be reckoned the *Tillotſons*, *Stillingfleets*, *Whichcots*, *Wilkins*, *Cudworths*, &c. men of the firſt rank for learning, ſobriety, and virtue; they were the moſt eminent preachers of the age, whoſe ſermons and writings did honour to the church of *England*, and ſupported its character in the worſt of times. They lamented the corruptions and vices of the people, and ſtood in the gap againſt an inundation of popery and tyranny; but their numbers were ſmall, becauſe the road to preferment lay another way: And when the high church clergy had betrayed the liberties of their country, and the cauſe of the proteſtant religion into the hands of the papiſts, theſe appeared boldly in their defence, diſarmed their adverſaries, and ſaved the nation.

Remarks.

When therefore we ſpeak of the furious proceedings of the biſhops and clergy, it muſt not be underſtood of the whole body, but only of thoſe who were tools of a corrupt court and miniſtry, and who out of ignorance, or other private and perſonal motives, went blindfold into all their deſtructive meaſures.

Biſhop Burnet's *remarks.*

Biſhop *Burnet*, in his book againſt the author of *parliamentum pacificum*, has the following remarkable paſſage: "It is well known, that "thoſe who were ſecretly papiſts, and diſguiſed their religion, as the "king himſelf did, animated the chief men of the church to carry the "points of uniformity as high as poſſible —— That there might be many "non-conformiſts, and great occaſion for a toleration, under which po-"pery might creep in; for if the king's declaration from *Breda* had took "place, of two thouſand miniſters that were turned out, above ſeventeen "hundred had ſtaid in; but the practices of the papiſts had too great an "influence on the church-men, whoſe ſpirits were too much ſowered by "their ill uſage during the war; nor were they without ſucceſs on the "diſſenters, who were ſecretly encouraged to ſtand out, and were told, "that the *king's temper and principles, and the conſideration of trade, would "certainly procure them a toleration.* Thus they tampered with both parties;

" parties; liberty of conſcience was their profeſſion, but when a ſeſſion " of parliament came, and the king wanted money, then a new ſevere " law againſt the diſſenters was offered to the angry men of the " church party, as the price of it; and this ſeldom failed to have its " effect; ſo that they were like the jewels of the crown, pawned " when the king needed money, but redeemed at the next proro- " gation." *King* Charles II. 1662.

The ſame prelate obſerves in another performance, " that the firſt ſpi- " rit of ſeverity was heightened by the practices of the papiſts —— that " many church-men who underſtood not the principles of human ſociety, " and the rules of the *engliſh* government, writ ſeveral extravagant treatiſes " about the *meaſures of ſubmiſſion*; that the diſſenters were put to great " hardſhips in many parts of *England*." But concludes, that " he muſt " have the brow of a jeſuit that can caſt this *wholly* upon the church of " *England*, and *free the court of it*. Upon the whole matter (ſays his " lordſhip), it is evident, that the paſſions and infirmities of ſome of the " church of *England* being unhappily ſtirred up by the diſſenters, they " were fatally conducted by the popiſh party, to be the inſtruments of do- " ing a great deal of miſchief."

But to go on with the hiſtory: Three days after the act of uniformity took place, the ſilenced miniſters preſented a petition to his majeſty for a toleration, by the hands of *Dr. Manton*, Dr. *Bates*, and Mr. *Calamy*, to this effect; that " having had former experience of his majeſty's clemen- " cy and indulgence, ſome of the *London* miniſters, who are like to be " deprived of all future uſefulneſs by the late act of uniformity, humbly caſt " themſelves at his majeſty's feet, deſiring him of his princely wiſdom to " take ſome effectual courſe, that they may be continued in their miniſ- " try, to teach his people obedience to God and his majeſty; and they " doubt not but by their dutiful and peaceable behaviour, they ſhall ren- " der themſelves not altogether unworthy of ſo great a favour." The matter being debated next day in council, his majeſty gave his opinion for an indulgence, if it was feaſible. Others were for conniving at the more eminent divines, and putting curates into their churches to read the ſervice, till they ſhould die off: This was the opinion of the earl of *Mancheſter*, who urged it with a great deal of earneſtneſs; but lord *Clarendon* was for the ſtrict execution of the law; " Surely (ſays " he), there cannot be too intent a care in kings and princes, to preſerve " and maintain all decent forms and ceremonies both in church and ſtate, " which keeps up the reverence due to religion, as well as the duty and " dignity due to the government and the majeſty of kings." Biſhop *Shel- don* was of the ſame ſide, and declared, that if the act was ſuſpended he could not maintain his epiſcopal authority, that this would render the le-

Nonconf. petition for indulgence. K. Chr. p. 753.

K. Chron. p. 730, 742.

Parker's hiſt. p. 29.

Burnet, p. 192.

King Charles II. 1662.

giſlature ridiculous, and be the occaſion of endleſs diſtractions. *England* is accuſtomed to obey laws (ſays he), ſo that while we ſtand on that ground we are ſafe; and to anſwer all objections, he undertook to fill the vacant pulpits more to the people's ſatisfaction. By ſuch arguments, delivered with great earneſtneſs and zeal, they prevailed with the council to let the law take place for the preſent.

King's declaration concerning indulgence.

Nevertheleſs about four months after, his majeſty publiſhed a declaration to all his loving ſubjects, by advice of his privy council, dated *December* 26, 1662, in which, after reciting thoſe words of his declaration from *Breda*, relating to his giving liberty to tender conſciences, and his readineſs to conſent to an act of parliament for that purpoſe, his majeſty adds, "As all theſe things are freſh in our memory, ſo are we ſtill "firm in the reſolution of performing them to the full. But it muſt not "be wondered at, ſince that parliament to which thoſe promiſes were "made, never thought fit to offer us an act to that purpoſe, that *we being* "*ſo zealous as we are (and by the grace of God ſhall ever be) for the maintenance of the true proteſtant religion*, ſhould give its eſtabliſhment the precedency before matters of indulgence to diſſenters from it; but that being "done, we are glad to renew to all our ſubjects concerned in thoſe promiſes of indulgence this aſſurance. That as for what concerns the penalties upon thoſe, who (living peaceably) do not conform to the church "of *England* through ſcruple, or tenderneſs of miſguided conſcience, "but modeſtly, and without ſcandal, perform their devotions in their "own way, we ſhall make it our ſpecial care, as far as in us lies, without invading the freedom of parliament, to incline their wiſdom at the "next approaching ſeſſions, to concur with us in making ſome act for "that purpoſe, as may enable us to exerciſe with a more univerſal ſatisfaction, *that power of diſpenſing which we conceive to be inherent in us*; "nor can we doubt of their chearful co-operating with us, in a thing "wherein we conceive ourſelves ſo far engaged both in honour, and "in what we owe to the peace of our dominions, which we profeſs we "can never think ſecure whilſt there ſhall be a colour left to diſaffected "perſons, to inflame the minds of ſo many multitudes upon the ſcore of conſcience, with deſpair of ever obtaining any effect of our promiſes for "their eaſe."

His majeſty then proceeds to obviate the objection of his favouring papiſts; and after having avowed to the world, the due ſenſe he had of their having deſerved well from his royal father, and from himſelf, and even from the proteſtant religion, in adhering to them with their lives and fortunes, for the maintenance of their crown in the religion eſtabliſhed, he declares, that "it is not in his intention to exclude them from all benefit from ſuch an act of indulgence, but that they are not to expect an

"open

" open toleration; but refers the manner to the approaching ſeſſions of " parliament, which he doubts not will concur with him in the perform- " ance of his promiſes —— " He concludes " with hoping that all his " ſubjects, with minds happily compoſed by his clemency and indulgence, " (inſtead of taking up thoughts of deſerting their profeſſions, or tranſ- " planting) will apply themſelves comfortably, and with redoubled in- " duſtry, to their ſeveral vocations, in ſuch manner as the private intereſt " of every one in particular may encourage him, to contribute chearfully " to the general proſperity. *King* Charles II. 1662.

" Given at our court at *Whitehall*, this 26th of *December*, " in the 14th year of our reign."

This declaration was thought to be framed at *Somerſet-Houſe*, where the queen-mother kept her court, without the knowledge of lord *Clarendon* or biſhop *Sheldon*; and according to *Burnet*, was the reſult of a council of papiſts at the earl of *Briſtol*'s, (who were under an oath of ſecrecy), and of the king himſelf. It is modeſtly expreſſed; and though it carries in it a claim of the *diſpenſing power*, and of good will to popery, yet it refers all to the parliament. Accordingly his majeſty, in his ſpeech at the opening the next ſeſſions, *Feb.* 28, ſupported his declaration in the following words, " that though he was in his nature an enemy to " all ſeverity in religion, he would not have them infer from thence, that " he meant to favour popery, though ſeveral of that profeſſion, who had " ſerved him and his father well, might juſtly claim a ſhare in that indul- " gence, he would willingly afford to other diſſenters; not that I intend " them to hold any places in the government (ſays his majeſty), for *I will* " *not yield to any, no not to the biſhops themſelves, in my zeal for the pro-* " *teſtant religion, and my liking the act of uniformity*; and yet if the diſ- " ſenters will behave themſelves peaceably and modeſtly under the govern- " ment, *I could heartily wiſh I had ſuch a power of indulgence to uſe up-* " *on all occaſions, as might not needleſsly force them out of the kingdom,* " *or ſtaying here, give them cauſe to conſpire againſt the peace of it.*" This was the firſt open claim of a *diſpenſing power*, which the reader will obſerve did not propoſe a *law for liberty of conſcience*, but that his majeſty might have a legal power of *indulgence* veſted in himſelf, which he might uſe or recal as he thought fit. This alarmed the houſe of commons, who voted the thanks of the houſe for his majeſty's reſolution to maintain the act of uniformity; but that it was the opinion of the houſe, that *no indulgence be granted to diſſenters from it*; and an addreſs was *Supported by his majeſty's ſpeech to the parliament.* Burnet, p. 193.

King Charles II. 1662.

was appointed to be drawn up, and preſented to his majeſty, with the following reaſons.

Addreſs of the commons againſt it. Rapin, p. 316.

"We have conſidered (ſay they), your majeſty's *declaration from* Bre-
"da, and are of opinion, that it was not a *promiſe*, but a gracious decla-
"ration to comply with the advice of your parliament, whereas no ſuch
"advice has been given. They who pretend a right to the ſuppoſed
"promiſe, put the right into the hands of their repreſentatives, who have
"paſſed the act of uniformity—— If any ſhall ſay, a right to the benefit
"of the declaration ſtill remains, it tends to diſſolve the very bond of
"government, and to ſuppoſe a diſability in the whole legiſlature, to
"make a law contrary to your majeſty's declaration —— We have alſo
"conſidered the nature of the *indulgence* propoſed, and are of opinion —
"1. That it will eſtabliſh ſchiſm by a law, and make the cenſures of the
"church of no conſideration —— 2. That it is unbecoming the wiſ-
"dom of parliament, to paſs a law in one ſeſſion for uniformity, and
"in another ſeſſion to paſs a law to fruſtrate or weaken it, the reaſons
"continuing the ſame —— 3. That it will expoſe your majeſty to the
"reſtleſs importunities of every ſect, who ſhall diſſent from the eſtabliſhed
"church —— 4. That it will encreaſe ſectaries, which will weaken the
"proteſtant profeſſion, and be troubleſome to the government; and in
"time ſome prevalent ſect may contend for an eſtabliſhment, which may
"end in popery —— 5. That it is unprecedented, and may take away
"the means of convicting recuſants —— 6. That the indulgence propo-
"ſed will not tend to the peace, but to the diſturbance of the kingdom;
"the beſt way therefore to produce a ſettled peace, is to preſs vigorouſly the
"act of uniformity."

Remarks.

The reader will judge of the force of theſe reaſons, which in my opinion, would juſtify the ſevereſt perſecution in the world: However the king was convinced with a ſum of money, and therefore made no other reply, but that *he had been ill underſtood.* The houſe then addreſſed him to put the laws in execution againſt papiſts; and a proclamation was iſſued out for that purpoſe, but little regarded. However, this oppoſition to the king and the *roman* catholics, by lord *Clarendon*, and his friends in the houſe of commons, laid the foundation of his impeachment the next year, and of his ruin ſome time after. Biſhop *Kennet* admits, that the king was inclined to a general indulgence, "though whether it was from
"his good nature, or a ſecret inclination to introduce popery, is not very
"decent to determine;" but both he and *Eachard* are of opinion, "that
"the king's clemency hardened the diſſenters againſt the church; whereas
"if they had loſt all dependance on a court intereſt, and had found the
"king and his miniſtry intent upon the ſtrict execution of the act of uni-
"formity,

p. 258.

Eachard, p. 806.

"formity, moſt of them (ſay they) would at this juncture have con- "formed." A notorious miſtake! the contrary to this being evident to a demonſtration throughout the courſe of this reign. The conformity of honeſt men does not depend upon the will, but the underſtanding; and 'tis very ungenerous at this diſtance to impeach men's integrity, who underwent a long courſe of the ſevereſt trials to retain it. *King* Charles II. 1662.

Some of the ejected preſbyterians, who were men of piety and learning, complied as far as they could, and made a diſtinction between *lay-conformity*, and *miniſterial*; they practiſed the former, and went ſometimes to their pariſh churches, before or after the exerciſe of their miniſtry in ſome private houſes: and this they did, not for intereſt or advantage, but to all appearance, to expreſs their catholiciſm and brotherly love. Here was the riſe of *occaſional conformity*, practiſed by Dr. *Bates*, Mr. *Baxter*, and others, to their death; but this, inſtead of being well taken, was the occaſion of bringing ſome of them into trouble; for Mr. *Calamy* late miniſter of *Aldermanbury*, being at his pariſh church *December* 28, the preacher happened to diſappoint them; upon which, at the importunity of the pariſhioners, Mr. *Calamy* went up into the pulpit, and preached a ſermon upon *Eli's concern for the ark of God*; a ſubject much upon their thoughts at that time; but this was ſo highly reſented at court that he was ſent to *Newgate* next week for ſedition, in breaking the king's laws. It was done *in terrorem*, ſays my author, but there was ſuch a clamour among the people, annd ſuch a reſort of perſons of diſtinction to viſit the priſoner, that his majeſty thought fit to releaſe him in a few days, which not being done by due courſe of law, the commons reſented it, and preſented an addreſs, that the laws for the future might have their free courſe. This diſguſted the king who was willing to aſſert his prerogative, and ſhew ſome favour to the presbyterians, that he might cover the papiſts; but lord *Clarendon* who was their implacable enemy, and at the head of that party which meditated their ruin, oppoſed the court meaſures, and encouraged his friends in both houſes to abide by the laws.

Riſe of occaſional conformity. Baxter's *life*, part II. p. p. 435. Compl. Hiſt. p. 267.

The reverend Mr. Calamy *ſent to* Newgate.

Calamy, Vol. II. p. 6.

Rapin, p. 312, 313.

The following ſummer there was a freſh diſcourſe of liberty for the ſilenced miniſters; and the court was ſo far in the deſign, as to encourage them to petition for a *general toleration*, inſinuating this to be the only method of relief, and that the legiſlature would go on to encreaſe their burdens, and lay them in gaols till they complied. The *independents* went up to court to ſpeak for themſelves, but the *preſbyterians* refuſed; upon which Mr. *Baxter* ſays, the independent brethren thought it owing to them that they miſſed of their intended liberty. The court being diſpleaſed, lord *Clarendon* and his friends took the opportunity to awaken their reſentments, by fathering upon the non-conformiſts ſome new plots againſt

1663. *Sham plot in the north.*

Baxter, part II. p. 430, 433.

King Charles II. 1663.

againſt the government. There was ſaid to be a conſpiracy in the north among the republicans and ſeparatiſts, to reſtore the long parliament, and put *Lambert* and *Ludlow* at their head, though the former was ſhut up in priſon in a remote iſland, and the other gone into baniſhment. There had been ſome unadviſed and angry converſation among the meaner ſort of people of republican principles, but it was not pretended that any gentlemen of character, much leſs that the body of the *engliſh* non-conformiſts were acquainted with it; however, about twenty were tried and condemned at *York* and *Leeds*, and ſeveral executed. Some very mean perſons were indicted at the *Old Baily* for a branch of the ſame deſign, as *Tongue*, *Philips*, *Stubbes*, *Hind*, *Sellars*, and *Gibbes:* They were not tried ſeparately, but ſet at the bar together, and condemned in the lump. It was pretended that the fifth monarchy men, anabaptiſts, independents, and ſome quakers, were conſenting to ſome deſperate deſigns, but the authors were never diſcovered; however, four of theſe pretended conſpirators were executed, who confeſſed at the place of execution, that they had heard ſome treaſonable expreſſions in company, but denied to the laſt that they were acquainted with any conſpiracy againſt the king; and whoever reads their trials will be enclined to think, that it was a deſign of thoſe who were at the head of affairs, to enflame the populace againſt the non-conformiſts, in order to bring on them greater ſeverities.

K. Chron. p. 840, 841. Calamy, p. 305. Rapin, p. 310.

Act for relief of non-ſubſcribing loyaliſts. 15 Car. II. cap. 6.

An act was paſſed this ſummer, *for the relief of ſuch perſons as by ſickneſs, or other impediments, were diſabled from ſubſcribing the declaration in the act of uniformity, and explanation of the ſaid act.* The preamble ſets forth, " that divers perſons of eminent loyalty, and known affection " to the liturgy of the church of *England*, were out of the kingdom; " and others, by reaſon of ſickneſs, diſability of body, or otherwiſe, " could not ſubſcribe within the time limited, and were therefore diſ- " abled, and *ipſo facto* deprived of their prebendaries, or other livings, " therefore further time is given them to the feaſt of the *nativity of* " *our Lord* next enſuing; or if out of *England*, forty days after their " return:" Which ſhews, that the time limited by the act of uniformity was not ſufficient. The journal of the houſe of lords mentions a clauſe inſerted by their lordſhips, explaining the *ſubſcription* and *declaration* to relate only to *practice*, and *obedience to the law*, which paſſed the upper houſe, though ſeveral temporal lords proteſted againſt it, as deſtructive to the church of *England*, however when it came down to the commons, the clauſe was rejected, and the lords did not think fit to inſiſt upon its being reſtored.

While

King Charles II. 1664.

While the parliament were relieving the loyaliſts, they encreaſed the burdens of the non-conformiſts, for under colour of the late pretended plots, they paſſed an act for *ſuppreſſing ſeditious conventicles*; the preamble to which having ſet forth, that the ſectaries, under pretence of tender conſciences, at their meetings had contrived inſurrections, the act declares the 35th of queen *Elizabeth* to be in full force, which condemns all perſons refuſing peremptorily to come to church, after conviction, to baniſhment, and in caſe of return, to death without benefit of clergy. It enacts further, "that if any perſon above the age of ſixteen, after the "firſt of *July* 1664, ſhall be preſent at any meeting, under colour or "pretence of any exerciſe of religion, in other manner than is allowed "by the liturgy or practice of the church of *England*, where ſhall be "five or more perſons than the houſhold, ſhall for the firſt offence ſuffer three months impriſonment, upon record made upon oath under "the hand and ſeal of a juſtice of peace; or pay a ſum not exceeding "five pounds; for the ſecond offence ſix months impriſonment, or ten "pounds; and for the third offence the offender to be baniſhed to ſome "of the *american* plantations (excepting *New England* and *Virginia*), "for ſeven years, or pay one hundred pounds; and in caſe they return, "or make their eſcape, ſuch perſons are to be adjudged felons, and ſuffer death without benefit of clergy. Sheriffs, or juſtices of peace, or "others commiſſioned by them, are empowered to diſſolve, diſſipate, "and break up all unlawful conventicles, and to take into cuſtody ſuch "of their number as they think fit. They who ſuffer ſuch conventicles "in their houſes or barns, are liable to the ſame forfeitures as other offenders. The proſecution is to be within three months. Married "women taken at conventicles are to be impriſoned for twelve months, "unleſs their huſbands pay forty ſhillings for their redemption. This "act to continue in force for three years after the next ſeſſion of parliament."

Conventicle act 16 Car. II. Chap. 4.

Sad conſequences of it to miniſters and people.

This was a terrible ſcourge over the *laity*, put into the hands of a ſingle juſtice of peace, without the verdict of a jury, the oath of the *informer* being ſufficient. The deſign of the parliament (ſays *Rapin*), was to drive them to deſpair, and to force them into real crimes againſt the government. By virtue of this act, the gaols in the ſeveral counties were quickly filled with diſſenting proteſtants, while the papiſts had the good fortune to be covered under the wing of the prerogative. Some of the miniſters who went to church in ſermon time, were diſturbed for preaching to a few of their pariſhoners after the public ſervice was over; their houſes were broke open, and their hearers taken into cuſtody; warrants were iſſued out for levying twenty pounds on the miniſter, twenty pounds upon the houſe, and five ſhillings upon each hearer. If the money was

King Charles II. 1664.

not immediately paid, there was a ſeizure of their effects, the goods and wares were taken out of the ſhops; and in the country, cattle were driven away and ſold for half the value. If the ſeizure did not anſwer the fine, the miniſter and people were hurried to priſon, and held under cloſe confinement for three or ſix months. The trade of an *informer* began to be very gainful, by the encouragement of the ſpiritual courts. At every quarter ſeſſions, ſeveral were fined for not coming to church, and others excommunicated; nay ſome have been ſentenced to abjure the realm, and fined in a ſum much larger than all they were worth in the world.

Their cautious conduct. Baxter. p. 436.

Before the conventicle act took place, the *laity* were courageous, and exhorted their miniſters to preach till they went to priſon; but when it came home to themſelves, and they had been once in gaol, they began to be more cautious, and conſulted among themſelves, how to avoid the edge of the law in the beſt manner they could; for this purpoſe their aſſemblies were frequently held at midnight, and in the moſt private places; and yet, notwithſtanding all their caution, they were frequently diſturbed; but 'tis remarkable, that under all their hardſhips, they never made the leaſt reſiſtance, but went quietly along with the ſoldiers or officers, when they could not fly from them. The diſtreſs of ſo many families, made ſome confine themſelves within their own houſes, ſome remove to the plantations, and others have recourſe to *occaſional conformity*, to avoid the penalty for not coming to church; but the *independents*, *anabaptiſts*, and *quakers*, declined the practice; for they ſaid, if *perſecution* was the mark of a falſe church, it muſt be abſolutely unlawful to join with one that was ſo notoriouſly guilty.

Sufferings of the quakers. Sewel, p. 445.

Indeed the *quakers* gloried in their ſufferings, and were ſo reſolute as to aſſemble openly at the *Bull* and *Mouth* near *Alderſgate*, from whence the ſoldiers and other officers dragged them to priſon, till *Newgate* was filled, and multitudes died by cloſe confinement in ſeveral the gaols. The account publiſhed about this time ſays, there were ſix hundred of them in priſon, *merely for religion ſake*, of whom ſeveral were baniſhed to the plantaions. Sometimes the *quakers* met and continued ſilent, upon which it was queſtioned, whether ſuch an aſſembly was a *conventicle for religious exerciſe*; and when ſome were tried for it in order to baniſhment, they were acquitted of the baniſhment, and came off with a fine, which they ſeldom paid, and were therefore continued in priſon. In ſhort, the quakers about *London* gave ſuch full employment to the *informers*, that they had leſs leiſure to attend the meetings of other diſſenters.

And others.

So great was the ſeverity of theſe times, and the arbitrary proceedings of the juſtices, that many were afraid to pray in their families, if above four of their acquaintance who came only to viſit them were preſent.

Some

Some families ſcrupled aſking a bleſſing on their meat, if five ſtrangers were at table. In *London*, where the houſes join, it was thought the law might be evaded if the people met in ſeveral houſes, and heard the miniſter through a window or hole in the wall; but it ſeems this was over-ruled, the determination being (as has been obſerved), in the breaſt of a ſingle mercenary juſtice of peace. And while conſcientious people were thus oppreſſed, the common people gave themſelves up to drunkenneſs, prophane ſwearing, gaming, lewdneſs, and all kinds of debauchery, which brought down the judgments of heaven upon the nation. *King* Charles II. 1662.

The firſt general calamity that befel the kingdom, was a war with the *Dutch*, which the king entered into this winter, by the inſtigation of the young *french* monarch, *Lewis* XIV. who being grown rich by a long peace, ſought for an opportunity to make new conqueſts in the *ſpaniſh Flanders*; for this purpoſe he engaged the maritime powers in a war, that by weakening each others hands, they might not be at leiſure to aſſiſt the *Spaniards* whom he intended to attack. The *engliſh* made complaints of the encroachments of the *dutch* upon their trade, and indignities offered to his majeſty's ſubjects in *India*, *Africa*, and elſewhere; the *french* promoted theſe miſunderſtandings, and promiſed to ſupply the king with what ſums of money he wanted; till at length war was proclaimed *Feb.* 22, 1664-65, in the courſe of which ſundry bloody engagements happened at ſea; the two nations were drained of their blood and treaſure, and the proteſtant intereſt almoſt ruined, while the *french* were little more than ſpectators. The war continued about two years and a half, and then ended with no manner of advantage to either nation. *War with the* Dutch.

The next judgment which befel the nation, was the moſt dreadful *plague* that had been known within the memory of man. This was preceded by an unuſual drought; the meadows were parched and burnt up like the highways, inſomuch that there was no food for the cattle, which occaſioned firſt a murrain among them, and then a general contagion among the humane ſpecies, which encreaſed in the city and ſuburbs of *London*, till eight or ten thouſand died in a week. The richer inhabitants fled into the remoter counties; but the calamities of thoſe who ſtayed behind, and of the poorer ſort, are not to be expreſſed. Trade was at a full ſtand; all commerce between *London* and the country was entirely cut off, leaſt the infection ſhould be propagated thereby. Nay the country houſe-keepers and farmers durſt not entertain their city friends or relations, till they had performed quarantine in the fields or out-houſes. If a ſtranger paſſed through the neighbourhood, they fled from him as an enemy. In *London* the ſhops and houſes were quite ſhut up, and many 1665. *The plague.*

King Charles II. 1665.

of them marked with a red croſs, and an inſcription over the door, *Lord have mercy on us!* Graſs grew in the ſtreets; and every night the bellman went his rounds with a cart, crying *bring out your dead.* From *London* the plague ſpread into the neighbouring towns and villages, and continued near three quarters of a year, till it had ſwept away almoſt one hundred thouſand of the inhabitants.

Ejected miniſters venture to preach publicly. Baxter's *Life*, part III. p. 2.

Some of the eſtabliſhed clergy, with a commendable zeal, ventured to continue in their ſtations, and preach to their pariſhioners throughout the courſe of the plague, as Dr. *Walker*, Dr. *Horton*, Dr. *Meriton*, and a few others; but moſt of them fled, and deſerted their pariſhes at a time when their aſſiſtance was moſt wanted; upon this ſome of the ejected miniſters ventured to preach in the vacant pulpits, imagining that ſo extraordinary a caſe would juſtify their diſregard to the laws. The miniſters who embarked in this ſervice, were the reverend Mr. *Thomas Vincent*, Mr. *Cheſter*, Mr. *Janeway*, Mr. *Turner*, *Grimes*, *Franklin*, and others. The face of death, and the arrows that fled among the people in darkneſs at noon-day, awakened both preachers and hearers: Many who were at church one day were thrown into their graves the next; the cry of great numbers was, *what ſhall we do to be ſaved?* A more awful time *England* had never ſeen!

Which brings them under further hardſhips. Ib. p. 3.

But it will amaze all poſterity, that in a time both of war and peſtilence, and when the non-conformiſt miniſters were hazarding their lives in the ſervice of the ſouls of the diſtreſſed and dying citizens of *London*, that the prime miniſter and his creatures, inſtead of mourning for the nation's ſins, and meditating a reformation of manners, ſhould pour out all their vengeance upon the non-conformiſts, in order to make their condition more inſupportable. One would have thought ſuch a judgment from heaven, and ſuch a generous compaſſion in the ejected miniſters, ſhould have ſoftened the hearts of their moſt cruel enemies; but the preſbyterians muſt be cruſhed, in defiance of the rebukes of providence. Biſhop *Kennet* and Mr. *Eachard* would excuſe the miniſtry by alledging, that ſome of the old *Oliverian officers* were liſted in the *dutch* ſervice; which if true, was nothing to the body of the preſbyterians, though lord *Clarendon* did what he could to incenſe the parliament, and make them believe they were in confederacy with the enemies of the government. In his harangue to the houſe he ſays, "their countenances were more erect, "and more inſolent ſince the beginning of the war than before; that "they were ready if any misfortune had befallen the king's fleet, "to have brought the war into our fields and houſes. The horrid mur- "derers of our late royal maſter, have been received into the moſt ſacred "councils in *Holland*; and other infamous perſons of our nation, are ad- "mitted to a ſhare in the conduct of their affairs with liberal penſions.

Eachard, p. 824.

Lord Clarendon's *ſpeech for it.*

Too

King Charles II. 1661.

"Too many of his majeſty's ſubjects have been liſted in their ſervice for "a maintenance —— Their friends at home made no doubt of doing the "buſineſs themſelves, if they could pitch upon a lucky day to begin the "work —— If you carefully provide for ſuppreſſing your enemies at home, "you will find your enemies abroad more enclined to peace ——" Is it poſſible that ſuch a ſpeech could proceed from the lips of a wiſe and faithful counſellor, who was to aſk for money and carry on the war? Could the chancellor think, that the way to conquer abroad, was to divide and harraſs the king's ſubjects at home, in the midſt of the diſtreſs of a terrible plague? He confeſſed afterwards, that he was moſt averſe to this war, Ib. p. 846. and abhorred it from his very ſoul, and yet he makes a handle of it to rain down vengeance on the preſbyterians, who had no concern in it; but it happened to them as in popiſh countries, when any general calamity befals the people, it is imputed to too great an indulgence to *heretics*, and the vengeance is returned upon their heads. Biſhop *Burnet* is of opinion, that the *Oxford act* was rather owing to the liberty the non-conformiſts took in their ſermons, to complain of their own hardſhips, and to lament the vices of the court, as the cauſes of the preſent calamities. And ſuppoſing this to be true, their complaints were not without reaſon.

The Oxford *five mile act*. 17 Car. II. chap. 2.

However, the guilt was to lie on the diſſenting miniſters, and therefore an act was brought into the houſe to baniſh them from their friends, which had the royal aſſent *October* 31, 1665. It was entituled, *an act to reſtrain non-conformiſts from inhabiting corporations*; the preamble to which ſets forth, "that divers parſons, and others in holy orders, not "having ſubſcribed the act of uniformity, have taken upon them to "preach in unlawful aſſemblies, and to inſtil the poiſonous principles "of ſchiſm and rebellion into the hearts of his majeſty's ſubjects, to "the great danger of the church and kingdom. Be it therefore enacted, "that all ſuch non-conformiſt miniſters ſhall take the following oath: *I* *The oath.* "A. B. *do ſwear, that it is not lawful upon any pretence whatſoever, to* "*take arms againſt the king; and that I do abhor that traiterous poſition,* "*of taking arms by his authority, againſt his perſon, or againſt thoſe that* "*are commiſſioned by him, in purſuance of ſuch commiſſions; and that* "*I will not at any time endeavour any alteration of government* "*either in church or ſtate.* And all ſuch non-conformiſt miniſters ſhall "not after the 24th of *March* 1665, unleſs in paſſing the road, come, "or be within five miles of any city, town corporate, or borough that "ſends burgeſſes to parliament; or within five miles of any pariſh, "town, or place wherein they have ſince the act of oblivion been parſon, "vicar, or lecturer, &c. or where they have preached in any conven-"ticle, on any pretence whatſoever, before they have taken and ſubſcribed "the aboveſaid oath, before the juſtices of peace at their quarter ſeſſions

for

King Charles II. 1665.

" for the county, in open court; upon forfeiture for every ſuch offence " of the ſum of forty pounds, one third to the king, another third to " the poor, and a third to him that ſhall ſue for it. And it is further " enacted, that ſuch as ſhall refuſe the oath aforeſaid, ſhall be incapable " of teaching any public or private ſchools, or of taking any boarders " or tablers to be taught or inſtructed, under pain of forty pounds, to " be diſtributed as above. Any two juſtices of peace, upon oath made " before them of any offence committed againſt this act, are empow- " ered to commit the offender to priſon for ſix months, without bail or " mainprize."

Baxter, part III. p. 3. Burnet, p. 225.

The earl of *Southampton*, lord *Wharton*, *Aſhley*, Dr. *Earl* biſhop of *Saliſbury*, and others, vehemently oppoſed this bill, out of compaſſion to the non-conformiſts, and as it enforced anunlawful and unjuſtifiable oath, which (as the earl of *Southampton* obſerved), *no honeſt man could take*; but the madneſs of the times prevailed againſt all reaſon and humanity. The promoters of the act were lord chancellor *Clarendon*, archbiſhop *Sheldon*, *Ward* the new biſhop of *Saliſbury*, and their creatures, with all that were ſecret favourers of popery (ſays biſhop *Burnet*.) It was moved that the word *legally* might be inſerted in the oath, before the word *commiſſioned*; and that before the words *endeavoured to change the government*, might be inſerted the word *unlawfully*; but all amendments were rejected; however, *Bridgman* chief juſtice of the *Common-Pleas*, declaring that the oath muſt be ſo underſtood, Dr. *Bates* and about twenty others took it, to avoid the imputation of ſedition; but they had ſuch a lecture afterwards from the bench for their ſcruples, that they repented of what they had done before they went out of court. Mr. *Howe*, and about twelve in *Devonſhire*, and a few in *Dorſetſhire*, took the oath with a declaration in what ſenſe and with what limitations they underſtood it.

Baxter, p. 15.

Some few take the oath. Howe's *Life.*

But the generality refuſe and go into baniſhment. Baxter, part III. p. 4. Burn, p. 226.

But the body of non-conformiſt miniſters refuſed the oath, chooſing rather to forſake their habitations, their relations and friends and all viſible ſupport, than deſtroy the peace of their conſciences. Thoſe miniſters who had ſome little eſtate or ſubſtance of their own, retired to ſome remote and obſcure villages, or ſuch little market towns as were not corporations, and more than five miles from the places where they had preached; but in many counties it was difficult to find ſuch places of retirement; for either there were no houſes untenanted, or they were annexed to farms which the miniſters were not capable of uſing; or the people were afraid to admit the miniſters into their houſes, leſt they ſhould be ſuſpected as favourers of non-conformity. Some took advantage of the miniſters neceſſities, and raiſed their rents beyond what they could afford to give. Great numbers were thus buried in obſcurity, while others who had neither money nor friends, went on preaching as they could, till they were ſent to priſon,

Baxter's *Life*, part III. p. 15.

ſon, thinking it more eligible to periſh in a gaol than to ſtarve out of one; eſpecially when by this means they had ſome occaſional relief from their hearers, and hopes that their wives and children might be ſupported after their death. Many who lay concealed in diſtant places from their flocks in the day-time, rid thirty or forty miles to preach to them in the night, and retired again before day-light. Theſe hardſhips tempted ſome few to conform (ſays Mr. *Baxter*), contrary to their former judgments; but the body of diſſenters remained ſtedfaſt to their principles, and the church gained neither reputation nor numbers. The *informers* were very diligent in hunting after their game; and the ſoldiers and officers behaved with great rudeneſs and violence: When they miſſed of the miniſters, they went into the barns and out-houſes, and ſometimes thruſt their ſwords up to the hilts in the hay and ſtraw, where they ſuppoſed they might lie concealed; they made havock of their goods, and terrified the women and children almoſt out of their lives. Theſe methods of cruelty reduced many miniſters with their families to the neceſſity of living upon brown rye bread and water; but few were reduced to public beggary (ſays Mr. *Baxter*), the providence of God appearing wonderfully for their relief, in their greateſt extremities. *King* Charles II. 1665.

And as if the judgments of heaven upon this nation were not heavy enough, nor the legiſlature ſufficiently ſevere, the biſhops muſt throw their weight into the ſcale; for in the very midſt of the plague *July* 7, 1665, archbiſhop *Sheldon* ſent orders to the ſeveral biſhops of his province to return the names of all ejected non-conformiſt miniſters, with their places of abode, and manner of life; and the returns of the ſeveral biſhops are ſtill preſerved in the *Lambeth* library; the deſign of this enquiry, was to gird the laws cloſer upon the diſſenters, and to know by what means they earned their bread; and if this tender-hearted archbiſhop could have had his will, they muſt have ſtarved, or ſought a livelihood in foreign countries. *Names of non-conf. miniſters regiſtered in the Bps. courts.* Comp. Hiſt. Vol. III. p. 279.

This year put an end to the life of Dr. *Cornelius Burges*, a divine of the puritan ſtamp educated at *Oxford*, and chaplain to king *Charles* I. He ſuffered much by the high commiſſion court, but taking part with the parliament, was choſen one of the pacific divines who met at the *Jeruſalem Chamber*, to accommodate differences in the church: He often preached before the houſe of commons, and was one of the aſſembly of divines, but refuſed to take the covenant till he was ſuſpended. He was ejected at the reſtoration from St. *Andrews* in the city of *Wells* in *Somerſetſhire*, and having laid out all his money in the purchaſe of biſhops lands, he was reduced to abſolute poverty. He appeared at the head of the *London* divines, againſt bringing the king to his trial, and was eſteemed. *Death of Dr* Burges.

King Charles II. 1662.

teemed a very learned and able divine. He died at his houſe at *Watford June* 1665.

And of Dr. Cheynel.

We have already remembered Dr. *Cheynel* among the *Oxford* profeſſors, a man of great abilities, and a member of the aſſembly of divines. He quitted his preferments in the univerſity, for refuſing to take the *engagement*, and was ejected from the living of *Petworth* at the reſtoration, without having enriched himſelf by any of his preferments. 'Tis reported that he was ſometimes diſordered in his head, but he was perfectly recovered ſome years before his death, which happened at his houſe near *Brighthelmſtone* in *Suſſex*, *September* 1665.

1666. *The fire of* London.

The vices of the nation not being ſufficiently puniſhed by *peſtilence* and *war*, it pleaſed almighty God this year to ſuffer the city of *London* to be laid in aſhes by a dreadful *conflagration*, which broke out in *Pudding-lane* behind the *Monument*, *September* 2, and within three or four days, conſumed thirteen thouſand two hundred dwelling-houſes, eighty-nine churches, among which was the cathedral of St. *Paul*'s; many public ſtructures, ſchools, libraries, and ſtately edifices. Multitudes loſt their goods and merchandize, and the greateſt part of their ſubſtance, and ſome few their lives; the king, the duke of *York*, and many of the nobility, were ſpectators of the deſolation, but had not the power to ſtop its progreſs, till at length it ceaſed almoſt as wonderfully as it began. *Moorfields* was filled with houſhold goods, and the people were forced to lodge in huts and tents: Many families who were the laſt week in proſperity, were now reduced to beggary, and obliged to begin the world again. The authors of this *fire* were ſaid to be the *papiſts*, as appears by the inſcription upon the monument. The parliament being of this opinion, petitioned the king to iſſue out a proclamation, requiring all popiſh prieſts and jeſuits to depart the kingdom within a month, and appointed a committee who received evidence of ſome papiſts, who were ſeen to throw fire-balls into houſes, and of others who had materials for it in their pockets; but the men were fled, and none ſuffered but one *Hubert* a *french* man by his own confeſſion.

Produces a ſort of liberty of the non-conformiſts.

In this general confuſion, the churches being burnt, and many of the pariſh miniſters withdrawn for want of habitations or places of worſhip, the non-conformiſts reſolved again to ſupply the neceſſities of the people; depending upon it that in ſuch an extremity, they ſhould eſcape perſecution; ſome churches were erected of boards, which they called *tabernacles*; and the diſſenters fitted up large rooms with pulpits ſeats and galleries, for the reception of all who would come. Dr. *Manton* had his rooms full in *Covent-Garden*; Mr. *Thomas Vincent*, Mr. *Doolitle*, Dr. *Turner*, Mr. *Grimes*, Mr. *Jenkyns*, Mr. *Nath. Vincent*, Dr. *Jacomb*, Mr. *Watſon*, had their ſeparate meetings in other places. The independents alſo,

Baxter's *life*, p. 19.

alſo, as Dr. *Owen*, Dr. *Goodwin*, Mr. *Griffiths*, *Brooks*, *Caryl*, *Barker*, *Nye*, and others, began the ſame practice; many citizens frequented the meetings, where the liturgy was not read; though the few pariſh pulpits that remained, were filled with very able preachers; as Dr. *Tillotſon*, *Stillingfleet*, *Patrick*, *White*, *Gifford*, *Whichcot*, *Horton*, *Meriton*, &c. But none of theſe calamaties had any further influence upon the court prelates, than that they durſt not proſecute the preachers ſo ſeverely for the preſent. *King* Charles II. 1666.

Among the non-conformiſt miniſters who died this year, were the reverend Mr. *Edmund Calamy* B. D. the ejected miniſter of *Aldermanbury*, born in *London* 1600, and bred in *Pembroke Hall Cambridge*; he was firſt chaplain to Dr. *Felton* biſhop of *Ely*, and afterwards ſettled at St. *Edmundſbury*; from whence after ten years, he with thirty other miniſters, were driven out of the dioceſe by biſhop *Wren*'s viſitation articles and the book of ſports. Upon the death of Dr. *Stoughton* 1639, he was choſen to *Aldermanbury*, where he ſoon gained a vaſt reputation. He was one of the divines who met in the *Jeruſalem Chamber* for accomodating eccleſiaſtical matters in the year 1641. He was afterwards a member of the aſſembly at *Weſtminſter*, and an active man in all their proceedings. He was one of the moſt popular preachers in the city, and had a great hand in the king's reſtoration, but ſoon repented his having done it without a previous treaty. He refuſed a biſhopric becauſe he could not have it upon the terms of the king's declaration; and ſoon after the *Bartholomew* act, was impriſoned in *Newgate* for preaching an occaſional ſermon to his pariſhioners. He afterwards lived pretty much retired till this year, when being driven in a coach through the ruins of the city of *London*, it ſo affected him, that he went home and never came out of his chamber more, dying within a month, in the 67th year of his age. *Death of Mr.* Calamy. Abridg. p. 4.

Mr. *Arthur Jackſon* M. A. the ejected miniſter of St. *Faith*'s was born about the year 1593, and educated in *Cambridge*. He became miniſter of St. *Michael*'s *Woodſtreet* in the year 1625, when the peſtilence raged in the city; and continued with his pariſh throughout the whole courſe of the diſtemper. He was fined five hundred pounds for refuſing to give evidence againſt Mr. *Love*, and committed priſoner to the *Fleet*, where he remained ſeventeen weeks. At the reſtoration he was choſen by the provincial aſſembly of *London*, to preſent a bible to the king at his public entrance. He was afterwards one of the commiſſioners of the *Savoy*; and when the uniformity act took place, being old, he retired to a private life, and died with great ſatisfaction in his non-conformity, *Aug* 5, 1665, in the ſeventy-fourth year of his age. *Of Mr.* Jackſon. Calamy's Abridg. p. 3.

King Charles II. 1667.

Dr. Spurſtow.

Dr. *William Spurſtow* the ejected miniſter of *Hackney*, was ſometime maſter of *Katherine Hall Cambridge*, but ejected for refuſing the *engagement*. He was one of the authors of *Smectymnuus*, a member of the aſſembly of divines, and afterwards one of the commiſſioners of the *Savoy*; a man of great learning, humility, and charity, and of a chearful converſation: He lived through the *ſickneſs* year, but died the following in an advanced age.

1667. *The fall of the earl of* Clarendon.

This year was memorable for the fall of the great earl of *Clarendon* lord high chancellor of *England*, who attended the king in his exile, and upon his majeſty's reſtoration was created a peer, and advanced to the high dignity of chancellor of *England*. He governed with a ſovereign and abſolute ſway as prime miniſter, for about two years; but in the year 1663 was impeached of high treaſon by the earl of *Briſtol*; and though the impeachment was dropt for want of form, his intereſt at court declined from that time, and after the *Oxford* parliament of 1665, his lordſhip was out of all credit. This ſummer the king took the ſeals from him, and on the 12th of *November* Sir *Edward Seymour* impeached him of high treaſon at the bar of the houſe of peers, in the name of all the commons of *England*, for ſundry arbitrary and tyrannical proceedings contrary to law, by which he had acquired a greater eſtate than could be honeſtly gotten in that time —— For procuring grants of the king's lands to his relations, contrary to law —— For correſponding with *Cromwell* in his exile —— For adviſing and effecting the ſale of *Dunkirk* —— For iſſuing out *quo warranto's* to obtain great ſums of money from the corporations —— For determining people's title to their lands at the council table, and ſtopping proceedings at law, *&c.* The earl had made himſelf obnoxious at court, by his magiſterial carriage to the king, and was grown very unpopular by his ſuperb and magnificent palace at St. *James*'s, erected in a time of war and peſtilence, which coſt him fifty thouſand pounds: Some called it *Dunkirk* houſe, as being built with his ſhare of the price of that fortreſs; and others *Holland* houſe, as if he had received money from the king's enemies in time of war. The king's ſecond marriage, which proved barren was laid to his charge, and ſaid to be contrived for the advancement of his grand-children by the dutcheſs of *York*, who was the earl's daughter. When his majeſty enclined to part with his queen, and if poſſible to legitimate his addreſſes to Miſs *Steward*, the chancellor got her privately married to the duke of *Richmond*, without the king's knowledge, which his majeſty was told was to ſecure the ſucceſſion of the crown to his own family. This intriguing together with his high oppoſition to the *roman* catholics, and to all who were not of his own principles, procured him many enemies, and ſtruck him quite out of the king's favour. The

Burnet, p. 251, 252.

earl

earl did not think fit to weather the ſtorm, but withdrew to *France*, leaving a paper behind him, in which he denies almoſt every article of his charge; but the parliament voted his defence ſcandalous, and ordered it to be burnt by the hands of the common hangman. *December* 18 his lordſhip was baniſhed the king's dominions for life, by act of parliament; he ſpent the remaining ſeven years of his life at *Roan* in *Normandy*, among papiſts and preſbyterians, whom he would hardly ſuffer to live in his own country, and employed the chief of his time in writing the hiſtory of the grand rebellion, which is in every one's hands. *King* Charles II. 1667.

The earl of *Clarendon* was a proteſtant of *Laudean* principles in church and ſtate, and at the head of all the penal laws againſt the non-conformiſts to this time. Biſhop *Burnet* ſays, "he was a good chancellor, but a little too rough; that he meddled too much in foreign affairs, which he never underſtood well; that he had too much levity in his wit, and did not obſerve the decorum of his poſt." Mr. *Rapin* adds, "that from him came all the blows aimed at the non-conformiſts ſince the beginning of this reign. His immoderate paſſion againſt preſbyterianiſm was this great man's foible. He gloried in his hatred of that people; and perhaps, contributed more than any other perſon to that exceſs of animoſity which ſubſiſts againſt them at this day, among the followers of his maxims and principles." Mr. *Eachard* ſays, "his removal was a great ſatisfaction to the diſſenters;" directly contrary to Mr. *Baxter*, "who obſerves a remarkable providence of God, that he who had dealt ſo cruelly by the non-conformiſts ſhould be baniſhed *by his own friends*, while the *others*, whom he had perſecuted, were moſt moderate in his cauſe, and many of them for him. It was a great eaſe that befel good men by his fall (ſays he); for his way was to *decoy men into conſpiracies, or pretended plots, and upon thoſe rumours, innocent people were laid in priſon, ſo that no man knew when he was ſafe; whereas ſince his time, though the laws have been made more ſevere, yet men are more ſafe.* His lordſhip was undoubtedly a perſon of very conſiderable abilities, which have been ſufficienly celebrated by his admirers, but I have not been able to diſcover any great or generous exploits for the ſervice of the public; and how far his conduct with regard to the non-conformiſts, was conſiſtent with humanity, religion, or honour, muſt be left with the reader. *His character.* p. 95. Baxter, part III. p. 20, 21.

CHAP. VIII.

From the baniſhment of the earl of Clarendon, *to the king's declaration of indulgence in the year* 1672.

UPON the fall of the earl of *Clarendon*, the diſcourſe of a toleration began to revive: The king in his ſpeech to his parliament *Feb.* 10, has this paſſage, "One thing more I hold myſelf obliged to "recommend to you at this preſent, that is, that you would ſeriouſly "think of ſome courſe to beget a better union and compoſure in the "minds of my proteſtant ſubjects in matters of religion, whereby they "may be induced not only to ſubmit quietly to the government, but "alſo chearfully give their aſſiſtance to the ſupport of it." Sundry pamphlets were publiſhed upon this head; and the duke of *Buckingham* being now prime miniſter, the non-conformiſts about *London* were connived at, and people went openly and boldly to their meetings.

King Charles II. 1667.

King moves for a gen. tol. Cal. 316.

But the houſe of commons, who were yet influenced by the pernicious maxims of the late chancellor, petitioned the king to iſſue out his proclamation, for enforcing the laws againſt conventicles, and for preſerving the peace of the kingdom, againſt unlawful aſſemblies of papiſts and non-conformiſts. Accordingly his majeſty iſſued out his proclamation, that "upon conſideration of the late petition, and upon in-"formation that divers perſons in ſeveral parts of the realm (abuſing "his clemency, even while it was under conſideration to find out a way "for the better union of his proteſtant ſubjects), have of late frequent-"ly and openly, in great numbers, and to the great diſturbance of the "peace, held unlawful aſſemblies and conventicles, his majeſty declares, "that he will not ſuffer ſuch notorious contempt of the laws to go "unpuniſhed, but requires, charges, and commands all officers, to be cir-"cumſpect and vigilant in their ſeveral juriſdictions, to enforce and put "the laws in execution againſt unlawful conventicles, commanding them "to take particular care to preſerve the peace."

Parliament petition to put the penal laws in execution. Gaxettee, Numb. 242.

The ſufferings of the diſſenters began to excite compaſſion in the minds of the people, inſomuch that their numbers viſibly increaſed, partly through the indulgence of the court, and the want of churches ſince the fire of *London*, and partly through the poverty of the common people, who having little to loſe, ventured to go publicly to *meetings* in defiance of the laws. The indolence of the eſtabliſhed clergy, and the diligence of the non-conformiſt miniſters, contributed very much to the increaſe of *non-conformiſts*. Biſhop *Burnet* ſays, "the king was highly offended at "the behaviour of moſt of the biſhops; archbiſhop *Sheldon* and *Mor-*

The ill behaviour of the biſhops and clergy.

p. 253, 258.

ley,

" *ley*, who kept close by lord *Clarendon*, the great patron of persecuting " power, lost the king's favour; the former never recovered it, and the " latter was sent from court into his diocese. When complaint was " made of some disorders and conventicles, the king said the clergy were " chiefly to blame, for if they had lived well, and gone about their pa- " rishes, and taken pains to convince the non-conformists, the nation " might have been well settled, but they thought of nothing but to get " good benefices, and keep a good table." In another conversation with " the bishop about the ill state of the church, his majesty said, " if the " clergy had done their parts it had been easy to run down the non- " conformists, but they will do nothing (says the king), and will have me " do every thing; and most of them do worse than if they did nothing. " I have a very honest chaplain (says he), to whom I have given a liv- " ing in *Suffolk*, but he is a very great blockhead, and yet has brought " all his parish to church; I can't imagine what he could say to them, " for he is a very silly fellow; but he has been about from house to house, " and I suppose his nonsense has suited their nonsense; and in reward of " his diligence, I have given him a bishopric in *Ireland*." About this time *Ralph Wallis*, a cobler of *Glouceſter*, published an account of a great number of scandalous conformist ministers, and enumerated their scandals, to the great displeasure of the clergy; and I fear (says Mr. *Baxter*), to the temptation of many non-conformists, who might be glad of any thing to humble the prelatists. *King* Charles II. 1667. p. 23.

The learned Dr. *Lazarus Seaman*, the ejected minister of *Allhallows Breadstreet* died this year, of whom we have given some account among the *Cambridge* professors; he was educated in *Emanuel College*, and by his indefatigable industry rose to a high reputation in the learned world, for his exact acquaintance with the oriental languages; he was an able divine; an active member of the assembly at *Westminster*; and was taken notice of by king *Charles* I. at the treaty of the *Isle of Wight*, for his singular abilities in the debates about church government. He was also master of *Peter-house Cambridge*, but lost all at the restoration; he underwent strong pains with admirable patience, and at length died in peace in the month of *September* 1667. *Death of Dr.* Seaman.

Mr. *George Hughes* B. D. the ejected minister of *Plymouth*, born in *Southwark*, and educated in *Corpus Christi College* in *Cambridge*. He was called to a lecture in *London*, but was silenced for non-conformity by archbishop *Laud*. After some time he went to *Tavistock*, and last of all settled at *Plymouth*, having institution and induction from Dr. *Brownrigge* bishop of *Exeter*, in the year 1644. Here he continued till the year 1662, whence he was ejected a week before the act of uniformity took place. He was afterwards imprisoned in St. *Nicolas Island*, where he *Of Mr.* Hughes.

King Charles II. 1667.

he contracted an incurable ſcurvy and dropſy, which at length put an end to his life. He was well read in the fathers, an acute diſputant, a moſt faithful paſtor to a large flock under his care, and a moſt holy pious and exemplary chriſtian. He had the greateſt intereſt and influence of any miniſter in the weſt country, and refuſed a rich biſhopric at the reſtoration. He was both charitable and hoſpitable when it was in his power, and died at length in a moſt heavenly manner in the month of *July* 1667, and in the ſixty fourth year of his age. The reverend Mr. *John Howe*, his ſon in law, compoſed a latin epitaph for him, which is inſcribed on his tomb.

1668. *Unhappy ſtate of the nation.*

The kingdom was at this time full of factions and diſcontents, ariſing from the late calamities of fire and plague, as well as the burden of the *dutch* war: Trade was at a ſtand, and great numbers of his majeſty's ſubjects were both diſpirited and impoveriſhed by the penal laws; but that which ſtruck all conſiderate men with a panic, was the danger of the proteſtant intereſt and the liberties of *Europe*, from the formidable progreſs of the *french* armies, which this very ſummer over-run the *ſpaniſh Flanders*, and took the ſtrong towns of *Charleroy*, *Bergue*, *Aeth*, *Douay*, *Tournay*, *Audenard*, *Liſle*, *Courtray*, *Furnes*, &c. which with their dependencies, were yielded in full ſovereignty to *France* by the treaty of *Aix la Chapel*. The *engliſh* court ſeemed unconcerned at the *french* conqueſts, till they were awakened by the clamours of the whole nation; upon this Sir *William Temple* was ſent into *Holland*, who in a few weeks concluded a tripple alliance between *England*, *Holland*, and *Sweden*, which ſtrengthened the proteſtant intereſt while it ſubſiſted; but the *french* miſtreſſes and money could diſſolve the ſtrongeſt bonds.

Project of a comprehenſion. Burnet, p. 259.

In this critical ſituation of affairs abroad, ſome attempts were made to quiet the minds of his majeſty's proteſtant ſubjects at home; for men began to think it high time for proteſtants to put a ſtop to the pulling down their neighbours houſes, when the common enemy was threatning the deſtruction of them all; therefore lord keeper *Bridgman*, lord chief juſtice *Hale*, biſhop *Wilkins*, *Reynolds*, Dr. *Burton*, *Tillotſon*, *Stillingfleet*, and others ſet on foot a *comprehenſion* of ſuch as could be brought into the church by a few abatements, and a *toleration* for the reſt. But the project was blaſted by the court biſhops, and lord *Clarendon*'s friends, who took the alarm, and raiſed a mighty out-cry of the danger of the church. No body (ſay they), knows where the demands of the preſbyterians will end; the cauſe of the hierarchy will be given up if any of thoſe points are yielded, which have been ſo much conteſted; beſides it is unworthy of the church to court, or even treat with her enemies, when there is ſo little reaſon to apprehend that we ſhould gain any conſiderable number thereby. But to this it was replied, that the prodigious increaſe of

popery

popery and infidelity, was a loud call of providence, to attempt every thing that could be done without ſin for healing our diviſions. That though the non-conformiſts could not legally meet together, to bring in their conceſſions in the name of the body, it was well enough known what they ſcrupled, and what would bring moſt of them into the church. That a compliance in ſome leſſer matters of indifference would be no reproach but an honour to the church, how ſuperior ſoever ſhe might be in arguments or power.

King Charles II. 1668.

The propoſals were drawn up by biſhop *Wilkins* and Dr. *Burton*, and communicated by the lord keeper to Dr. *Bates*, *Manton*, and *Baxter*, and by them to their brethren, under the following particulars;

Abſtract of the propoſals. Baxter's *life*. part III. p. 25.

1. That ſuch miniſters who in the late times had been ordained only by preſbyters, ſhould have the impoſition of the hands of a biſhop, with this form of words, *take thou authority to preach the word of God, and adminiſter the ſacraments in any congregation of the* CHURCH of ENGLAND, *when thou ſhalt be lawfully appointed thereunto.*

2. That inſtead of all former ſubſcriptions, after the oaths of allegiance and ſupremacy, they ſubſcribe the following declaration: "I *A. B.* "do hereby profeſs and declare, that I approve the doctrine, worſhip, and "government eſtabliſhed in the church of *England*, as containing all things "neceſſary to ſalvation; and that I will not endeavour by my ſelf, or any "other, directly or indirectly, to bring in any doctrine contrary to that "which is ſo eſtabliſhed. And I do hereby promiſe that I will continue "in thec ommunion of the church of *England*, and will not do any thing "to diſturb the peace thereof."

3. That the geſture of kneeling at the ſacrament, the croſs in baptiſm, and bowing at the name of Jeſus, be left indifferent, or taken away.

4. That if the liturgy and canons be altered in favour of diſſenters, then every preacher upon his inſtitution, ſhall declare his aſſent to the lawfulneſs of the uſe of it, and promiſe, that it ſhall be conſtantly uſed at the time and place accuſtomed.

Alterations in the liturgy. Baxter's *life*, p. 34.

The alterations propoſed to be made in the liturgy, were theſe;

To read the pſalms in the new tranſlation.

To appoint leſſons out of the canonical ſcripture inſtead of the Apocrypha.

Not to enjoin god-fathers and god-mothers, when either of the parents are ready to anſwer for the child in baptiſm. To omit that expreſſion in the prayer, *by ſpiritual regeneration.* To change the queſtion, *wilt thou be baptized?* into, *wilt thou have this child baptized?* To omit thoſe words in the thankſgiving, *to regenerate this infant by thy holy ſpirit, and to receive him for thy child by adoption.* And the firſt rubric after

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after baptiſm, *it is certain by God's word*, &c. In the exhortation after baptiſm, inſtead of, *regenerate and grafted into their body*, to ſay, *received into the church of Chriſt*. No part of the office of baptiſm to be repeated in public, when the child has been lawfully baptized in private.

To omit this paſſage in the office of confirmation, *after the example of the holy apoſtles, and to certify them by this ſign of thy favour, and gracious goodneſs towards them.* And inſtead of, *vouchſafe to regenerate*, read, *vouchſafe to receive into thy church by baptiſm.*

To omit the expreſſion in matrimony, *with my body I thee worſhip*; and that in the collect, *thou haſt conſecrated*, &c.

In the viſitation of the ſick, miniſters to be allowed to make uſe of ſuch prayers as they judge expedient.

In the burial of the dead, inſtead of, *foraſmuch as it has pleaſed almighty God, of his great mercy, to take unto himſelf*, &c. read, *foraſmuch as it has pleaſed almighty God to take out of this world the ſoul*, &c. Inſtead of, *in ſure and certain hope*, to read, *in a full aſſurance of the reſurrection by our Lord Jeſus Chriſt.* To omit the following words, *we give thee hearty thanks, for that it has pleaſed thee to deliver this our brother out of the miſeries of this ſinful world*; and theſe other, *as our hope is this our brother doth.*

In the communion ſervice to change, *that our ſinful bodies may be made clean by his body*, into, *our ſinful ſouls and bodies may be cleanſed by his precious body and blood.*

The commination not to be enjoined.

The liturgy to be abbreviated, eſpecially as to the morning ſervice, by omitting all the reſponſal prayers, from, *O Lord, open thou*, &c. to the litany; and the litany, and all the prayers, from, *Son of God, we beſeech thee*, &c. to, *we humbly humbly beſeech thee, O Father.*

The Lord's prayer not to be enjoined more than once (*viz.*) after the abſolution, except after the miniſter's prayer before ſermon.

The *gloria patri* to be uſed but once, after reading the pſalms.

The *venite exultemus* to be omitted, unleſs it be thought fit to put any, or all of the firſt ſeven, among the ſentences at the beginning.

The communion ſervice to be omitted when there are no communion-days, except the ten commandments, which may be read after the creed; and enjoining the prayer, *Lord have mercy upon us, and incline our hearts to keep theſe laws*, only once, at the end.

The *collects, epiſtles, and goſpels*, to be omitted, except on particular holy days.

The prayers for the parliament to be inſerted immediately after the prayer for the royal family, in this or the like form, *that it may pleaſe thee*

thee to direct and prosper all the consultations of the high court of parliament to the advantage of thy glory, the good of the church, the safety, honour, and welfare, of our sovereign and his kingdoms.

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To omit the two hymns in the consecration of bishops, and ordination of priests.

In the catechism, after the first question, *what is thy name?* It may follow, *when was this name given thee?* After that, *what was promised for you in baptism?* Answ. *Three things were promised for me.* In the question before the commandments, it may be altered thus, *you said it was promised for you.* To the fourteenth question, *how many sacraments hath Christ ordained?* The answer may be, *two only, baptism and the Lord's supper.*

Mr. *Baxter* proposed further, that the subscription might be only to the doctrinal articles of the church. That the power of bishops, and their courts, to suspend and silence men, might be limited. That the baptismal covenant might be explicitly owned by all who come to the sacrament. But it was replied, that more than what was abovementioned, would not pass with the parliament.

The proposals for a *toleration*, were communicated by Mr. *Baxter* to the independents by Dr. *Owen*, and were to the following effect.

An indulgence for such as could not be comprehended. Baxter's, *Life*, part III. p. 34, 36.

1. That such protestants who could not accept of the proposals for a *comprehension*, might have liberty for the exercise of their religion in public, and to build or to procure places for their public worship, at their own charges, either within or near towns, as shall be thought most expedient.

2. That the names of all such persons who are to have this liberty be registered, together with the congregations to which they belong; and the names of their teachers.

3. That every one admitted to this liberty, be disabled from bearing any public office, but shall fine for offices of burden.

4. Upon shewing a certificate of being listed among those that are indulged, they shall be freed from such legal penalties, as are to be inflicted on those who do not frequent their parish churches.

5. Such persons so indulged, shall not for their meeting in conventicles be punished by confiscation of estates.

6. Provided they pay all public duties to the parish where they inhabit, under penalty of ——

7. This indulgence to continue three years.

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According to theſe heads of agreement a bill was prepared for the parliament by lord chief juſtice *Hale*; but biſhop *Wilkins*, an honeſt open-hearted man, having diſcloſed the affair to biſhop *Ward*, in hopes of his aſſiſtance, alarmed the biſhops, who inſtead of promoting the deſign, conſulted meaſures to defeat it; for as ſoon as the parliament met, notice was taken that there were rumours without doors, of an act to be offered for *comprehenſion* and *indulgence*, upon which a vote was paſſed, that *no man ſhould bring ſuch an act into the houſe*. And to cruſh the non-conformiſts more effectually, archbiſhop *Sheldon* writ a circular letter to the biſhops of his province, dated *June* 8, to ſend him a particular account of the conventicles in their ſeveral dioceſes, and of the numbers that frequented them; and whether they thought *they might be eaſily ſuppreſſed by the civil magiſtrate*. When he was provided with this information, he went to the king, and obtained a proclamation to put the laws in execution againſt the non-conformiſts, and particularly againſt the *preachers*, according to the ſtatute of 17th king *Charles* II. which forbids their inhabiting corporations.

They are quaſhed by the bps. Burnet, p. 260.

And the perſecution revived.

Thus the perſecution was renewed; and the parliament ſtill bent on ſeverities, appointed a committee to enquire into the behaviour of the non-conformiſts, who reported to the houſe, that divers conventicles, and other ſeditious meetings, were held in their very neighbourhood, in defiance of the laws, and to the danger of the peace of the kingdom. General *Monk* who was near his end, and ſunk almoſt into contempt, was employed to diſperſe them, and received the thanks of the houſe for his zeal in that important ſervice, wherein he was ſure to meet with no oppoſition. They alſo returned his majeſty thanks for his proclamation for ſuppreſſing conventicles, deſiring him to take the ſame care for the future. By this means the private meetings of the diſſenters, which had been held by connivance, were broke up again. Mr. *Baxter* was committed to *Clerkenwell* priſon, for preaching to his neighbours in his own houſe at *Acton*, and for refuſing the *Oxford* oath; but upon demanding an *habeas corpus*, his *mittimus* was declared invalid for want of naming the witneſſes. The juſtices would have mended their *mittimus* and ſent him to *Newgate*, but Mr. *Baxter* being releaſed, wiſely kept out of the way. Mr. *Taverner* of *Uxbridge* was ſentenced to *Newgate*, for teaching a few children at *Brentford*. Mr. *Button* late univerſity orator, was ſent to priſon for teaching two knights ſons in his own houſe; and multitudes in many counties had the like uſage, ſuffering impriſonment for ſix months.

Burnet, p. 98.

Gazettee, Numb. 415.

Mr. Baxter *and others impriſoned.* *Life.* Part III. p. 49.

Not agreeable to the king's inclinations. Ib. p. 37, 87.

But this was contrary to the king's inclinations, who was only for playing the diſſenters againſt the parliament for a ſum of money; when the houſe

houſe therefore was up, his majeſty ordered ſome of the non-conformiſts to be told, that he was deſirous to make them eaſy, and that if they would petition for relief they ſhould be favourably heard. Sir *J. Barber* ſecretary of ſtate, acquainted Dr. *Manton* with the king's intention, upon which an addreſs was drawn up and preſented to his majeſty at the earl of *Arlington*'s lodgings by Dr. *Jacomb*, *Manton*, and *Bates*; the king received them graciouſly, and promiſed to do his utmoſt to get them comprehended within the eſtabliſhment. He wiſhed there had been no bars at all, but that he was forced to comply for peace ſake, and that he would endeavour to remove them, though it was a work of difficulty. He complained of the umbrage that their numerous aſſemblies gave to clamorous people, and adviſed them to uſe their liberty with more diſcretion hereafter. When the miniſters promiſed obedience, and aſſured his majeſty of their ſteady loyalty, and conſtant prayers for the proſperity of his perſon and government, he diſmiſſed them with a ſmile, and told them, that *he was againſt perſecution, and hoped e'er long to be able to ſtand upon his own legs.* But his majeſty's promiſes were always to be bought off by a ſum of money to ſupport his pleaſures.

King Charles II. 1662.

The controverſy of the *reaſonableneſs of toleration*, was now warmly debated without doors; many ill-natured books were writ to expoſe the doctrine of the preſbyterians, as leading to *antinominianiſm* and licentiouſneſs of manners. Others expoſed their characters and manner of preaching. Among theſe, muſt be reckoned *the friendly debate*, which though writ by a good man (ſays biſhop *Burnet*), had an ill effect in ſharpening people's ſpirits too much againſt the diſſenters: The author was Dr. *Simon Patrick*, afterwards biſhop of *Ely*, but now in the heat of his youth; who by aggravating ſome weak and unguarded expreſſions, endeavoured to expoſe the whole body of non-conformiſt miniſters to contempt. But I muſt do this prelate ſo much juſtice as to inform the reader, that in his advanced age he expreſſed his diſſatisfaction with this part of his conduct; and in a debate in the houſe of lords about the *occaſional bill*, declared, "he had been known to write againſt the diſſenters with ſome warmth "in his younger years, but that he had lived long enough to ſee reaſon to "alter his opinion of that people, and that way of writing." A rare inſtance of ingenuity and candor! We ſhall have occaſion to mention Sir *Roger L'Eſtrange* hereafter.

Debates without doors Baxter's *life*, part III. p. 39. The friendly debate. Burnet, p. 260.

But one of the moſt virulent writers of his time, under the form of a clergyman, was *Samuel Parker*, afterwards biſhop of *Oxford*, a man of conſiderable learning and great ſmartneſs, but of no judgment, and as little virtue; and as to religion (ſays biſhop *Burnet*), rather impious than otherwiſe. At length *Andrew Marvel*, the livelieſt wit of the age, attacked

Sam. Parker *and* And. Marvel. Burnet, p. 260.

King Charles II. 1668.

tacked him in a burleſque ſtrain, and with ſo peculiar and entertaining an addreſs, that from the king down to the tradeſman, his books were read with the higheſt pleaſure. He had all the men of wit on his ſide, and not only mumbled *Parker* more than the ſerious and grave writings of Dr. *Owen*, but ſilenced the whole party; one of whom concludes his letter to Mr. *Marvel* with theſe words, *If thou dareſt to print or publiſh any lye or libel againſt Dr.* Parker, *by the eternal God I will cut thy throat.* Subſcribed *J. G.* All ſober men were of opinion, that it was ungenerous and cruel to treat a number of peaceable men, whom the laws had put almoſt out of their protection, in ſo ludicrous a manner. Religion itſelf ſuffered by it. I remember, ſays lord chief juſtice *Hale*, that when *Ben. Johnſon* in his play of the *alchymiſt* introduced *Anartus* in deriſion of the *puritans*, with many of their phraſes taken out of ſcripture, in order to render that people ridiculous, the play was deteſted and abhorred, becauſe it ſeemed to reproach religion itſelf; but now, when the preſbyterians were brought upon the ſtage in their peculiar habits, and with their diſtinguiſhing phraſes of ſcripture, expoſed to the laughter of ſpectators, it met with approbation and applauſe.

Rehearſal tranſpoſed. Part II. in Tit.

Rapin, p. 406.

Licentiouſneſs of the court and city.

But ſuch was the complexion of the court, that they bid defiance to virtue, and even decency, giving countenance to all manner of licentiouſneſs. The play-houſes were become neſts of proſtitution (ſays *Burnet*), and the ſtage was defiled beyond example; the king, queen, and courtiers, went about in maſks, and came into citizens houſes unknown, where they danced with a great deal of wild frolic, and committed indecencies not to be mentioned. They were carried about in hackney chairs, and none could diſtinguiſh them except thoſe who were in the ſecret. Once the queen's chairman not knowing who ſhe was, left her to come home in a hackney coach, ſome ſay in a cart. *Buckingham* who gloried in his debaucheries, and *Wilmot* earl of *Rocheſter*, the greateſt wit and libertine of his age, were the principal favourites. To ſupport theſe extravagancies, the houſe of commons ſupplied the king with what money he wanted, and were themſelves ſo mercenary, that the purchaſe of every man's vote was known; for as a man roſe in credit in the houſe, he advanced his price, and expected to be treated accordingly.

Burnet, p. 262, 267. Rapin, p. 403.

1669. *And univerſity.*

The univerſity was no leſs corrupt, there was a general licentiouſneſs of manners among the ſtudents; the ſermons of the younger divines were filled with encomiums upon the church, and ſatyr againſt the non-conformiſts; the evangelical doctrines of repentance, faith, charity, and practical religion, were unfaſhionable. The ſpeeches and panegyrics pronounced by the *orators*, and *terræ filii*, on public occaſions, were ſcurrilous, and little leſs than blaſphemous; as appears by the letter in the margin from

from Mr. *Wallis* to the honourable *Rober Boyle* Eſq *, of the proceedings at the opening of archbiſhop *Sheldon*'s theatre; which is copied *verbatim* from the original under his own hand.

King Charles II. 1668.

About

* *A letter from Mr.* John Wallis *to the honourable* Robert Boyle *Eſq; dated from* Oxford, July 17, 1669.

SIR,

AFTER my humble thanks for the honour of yours of *July* 3, I thought it not unfit to give you ſome account of our late proceedings here. *Friday July* 9, was the dedication of our new theater. In the morning was held a convocation in it, for entering upon the poſſeſſion of it; wherein was read, firſt the archbiſhop's inſtrument of donation (ſealed with his archiepiſcopal ſeal) of the theater, with all its furniture, to the end that St. *Mary*'s church may not be further profaned by holding the act in it. Next, a letter of his, declaring his intention to lay out 2000 *l.* for a purchaſe to endow it. Then a letter of thanks to be ſent from the univerſity to him, wherein he is acknowledged to be both our *creator* and *redeemer*, for having not only built a theater for the act, but, which is more, *delivered the bleſſed virgin from being ſo profaned for the future:* He doth (as the words of the letter are) *non tantum condere, hoc eſt creare, ſed etiam redimere.* Theſe words (I confeſs) ſtopped my mouth from giving a *placet* to that letter, when it was put to the vote. I have ſince deſired Mr. *vicechancellor* to conſider, whether they were not liable to a juſt exception. He did at firſt excuſe it; but upon further thoughts, I ſuppoſe he will think fit to alter them, before the letter be ſent and regiſtered. After the voting of this letter, Dr. *South* (as univerſity orator) made a long oration; the firſt part of which conſiſted of ſatyrical invectives againſt *Cromwell*, fanaticks, the royal ſociety, and new philoſophy. The next of encomiaſticks; in praiſe of the archbiſhop, the theater, the vicechancellor, the architect, and the painter. The laſt of execrations; againſt fanaticks, conventicles, comprehenſion, and new philoſophy; damning them *ad inferos, ad gehennam.* The oration being ended, ſome honorary degrees were conferred, and the convocation diſſolved. The afternoon was ſpent in panegyrick orations, and reciting of poems in ſeveral ſorts of verſe, compoſed in praiſe of the archbiſhop, the theater, *&c.* and crying down fanaticks. The whole action began and ended with a noiſe of trumpets; and twice was interpoſed variety of muſick, vocal and inſtrumental; purpoſely compoſed for this occaſion. On *Saturday* and *Monday*, thoſe exerciſes appertaining to the act and veſpers, which were wont to be performed in St. *Mary*'s church, were had in the theater. In which, beſide the number of proceeding doctors, (nine in divinity, four in law, five in phyſick, and one in muſick) there was little extraordinary; but only that the *terræ filius* for both days were abominably ſcurrilous; and ſo ſuffered to proceed without the leaſt check or interruption from vicechancellor, pro-vicechancellor, proctors, curators, or any of thoſe who were to govern the exerciſes; which gave ſo general offence to all honeſt ſpectators, that I believe the univerſity hath thereby loſt more reputation than they have gained by all the reſt: All, or moſt of the heads of houſes, and eminent perſons in the univerſity, with their relations, being repreſented as a company of whore-maſters, whores, and dunces. And among the reſt, the excellent lady, which your letter mentions, was, in the broadeſt language, repreſented as guilty of thoſe crimes, of which (if there were occaſion) you would not ſtick to be her compurgator; and (if it had been ſo), ſhe might (yet) have been called *whore*, in much more civil language. During this ſolemnity (and for ſome days before and ſince), have been conſtantly acted (by the vicechancellor's allowance), two ſtage plays in a day (by thoſe of the duke of *York*'s houſe), at a theater erected for that purpoſe at the town-hall; which (for ought I hear) was much the more innocent

King Charles II. 1669.

Death of Mr Newcomen.

About this time died the reverend Mr. *Matthew Newcomen*, M. A. the ejected miniſter of *Dedham* in *Eſſex*; he was educated in St. *John's College Cambridge*, and ſucceeded the famous Mr. *John Rogers*. He was a moſt accompliſhed ſcholar and chriſtian, a member of the aſſembly of divines, and together with Dr. *Arrowſmith* and *Tuckney*, drew up their catechiſm. He was one of the commiſſioners of the *Savoy*, and had many offers of preferment in the late times, but would not deſert his church at *Dedham*, till he was diſplaced by the act of uniformity; after which he retired to *Holland*, and became paſtor of the *engliſh* church at *Leyden*, where he died about this time, univerſally lamented by the profeſſors, for his humble and pleaſant converſation, as well as his univerſal learning and piety.

Of Mr. Joſeph Allein.

Mr. *Joſeph Allein*, the ejected miniſter of *Taunton*, and author of the *call to the unconverted*, was born at the *Devizes* in *Wiltſhire*, and educated in *Lincoln College Oxon.* He was public preacher in the church of *Taunton* about ſeven years, and was univerſally beloved for his great piety and devotion. After his ejectment, he preached as he had opportunity ſix or ſeven times a week. *May* 26, 1663 he was committed to *Ilchеſter* goal, for ſinging pſalms in his own houſe, and preaching to his family, others being preſent: Here he continned a year, but upon his enlargement he returned again to his work, which he followed with unwearied diligence. *July* 10, 1665 he was committed a ſecond time to gaol with ſeveral other miniſters, and forty private perſons, where he contracted ſuch diſtempers and weakneſſes as brought him to his grave, before he was thirty ſix years of age. He was an awakening lively preacher, zealous and ſucceſsful in his maſter's work, and withal of a peaceable and quiet ſpirit. He died in the year 1668 or 69.

1670. *Conventicle act revived.*

The tide in the houſe of commons ſtill run very ſtrong on the ſide of perſecution, as appears by two extraordinary clauſes added to the conventicle

innocent theater of the two. It hath been here a common fame for divers weeks, (before, at, and ſince the act) that the vicechancellor had given 300*l* bond (ſome ſay 500*l*. bond) to the *terræ filius*, to ſave them harmleſs, whatever they ſhould ſay, provided it were neither blaſphemy nor treaſon. But this I take to be a ſlander. A leſs encouragement would ſerve the turn with ſuch perſons. Since the act, (to ſatisfy the common clamour), the vicechancellor hath impriſoned both of them; and 'tis ſaid, he means to expel them. I am, *Sir*,

Your honour's

Very humble and affectionate ſervant,

JOHN WALLIS.

venticle act, which having expired ſome time ſince, was now revived by the parliament which met *October* 19. The court went into it with, a view of reducing the preſbyterians to the neceſſity of petitioning for a *general toleration*. "If we would have opened the door to let in po- "pery (ſays Mr. *Baxter*), that *their toleration* might have been charged "upon us, as done for our ſakes, and by our procurement, we might "in all likelihood have had our part in it; but I ſhall never be one of "them who by any new preſſures, ſhall conſent to petition for the pa- "piſts liberty; no craft of jeſuits or prelates ſhall make me believe, "that it is neceſſary for the non-conformiſts to take this odium upon "themſelves." The court biſhops were for the bill, but the moderate clergy were againſt it. Biſhop *Wilkins* ſpoke againſt it in the houſe; and when the king deſired him in private to be quiet, he replied, that he thought it an ill thing both in conſcience and policy, therefore as he was an *engliſh*-man, and a biſhop, he was bound to oppoſe it; and ſince by the laws and conſtitution of *England*, and by his majeſty's favour, he had a right to debate and vote, he was neither afraid nor aſhamed to own his opinion in that matter. However the bill paſs'd both houſes, and received the royal aſſent *April* 11, 1670. It was to the following effect; "that if any perſons upwards of ſixteen years, ſhall be preſent at "any aſſembly, conventicle or meeting, under colour or pretence of "any exerciſe of religion, in any other manner than according to the "liturgy and practice of the church of *England*, where there are five "perſons or more preſent, beſides thoſe of the ſaid houſhold, in ſuch "caſes the offender ſhall pay five ſhillings for the firſt offence; and ten "ſhillings for the ſecond. And the preachers or teachers in any ſuch "meetings ſhall forfeit twenty pounds for the firſt, and forty for the "ſecond offence. And laſtly, thoſe who knowingly ſuffer any ſuch con- "venticles in their houſes, barns, yards, *&c.* ſhall forfeit twenty pounds. "Any juſtice of peace on the oath of two witneſſes, or any other ſuf- "ficient proof, may record the offence under his hand and ſeal, which "record ſhall be taken in law for a full and perfect conviction, and "ſhall be certified at the next quarter ſeſſions. The fines above- "mentioned, may be levied by diſtreſs and ſale of the offender's goods "and chattels, and in caſe of the poverty of ſuch offender, upon the "goods and chattels of any other perſon or perſons, that ſhall be con- "victed of having been preſent at the ſaid conventicle, at the diſcretion "of the juſtice of peace, ſo as the ſum to be levied on any one perſon, "in caſe of the poverty of others, do not amount to above ten pounds "for any one meeting: the conſtables, headboroughs, *&c.* are to levy "the ſame by warrant from the juſtice, and to be divided, one third "for the uſe of the king, another third for the poor, and *the other third* "*to*

King Charles II. 1670.

Part III. p. 36.

Burnet. p. 272.

Stat. 22. Car. II. Chap. 1. Rapin, p. 420.

King Charles II. 1670.

" *to the informer or his aſſiſtants, regard being had to their diligence and* " *induſtry in diſcovering, diſperſing, and puniſhing the ſaid conventicles.*
" The fines upon miniſters for preaching, are to be levied alſo by diſtreſs;
" and in caſe of poverty, upon the goods and chattels of any other pre-
" ſent; and the like upon the houſe where the conventicle is held, and
" the money to be divided as above.

" And it is further enacted, that the juſtice or juſtices of peace, con-
" ſtable, headboroughs, *&c.* may by warrant, with what aid force and
" aſſiſtance, they ſhall think neceſſary, break open, and enter into any
" houſe or place, where they ſhall be informed of the conventicle, and
" take the perſons ſo aſſembled into cuſtody —— And the lieutenants,
" or other commiſſioned officers of the militia, may get together ſuch
" force and aſſiſtance as they think neceſſary to diſſolve, diſſipate, and
" diſperſe ſuch unlawful meetings, and take the perſons into cuſtody."

The additional clauſes.

Then follow two extraordinary clauſes, " that if any juſtice of peace
" refuſe to do his duty in the execution of this act, he ſhall forfeit five
" pounds.

" And be it further enacted, that all clauſes in this act, *ſhall be con-*
" *ſtrued moſt largely and beneficially for the ſuppreſſing conventicles, and for*
" *the juſtification and encouragement of all perſons to be employed in the*
" *execution thereof.* No warrant or *mittimus* ſhall be made void, or re-
" verſed, for any default in the form; and if a perſon fly from one
" county or corporation to another, his goods and chattels ſhall be ſeiz-
" able wherever they are found. If the party offending be a wife
" cohabiting with her huſband, the fine ſhall be levied on the goods
" and chattels of the huſband, provided the proſecution be within three
" months."

Remarks.

The wit of man could hardly invent any thing ſhort of capital puniſhment, more cruel and inhuman. One would have thought a prince of ſo much clemency as *Charles* II. who had often declared againſt perſecution, ſhould not have conſented to it, and that no chriſtian biſhop ſhould have concurred in the paſſing it. Mens houſes are to be plundered, their perſons impriſoned, their goods and chattels carried away, and ſold to thoſe who would bid for them. Encouragement is given to a vile ſet of *informers*, and others, to live upon the labour and induſtry of their conſcientious neigbours. Multitudes of theſe *infamous wretches* ſpent their profits in ill houſes, and upon lewd women, and then went about the ſtreets again to hunt for further prey. The law is to be conſtrued in their favour, and the power to be lodged in the hand of every individual juſtice of peace, who is to be fined five pounds if he refuſes his warrant. Upon this, many honeſt men who would not be the inſtruments of ſuch ſeverities, quitted the bench. Mr. *Eachard* being

Burnet. p. 270.

aſhamed

aſhamed to aſcribe theſe cruelties to the influence of the biſhops, ſays, " that this and all the penal laws made againſt the diſſenters were the *acts* " *of the parliament*, and not of the *church*, and were made more on a " civil and political, than upon a moral or religious account; and al- " ways upon ſome freſh provocation in reality or appearance." This is the language by which the patrons of high church cruelty, endeavour to excuſe themſelves from the guilt of perſecution; but it muſt fall ſomewhere; and that it may not fall too heavy upon the church, it is artfully, and with great good manners, caſt *entirely upon the legiſlature*, and put upon the ſcore of ſedition, whereas it was well known the diſſenters behaved peaceably, and were very far from diſturbing the ſtate. Nor does the preamble to the act charge them with diſloyalty, but only ſays, " that " for the providing ſpeedy remedies againſt the practices of ſeditious ſec- " taries, and others, who under pretence of tender conſciences, " have or *may* at their meetings contrive inſurrections, be it en- " acted, *&c.*" as if it was poſſible to do this in the company of women and ſervants, who were always preſent in their aſſemblies. It is therefore evident, that the act was levelled purely againſt liberty of conſcience, and was ſo ſeverely executed, that (as Sir *Harry Capel* obſerves), there was hardly a conventicle to be heard of all over *England*. The two houſes (ſays our church hiſtorian), were expreſs for the execution of theſe laws; the biſhops and clergy were ſincerely zealous in it, and the honeſt juſtices and magiſtrates (as he calls them), bore the more hard upon them, becauſe they ſaw them ſo bold in deſpiſing and evading the juſtice of the nation.

King Charles II. 1670.

p. 286.

Great numbers were proſecuted on this act, and many induſtrious families reduced to poverty. Many miniſters were confined in gaols and cloſe priſons; and warrants were iſſued out againſt them and their hearers, whereby great ſums of money were levied. In the dioceſe of *Saliſbury* the perſecution was hotteſt, by the inſtigation of biſhop *Ward*; many hundreds being purſued with great induſtry, and driven from their families and trades. The act was executed with ſuch ſeverity in *Starling*'s mayoralty, that many of the trading men in the city were removing with their effects to *Holland*, till the king put a ſtop to it. *Informers* were every where at work, and having crept into religious aſſemblies in diſguiſe, levied great ſums of money upon miniſter and people. Soldiers broke into the houſes of honeſt farmers, under pretence of ſearching for conventicles, and where ready money was wanting, they plundered their goods, drove away their cattel, and ſold them for half price. Many were plundered of their houſhold furniture; the ſick had their beds taken from under them, and themſelves laid on the floor. Should I ſum up all the particulars, and the accounts I have received (ſays Mr. *Sewel*), it would make a volume of itſelf. Theſe vile creatures were not only encouraged, but

Methods of perſecution.

Baxter's *Life*, part II. p. 4. Burnet, p. 270, 271.

Sewel, p. 493.

King Charles II. 1670.

puſhed on vehemently by their *ſpiritual guides*; for this purpoſe archbiſhop *Sheldon* ſent another circular letter to all the biſhops of his province, dated *May* 7, 1670, in which he directs all eccleſiaſtical judges and officers, "to take notice of all non-conformiſts, holders, frequenters, maintainers, and abettors of conventicles, eſpecially of the preachers or teachers in them, and of the places wherein they are held; ever keeping a more watchful eye over the cities and greater towns, from whence the miſchief is for the moſt part derived unto the leſſer villages and hamlets. And whereſoever they find ſuch wilful offenders, that then with an hearty affection to the worſhip of God, the honour of the king and his laws, and the peace of the church and kingdom, they do addreſs themſelves to the civil magiſtrate, juſtices, and others concerned, imploring their help and aſſiſtance for preventing and ſuppreſſing the ſame, according to the late act in that behalf made and ſet forth —— And now my lord, what the ſucceſs will be we muſt leave to God Almighty; yet, my lord, I have this confidence under God, that if we do our parts now at firſt ſeriouſly, *by God's help, and the aſſiſtance of the civil power, conſidering the abundant care and proviſion the act contains for our advantage*, we ſhall in a few months ſee ſo great an alteration in the diſtractions of theſe times, as that the ſeduced people returning from their ſeditious and ſelf-ſeeking teachers to the unity of the church, and uniformity of God's worſhip, it will be to the glory of God, the welfare of the church, the praiſe of his majeſty and government, and the happineſs of the whole kingdom." Can this be the language of a chriſtian and proteſtant biſhop; or is not more like a father of the inquiſition, or the dragooning commiſſion of *Lewis* XIV when he revoked the edict of *Nantz?*

Abp. Sheldon's *letter to the biſhops*, &c. Calamy's Abridg. Vol. II. p. 328.

Zeal of biſhop Gunning *and others.* Calamy, p. 692.

Copies of this letter were ſent by the archdeacons to the officers of the ſeveral pariſhes within their juriſdictions, earneſtly exhorting them to take eſpecial care, to perform whatſoever is therein required, and to give an account at the next viſitation. Many of the biſhops choſe to lie behind the curtain, and throw off the odium from themſelves to the *civil magiſtrate*; but ſome of the more zealous could not forbear appearing in perſon, as biſhop *Ward* already mentioned, and biſhop *Gunning*, who often diſturbed the *meetings* in perſon; once finding the doors ſhut, he ordered the conſtable to break them open with a ſledge; another time he ſat upon the bench at the quarter ſeſſions, upon which the chairman deſired his lordſhip to give the *charge*, which he refuſing, received a very handſome rebuke; it being hardly conſiſtent with one that is an ambaſſador of the prince of peace, to ſet in judgment upon the conſciences of his poor countrymen and neighbours, in order to plunder and tear them to pieces. The biſhop was ſo zealous in the cauſe, that he ſunk his charac-

Calamy's Abridg. Vol. II. p. 334.

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ter by giving a public challenge to the *preſbyterians*, *independents*, *anabaptiſts*, and *quakers*, and appointed three days for the diſputation; on the firſt of which his lordſhip went into the pulpit in the church, where was a conſiderable congregation, and charged the former with ſedition and rebellion out of their books, but would hear no reply. When the day came to diſpute with the *quakers*, they ſummoned their friends, and when the biſhop railed, they paid him in his own coin; and followed him to his very houſe with repeated ſhouts, the *hireling flyeth.* *King* Charles II. 1670.

The non-conformiſt miniſters did what they could to keep themſelves within the compaſs of the law; they preached frequently twice a day in large families, with only four ſtrangers, and as many under the age of ſixteen as would come; and at other times, in places where people might hear in ſeveral adjoining houſes; but after all, infinite miſchiefs enſued, families were impoveriſhed and divided; friendſhip between neighbours was interrupted; their was a general diſtruſt and jealouſy of each other; and ſometimes upon little quarrels, ſervants would betray their maſters, and throw their affairs into diſtraction. Among others that ſuffered at this time was Dr. *Manton*, who was apprehended on a Lord's day in the afternoon, juſt as he had done ſermon, the door being opened to let a gentleman out, the juſtice and his attendants ruſhed in and went up ſtairs; they ſtayed till the doctor had ended his prayer, and then writ down the names of the principal perſons preſent, and took the doctors promiſe to come to them at an houſe in the piazza's of *Covent-Garden*, where they tendered him the *Oxford oath*, upon his refuſal of which, he was committed priſoner to the *Gate-houſe*; where he continued till he was releaſed by the *indulgence*. At another time his meeting-houſe in *White Hart Yard* was broken up; the *place* was fined forty pounds, and the *miniſter* twenty, which was paid by lord *Wharton*, who was then preſent: They alſo took down the names of the hearers, for the benefit of the juſtices of peace and ſpiritual courts. *Diſtreſs of the nonconf. miniſters.* *Manton's Life.*

The behaviour of the quakers was very extraordinary, and had ſomething in it that looked like the ſpirit of martyrdom. They met at the ſame place and hour as in times of liberty, and when the officers came to ſeize them, none of them would ſtir; they went all together to priſon; they ſtayed there till they were diſmiſſed, for they would not petition to be ſet at liberty, nor pay the fines ſet upon them, nor ſo much as the priſon fees. When they were diſcharged, they went to their meeting-houſe again, as before; and when the doors were ſhut up by order, they aſſembled in great numbers in the ſtreet before the doors, ſaying, they would not be aſhamed, nor afraid to diſown their meeting together in a peaceable manner to worſhip God; but in imitation of the prophet *Daniel*, they would do it more publicly, becauſe they were forbid. Some called this *Courage of the* quakers. Burnet, p. 271.

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obſtinacy, others firmneſs: but by it they carried their point, the government being weary of contending againſt ſo much reſolution.

Trial of Wm. Pen *and* Wm. Mead *at the* Old Bailey. State Trials, Vol. II. p. 607.

On the firſt of *September* two of their principal ſpeakers, *William Pen* and *William Mead*, were tried at the *Old Bailey*, for an unlawful and tumultuous aſſembly in the open ſtreet, wherein they ſpake or preached to the people who were aſſembled in *Grace-Church-ſtreet*, to the number of three or four hundred, in contempt of the king's laws, and to the diſturbance of the peace. The priſoners pleaded *not guilty*, but met with ſome of the ſevereſt uſage that has been known in an *engliſh* court of juſtice. They were fined forty marks a-piece for coming into court with their hats on, though it was not done out of contempt, but from a principle of their religion. It appeared by the witneſſes, that there was an aſſembly in *Grace-Church-ſtreet*, but there was neither riot nor tumult, nor force of arms. Mr. *Pen* confeſſed they were ſo far from recanting, or declining to vindicate the aſſembling themſelves to preach, pray, or worſhip the eternal, holy, juſt God, that they declared to all the world, they believed it to be their duty, and that all the powers on earth ſhould not be able to divert them from it. When it was ſaid, they were not arraigned for worſhipping God, but for breaking the law, *William Penn* affirmed he had broken no law, and challenged the *recorder* to tell him upon what law he was proſecuted. The recorder anſwered, upon the *common law*, but could not tell where that common law was to be found. *Pen* inſiſted upon his producing the law, but the court over-ruled him, and called him a troubleſome fellow. *Pen* replied, "I deſign no affront to "the court, but if you deny to acquaint me with the law you ſay I have "broken, you deny me the right that is due to every *engliſh-man*, and "evidence to the whole world that your deſigns are arbitrary." Upon which he was haled from the bar into the *bail-dock*. As he was going out he ſaid to the jury, "If theſe fundamental laws which relate to li-"berty and property, muſt not be indiſpenſably maintained, who can ſay "he has a right to the coat upon his back? Certainly then our liberties "are openly to be invaded, our wives to be raviſhed, our children enſlav-"ed, and our eſtates led away in triumph, by every ſturdy beggar and ma-"licious informer, as their trophies."

Injuſtice and cruelty of the court.

William Mead being left alone at the bar, ſaid, "You men of the ju-"ry, I am accuſed of meeting by *force of arms*, in a tumultuous man-"ner —— Time was when I had freedom to uſe a carnal weapon, and "then I feared no man; but now I fear the living God, and dare not "make uſe thereof, nor hurt any man. I am a peaceable man, and "therefore demand to know upon what law my indictment is found-"ed; if the recorder will not tell what makes a riot, *Coke* will tell "him, that it is when three or more are met together to beat a man,

or

" or to enter forcibly into another man's lands, to cut his graſs or " wood, or break down his pales." Upon this the recorder having loſt all patience, pulled off his hat, and ſaid, I thank you, Sir, for telling me what the law is. *Mead* replied, thou mayeſt put on thy hat, I have no fee for thee now. The mayor *Starling* told him, he deſerved to have his tongue cut out, and ordered him likewiſe to be carried to the *bail-dock.* *King* Charles II. 1670.

When the priſoners were gone, the recorder gave the jury their charge, upon which *William Pen* ſtood up, and with a loud voice ſaid, " I ap- " peal to the jury, and this great aſſembly, whether it be not contrary to " the undoubted right of every *engliſh-man*, to give the jury their " charge in the abſence of the priſoners." The recorder anſwered with a ſneer, ye are preſent, ye do hear, do ye not? *Pen* anſwered, no thanks to the court; I have ten or twelve material points to offer, in order to invalidate the indictment, but am not heard. The recorder ſaid, *pull him down, pull the fellow down.* *Mead* replied, theſe were barbarous and unjuſt proceedings; and then they were both thruſt into the hole.

After the jury had withdrawn an hour and half, the priſoners were brought to the bar to hear their verdict; eight of them came down agreed, but four remained above, to whom they uſed many unworthy threats, and in particular to Mr. *Buſhel*, whom they charged with being the cauſe of the diſagreement. At length after withdrawing a ſecond time, they agreed to bring them in *guilty of ſpeaking in* Grace Church Street; which the court would not accept for a verdict, but after many menaces told them, they ſhould be locked up without meat, drink, fire, or tobacco; nay, they ſhould ſtarve, unleſs they brought in a proper verdict. *William Pen* being at the bar, ſaid, " My jury ought not to be thus threat- " ened. We were by force of arms kept out of our meeting-houſe, and " met as near it as the ſoldiers would give us leave. We are a peaceable " people, and cannot offer violence to any man. And looking upon " the jury, he ſaid, *You are* engliſh-men, *mind your privilege, give not* " *away your right.*" To which ſome of them anſwered, *nor will we ever do it.* Upon this they were ſhut up all night without victuals or fire, or ſo much as a chamber-pot, though deſired. Next morning they brought in the ſame verdict; upon which they were threatened with the utmoſt reſentments. The mayor ſaid, *he would cut* Buſhel's *throat as ſoon as he could.* The recorder ſaid, *he never knew the benefit of an inquiſition till now; and that the next ſeſſions of parliament a law would be made wherein thoſe that would not conform ſhould not have the benefit of the law.* The court having obliged the jury to withdraw again, they *The jury threatened.*

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they were kept without meat and drink till next morning, when they brought in the priſoners *not guilty*; for which they were fined forty marks a man, and to be impriſoned till paid. The priſoners were alſo remanded to *Newgate* for their fines in not pulling off their hats. The jury after ſome time were diſcharged by *habeas corpus* returnable in the *common pleas*, where their commitment was judged illegal. This was a noble ſtand for the liberty of the ſubject in very dangerous times, when neither law nor equity availed any thing. The conventicle act was made to encourage proſecutions; and a narrative was publiſhed next year, of the oppreſſions of many honeſt people in *Devonſhire*, and other parts, by the informers and juſtices; but the courts of juſtice out-run the law itſelf.

King's deſign of governing abſolutely. Eachard, p. 864. Rapin, p. 427.

Hitherto the king and parliament had agreed pretty well, by means of the large ſupplies of money the parliament had given to ſupport his majeſty's pleaſures; but now having aſſurance of large remittances from *France*, his majeſty reſolved to govern by the prerogative, and ſtand upon his own legs. His prime counſellors were lord *Clifford*, *Anthony Aſhley Cooper*, afterwards lord *Shaftſbury*, the duke of *Buckingham*, earl of *Arlington*, and duke *Lauderdale*, who from the initial letters of their names were called the *CABAL*. Lord *Clifford* was an open papiſt, and the earl of *Arlington* a concealed one. *Buckingham* was a debauchee, and reputed a downright atheiſt; he was a man of great wit and parts, and of ſounder principles in the intereſts of humanity (ſays Mr. *Baxter*), than the reſt of the court. *Shaftſbury* had a vaſt genius, but according to *Burnet*, at beſt was only a deiſt; he had great knowledge of men and things, but would often change ſides as his intereſt directed. *Lauderdale* was a man of learning, and from an almoſt republican was become a perfect tool of the prerogative, and would offer at the moſt deſperate councils. He had ſcarce any traces of religion remaining, though he called himſelf a preſbyterian, and had an averſion to king *Charles* I. to the laſt. By theſe five miniſters of ſtate, the king and duke of *York* drove on their deſigns of introducing popery and arbitrary power; in order to which, a ſecret treaty was concluded with *France*; the triple alliance was broken, and a new war declared with the *dutch* to deſtroy their commonwealth, as will be ſeen preſently; by this means the king had a plauſible pretence to keep up a ſtanding army, which might ſecure him in the exerciſe of an abſolute authority over his ſubjects, to ſet aſide the uſe of parliaments, and ſettle the *roman* catholic religion in the three kingdoms. Theſe were the maxims the court purſued throughout the remaining part of this reign.

Character of the CABAL.

In

King Charles II. 1670.

Death of Dr Tuckney.

In the beginning of this year died Dr. *Anthony Tuckney*, born in *September* 1599, and educated in *Emanuel College Cambridge*. He was afterwards vicar of *Boſton* in *Lincolnſhire*, where he continued till he was called to ſit in the aſſembly of divines at *Weſtminſter*. In the year 1645 he was made maſter of his college, and in the year 1648 being choſen vicechancellor, he removed to *Cambridge* with his family. He was afterwards maſter of St. *John's*, and *regius profeſſor*, which he held till the reſtoration, when the king ſent him a letter, deſiring him to reſign his profeſſorſhip, which if he did, his majeſty, in conſideration of the great pains and diligence of the ſaid doctor in the diſcharge of his duty, would oblige his ſucceſſor to give him ſufficient ſecurity in law, to pay him one hundred pounds a year during his natural life. Upon this notice the doctor immediately reſigned, and had his annuity paid him by Dr. *Gunning* who ſucceeded him. After the coming out of the *five mile act*, he ſhifted about in ſeveral counties, and at laſt died in *Spittle Yard London*, *February* 1669, in the ſeventy-firſt year of his age, leaving behind him the character of an eminently learned and pious man, an indefatigable ſtudent, a candid diſputant, and an earneſt promoter of truth and piety.

And of Mr. William Bridge.

About the ſame time died Mr. *William Bridge* M. A. the ejected miniſter of *Yarmouth*; he was ſtudent in *Cambridge* thirteen years, and fellow of *Emanuel College*. He afterwards ſettled in *Norwich*, where he was ſilenced by biſhop *Wren* for non-conformity 1637. He was afterwards excommunicated, and when the writ *de excommunicato capiendo* came out againſt him, he withdrew to *Holland*, and became paſtor to the *engliſh* church at *Rotterdam*, where Mr. *Jer. Boroughs* was preacher. In 1642 he returned to *England*, and was *one of the diſſenting brethren* in the aſſembly of divines. He was choſen after ſome time, miniſter of *Great Yarmouth*, where he continued his labours till the *Bartholomew* act ejected him with his brethren. He was a good ſcholar, and had a well furniſhed library, was a hard ſtudent, and roſe every morning winter and ſummer at four of the clock. He was alſo a good preacher, a candid and charitable man, and did much good by his miniſtry. He died at *Yarmouth March* 12, 1670, *Ætat.* ſeventy.

1671. *Cauſes of the growth of popery.* Rapin, p. 439.

While the proteſtant diſſenters were harraſſed in all parts of the kingdom, the *roman* catholics were at eaſe under the wing of the prerogative; there were few or no proceſſes againſt them, for they had the liberty of reſorting to maſs at the houſes of foreign ambaſſadors, and other chapels, both in town and country; nor did the biſhops complain of them in the houſe of lords, by which means they began in a few years, to rival the proteſtants both in ſtrength and numbers. The commons repreſented the cauſes of this misfortune in an addreſs to the king, toge-

King Charles II. 1671.

together with the remedies, which if the reader will carefully conſider, he will eaſily diſcover the different uſage of proteſtant non-conformiſts and popiſh recuſants.

The cauſes of the increaſe of popery, were, 1. The great number of jeſuits who were all over the kingdom. 2. The chapels in great towns for ſaying maſs, beſides ambaſſadors houſes, whither great numbers of his majeſty's ſubjects reſorted without controul. 3. The fraternities or convents of prieſts and jeſuits at St. *James*'s, and in ſeveral parts of the kingdom, beſides their ſchools for the educating youth. 4. The public ſale of popiſh catechiſms, *&c.* 5. The general remiſſneſs of magiſtrates, and other officers, in not convicting papiſts according to law. 6. Suſpected recuſants enjoying offices by themſelves or their deputies. 7. Preſentations to livings by popiſh recuſants, or by others as th. .irect. 8. Sending youth beyond ſea under tutors, to be educated in the popiſh religion. 9. The few *Exchequer proceſſes* that have been iſſued forth, though many have been certified thither. 10. The great inſolence of papiſts in *Ireland*, where archbiſhops and biſhops of the pope's creation, appear publicly, maſs being ſaid openly in *Dublin*, and other parts of the kingdom.

Remedies propoſed by the parliament.

The remedies which the houſe propoſed againſt theſe growing miſchiefs were.

1. That a proclamation be iſſued out to baniſh all popiſh prieſts and jeſuits out of the realm, except ſuch as attend the queen and foreign ambaſſadors. 2. That the king's ſubjects be forbid going to hear maſs and other exerciſes of the *romiſh* religion. 3. That no office or employment of public authority be put into the hands of popiſh recuſants. 4. That all fraternities, convents, and popiſh ſchools be aboliſhed, and the jeſuits, prieſts, friars, and ſchool-maſters puniſhed. 5. That his majeſty require all the officers of the *Exchequer*, to iſſue out *proceſſes* againſt popiſh recuſants convict, certified thither. 6. That *Plunket* the pretended primate of *Ireland*, and *Talbot* archbiſhop of *Dublin*, be ſent for into *England*, to anſwer ſuch matters as ſhould be objected againſt them.

Conduct of the court. Gazette, Numb. 559.

The king promiſed to conſider the addreſs, but hoped they would allow him to diſtinguiſh between new *converts*, and thoſe who had been bred up in the popiſh religion, and ſerved him and his father in the late wars. After ſome time a proclamation was iſſued, in which his majeſty declares, that *he had always adhered to the true religion eſtabliſhed in this kingdom againſt all temptations whatſoever*; and that he would employ his utmoſt care and zeal in its defence. But the magiſtrates knowing his majeſty's inclinations, took no care of the execution of it. Nay,

Duke of York abjures the proteſtant religion.

the duke of *York* the king's brother, having lately loſt his dutcheſs, lord *Clarendon*'s daughter, who died a papiſt, made a formal abjuration

tion of the proteſtant religion at this time before father *Simon*, an *engliſh* jeſuit, publicly declaring himſelf a *roman* catholic; the reaſon of which was, that the preſent queen having no children, the papiſts gave the duke to underſtand, that they were capable to effect his majeſty's divorce, and to ſet aſide his ſucceſſion, by providing him with another queen, which they would certainly attempt, unleſs he would make an open profeſſion of the *roman* catholic religion, which he did accordingly. *King* Charles II. 1671.

The houſe of commons was very laviſh of the nation's money this ſeſſion, for though there was no danger of an invaſion from abroad, they voted the king two millions and a half, with which his majeſty maintained a ſtanding army, and called the parliament no more together for almoſt two years. After the houſes were up, the *CABAL* began to proſecute their ſcheme of making the king abſolute; in order to which, beſides the two millions and half granted by parliament, they received from *France* the ſum of ſeven hundred thouſand pounds in two years, which not being ſufficient to embark in a war with the *dutch*, the king declared in council, by the advice of *Clifford*, that he was reſolved to *ſhut up the* Exchequer, wherein the bankers of *London*, (who had furniſhed the king with money on all occaſions at great intereſt,) had lodged vaſt ſums of other people's caſh depoſited in their hands. By this means the bankers were obliged to make a ſtop, which interrupted the courſe of trade, and raiſed a great clamour over the whole kingdom. The king endeavoured to ſoften the *bankers*, by telling them it ſhould be only for a year, and that he would pay the arrears out of the next ſubſidies of parliament; but he was worſe than his word; ſo that great numbers of families and orphans were reduced to beggary, while the king gained about one million four hundred thouſand pounds. *Projects of the* CABAL *to make the king abſolute.* Exchequer *ſhut up.*

A ſecond advance of the *CABAL* towards arbitrary power, was *to deſtroy the* dutch *commonwealth*; for this purpoſe the triple alliance was to be broken, and pretences to be found out for quarrelling with that trading people. The earl of *Shaftſbury* uſed this expreſſion in his ſpeech to the parliament for juſtifying the war, *delenda eſt carthago*, that is, *the* dutch *commonwealth muſt be deſtroyed*; but an occaſion was wanting to juſtify it to the world. There had been a few ſcurrilous prints and medals ſtruck in *Holland*, reflecting on the king's amours, below the notice of the *engliſh* court, which the *dutch* however had cauſed to be deſtroyed. Complaints were alſo revived of the inſolence of the *dutch* in the *Eaſt Indies*, and of the neglect of ſtriking the flag in the narrow ſeas to the king's yacht, paſſing by the *dutch* fleet. The *cabal* managed theſe complaints like men who were afraid of receiving ſatisfaction, or of giving the adverſary any umbrage to prepare for the ſtorm. The *dutch* therefore relying on the faith of treaties *War with the* dutch.

King Charles II. 1671.

treaties, purſued their traffic without fear; but when their rich *Smyrna* fleet of merchant men, conſiſting of ſeventy-two ſail, under convoy of ſix men of war, paſſed by the *Iſle of Wight*, the *engliſh* fleet fell upon them and took ſeveral of their ſhips, without any previous declaration of war; a breach of faith (ſays *Burnet*), which *mahometans* and pirates would have been aſhamed of.

p. 307.

Project of a general indulgence.

Two days after the attempt upon the *Smyrna* fleet, the *cabal* made the third advance towards popery and abſolute power, by adviſing the king to ſuſpend the penal laws againſt all ſorts of non-conformiſts. It was now reſolved to ſet the diſſenters againſt the church, and to offer them the protection of the crown to make way for a general toleration. Lord *Shaftſbury* firſt propoſed it council, which the majority readily complied with, provided the *roman* catholics might be included; but when the declaration was prepared, the lord keeper *Bridgman* refuſed to put the ſeal to it, as judging it contrary to law, for which he was diſmiſſed, and the ſeals given to the earl of *Shaftſbury*, who maintained, that the indulgence was for the ſervice of the church of *England*. "As for the church (ſays his "lordſhip), I conceive the *declaration* is extreamly for their intereſt, for "the narrow bottom they have placed themſelves upon, and the mea- "ſures they have proceeded by, ſo contrary to the properties and liber- "ties of the nation, muſt needs in a ſhort time prove fatal to them; "whereas this leads them into another way, to live peaceably with the diſ- "ſenting and different proteſtants, both at home and abroad;" which was true if both had not been undermined by the papiſts. Archbiſhop *Sheldon*, *Morley*, and the reſt of their party, exclaimed loudly againſt the *indulgence*, and alarmed the whole nation, inſomuch that many ſober and good men, who had long feared the growth of popery, began to think their eyes were open, and that they were in good earneſt; but it appeared afterwards that their chief concern was for the *ſpiritual power*; for though they murmured againſt the *diſpenſing power*, they fell in with all their other proceedings; which if providence had not miraculouſly interpoſed, muſt have been fatal to the proteſtant religion and the liberties of *Europe*.

How it was reſented. Hiſt. Stuarts, p. 166.

Des Maiz. Col. p. 677, &c.

At length the *declaration* having been communicated to the *french* king, and received his approbation, was publiſhed, bearing date *March* 15, 1671-2, to the following effect:

CHARLES REX,

A new declaration of indulgence.

"OUR care and endeavours for the preſervation of the rights and "intereſts of the church, have been ſufficiently manifeſted to the "world, by the whole courſe of our government ſince our happy re- "ſtoration, and by the many and frequent ways of *coercion* that we

"have

" have uſed for reducing all erring or diſſenting perſons, and for com- *King* Charles II. 1671.
" poſing the unhappy differences in matters of religion, which we found
" among our ſubjects upon our return; but it being evident by the ſad
" experience of twelve years, that there is very little fruit of all theſe
" forcible courſes, *we think ourſelves obliged to make uſe of that ſupream*
" *power in eccleſiaſtical matters, which is not only inherent in us, but hath*
" *been declared and recognized to be ſo, by ſeveral ſtatutes and acts of par-*
" *liament*; and therefore we do now accordingly iſſue this our declaration,
" as well for the quieting of our good ſubjects in theſe points, as for inviting
" ſtrangers in this conjuncture to come and live under us; and for the bet-
" ter encouragement of all to a chearful following of their trades and
" callings, from whence we hope, by the bleſſing of God, to have
" many good and happy advantages to our government; as alſo for pre-
" venting for the future the danger that might otherwiſe ariſe, from pri-
" vate meetings and ſeditious conventicles.

" And in the firſt place, we declare our expreſs reſolution, meaning
" and intention to be, that the church of *England* be preſerved, and re-
" main entire in its doctrine, diſcipline and govenment, as now it ſtands
" eſtabliſhed by law; and that this be taken to be, as it is, the baſis,
" rule, and ſtandard of the general and public worſhip of God, and
" that the orthodox conformable clergy, do receive and enjoy the reve-
" nues belonging thereunto, and that no perſon, though of a different
" opinion and perſuaſion, ſhall be exempt from paying his tithes, or other
" dues whatſoever. And farther we declare, that no perſon ſhall be ca-
" pable of holding any benefice, living, or eccleſiaſtical dignity or pre-
" ferment, of any kind in this our kingdom of *England*, who is not
" exactly conformable.

" We do in the next place declare our will and pleaſure to be,
" that *the execution of all, and all manner of penal laws in matters*
" *eccleſiaſtical, againſt whatſoever ſort of non-conformiſts or recuſants,*
" *be immediately ſuſpended, and they are hereby ſuſpended*; and all
" judges, judges of aſſize and gaol delivery, ſheriffs, juſtices of peace,
" mayors, bailiffs, and other officers whatſoever, whether eccleſiaſti-
" cal or civil, are to take notice of it, and pay due obedience there-
" unto.

" And that there may be no pretence for any of our ſubjects to conti-
" nue their illegal meetings and conventicles, we do declare, that we ſhall
" from time to time allow a ſufficient number of places, as they ſhall be
" deſired, in all parts of this our kingdom, for the uſe of ſuch as do not
" conform to the church of *England*, to meet and aſſemble in order to
" to their public worſhip and devotion, which places ſhall be open and
" free to all perſons.

King Charles II. 1671.

" But to prevent ſuch diſorders and inconveniences as may happen by " this our indulgence, if not duly regulated; and that they may be the " better protected by the civil magiſtrate; *our expreſs will and pleaſure is,* " *that none of our ſubjects do preſume to meet in any place, until ſuch pla-* " *ces be allowed, and the teacher of that congregation be approved by us.*

" And leſt any ſhould apprehend that this reſtriction ſhould make our " ſaid allowance and approbation difficult to be obtained, we do farther " declare, that this our indulgence, as to the allowance of the public " places of worſhip, and approbation of the preachers, ſhall extend to " all ſorts of *non-conformiſts and recuſants, except the recuſants of the* " roman *catholic religion,* to whom we ſhall in no wiſe allow public pla- " ces of worſhip, but only indulge them their ſhare in the common ex- " emption from the penal laws, and the exerciſe of their worſhip in their " private houſes only.

" And if after this our clemency and indulgence, any of our ſubjects " ſhall pretend to abuſe this liberty, and ſhall preach ſeditiouſly, or to the " derogation of the doctrine, diſcipline or government, of the eſtabliſhed " church, or ſhall meet in places not allowed by us, we do hereby give " them warning, and declared we will proceed againſt them with all ima- " ginable ſeverity. And we will let them ſee, we can be as ſevere to " puniſh ſuch offenders when ſo juſtly provoked, as we are indulgent to " truly tender conſciences."

Given at our court at Whitehall *this* 15*th day of* March, *in the four and twentieth year of our reign.*

Non-conformiſts *not forward to accept it by the diſpenſing power.* Baxter, part III. p. 99. Welw. Mem. p. 190.

The proteſtant non-conformiſts had no opinion of *the diſpenſing power,* and were not forward to accept of liberty in this way; they were ſenſible the indulgence was not granted out of love to them, nor would continue any longer, than it would ſerve the intereſt of popery. " The be- " ginning of the *dutch* war (ſays one of their writers) made the court " think it neceſſary to grant them an indulgence, that there might be " peace at home while there was war abroad, though much to the diſſa- " tisfaction of thoſe, who had a hand in framing all the ſevere laws " againſt them." Many pamphlets were written for and againſt the diſſenters accepting it, becauſe it was grafted on the *diſpenſing power.* Some maintained, that it was ſetting up altar againſt altar, and that they ſhould accept of nothing but a *comprehenſion.* Others endeavoured to prove, that it was the duty of the preſbyterians to make uſe of the liberty granted them by the king, becauſe it was their natural right, which no legiſlative power upon earth had a right to deprive them of, as long as they remained

mained dutiful ſubjects; that meeting in ſeparate congregations diſtinct from the parochial aſſemblies, in the preſent circumſtances, was neither ſchiſmatical nor ſinful. Accordingly moſt of the miniſters, both in *London* and in the country, took out licenſes, a copy of which I have tranſcribed from under the king's own hand and ſeal in the margin *. Great numbers of people attended the meetings, and a cautious and moderate addreſs of thanks was preſented to the king for their liberty, but all were afraid of the conſequences. *King* Charles II. 1671. Welw. Mem. p. 102.

It was reported further, that the court encouraged the non-conformiſts by ſome ſmall penſions of fifty and one hundred pounds to the chief of their party; that Mr. *Baxter* returned the money, but that Mr. *Pool* acknowledged he had received fifty pounds for two years, and that the reſt accepted it. This was reported to the diſadvantage of the diſſenters by Dr. *Stillingfleet*, and others, with an inſinuation that it was *to bribe them to be ſilent, and join intereſts with the papiſts*; but Dr. *Owen*, in anſwer to this part of the charge, in his preface to a book, entitled, *an enquiry*, &c. againſt Dr. *Stillingfleet*, declares, that "it is ſuch a frontleſs "malicious lye, as impudence itſelf would bluſh at; that however the "diſſenters may be traduced, they are ready to give the higheſt ſecurity "that can be of their ſtability in the proteſtant cauſe; and for myſelf "(ſays he), never any perſon in authority, dignity, or power in the na"tion, nor any from them, papiſt or proteſtant, did ever ſpeak or ad"viſe with me about any indulgence or toleration to be granted to pa"piſts, and I challenge the whole world to prove the contrary." From this indulgence Dr. *Stillingfleet* dates the beginning of the preſbyterian ſeparation. Burnet, p. 308.

This year died Dr. *Edmund Staunton*, the ejected miniſter of *Kingſton upon Thames*, one of the aſſembly of divines, and ſome time preſident of *Corpus* *Death of Dr.* Staunton.

* CHARLES REX.

CHARLES by the grace of God, king of *England*, *Scotland*, *France*, and *Ireland*, defender of the faith, *&c.* To all mayor, bailiffs, conſtables, and others our officers and miniſters civil and military, whom it may concern, greeting. In purſuance of our declaration of the 15th of *March* 1671-2. We do hereby permit and licenſe *G. S.* ——— of the congregational perſuaſion, to be a teacher of the congregation allowed by us, in a room or rooms of his houſe in ——— for the uſe of ſuch as do not conform to the church of *England*, who are of that perſuaſion commonly called *congregational*, with further licence and permiſſion to him the ſaid *G. S.* ——— to teach in any place licenſed and allowed by us, according to our ſaid declaration.

Given at our court at *Whitehall* the ſecond day of *May*, in the 24th year of our reign 1672. By his majeſty's command,

Arlington.

King Charles II. 1671.

Corpus Chriſti College in *Oxford*. He was ſon of Sir *Francis Staunton*, born at *Woburne* in *Bedfordſhire* 1601, and educated in *Wadham College*, of which he was fellow. Upon his taking orders, he became miniſter of *Buſhy* in *Hertfordſhire*, but changed it afterwards for *Kingſton* upon *Thames*. In 1634 he took the degrees in divinity, and in 1648 was made preſident of *Corpus Chriſti College*, which he kept till he was ſilenced for non-conformity. He then retired to *Rickmanſworth* in *Hertfordſhire*, and afterwards to a village in that county called *Bovingden*, where he preached as often as he had opportunity. He was a learned, pious, and peaceable divine. In his laſt ſickneſs he ſaid, he neither feared death nor deſired life, but was willing to be at God's diſpoſal. He died *July* 14, 1671, and was buried in the church belonging to the pariſh.

And of Mr. Vavaſor Powel.

Mr. *Vavaſor Powel* was born in *Radnorſhire*, and educated in *Jeſus College Oxon*. When he left the univerſity he preached up and down in *Wales*, till being driven from thence for want of preſbyterial ordination, which he ſcrupled, he came to *London*, and ſoon after ſettled at *Dartford* in *Kent*. In the year 1646 he obtained a teſtimonial of his religious and blameleſs converſation, and of his abilities for the work of the miniſtry, ſigned by Mr. *Herle* and ſeventeen of the aſſembly of divines. Furniſhed with theſe teſtimonials he returned to *Wales*, and became a moſt indefatigable and active inſtrument of propagating the goſpel in thoſe parts. There were few, if any of the churches or chapels in *Wales*, in which he did not preach; yea very often he preached to the *poor welch* in the mountains, at fairs, and in market-places; for which he had no more than a ſtipend of one hundred pounds *per annum*, beſides the advantage of ſome ſequeſtered livings in *north Wales* (ſays my author), which in thoſe times of confuſion turned to a very poor account. Mr. *Powel* was a bold man, and of republican principles, preaching againſt the *protectorſhip of Cromwell*, and writ letters to him, for which he was impriſoned, to prevent his ſpreading diſſaffection in the ſtate. At the dawn of the reſtoration, being known to be a fifth monarchy man, he was ſecured firſt at *Shrewſbury*, afterwards in *Wales*, and at laſt in the *Fleet*. In the year 1662 he was ſhut up in *South Sea* caſtle near *Portſmouth*, where he continued five years. In 1667 he was releaſed, but venturing to preach again in his own country, he was impriſoned at *Cardiff*, and in the year 1669 ſent up to *London*, and confined a priſoner in the *Fleet*, where he died, and was buried in *Bunhill fields*, in the preſence of an innumerable croud of diſſenters, who attended him to his grave. He was of an unconquered reſolution, and of a mind unſhaken under all his troubles. The inſcription on his tomb calls him, "a ſucceſsful "teacher of the paſt, a ſincere witneſs of the preſent, and an uſeful "example to the future age; who in the defection of many, found mer-

"cy

"cy to be faithful, for which being called to many priſons, he was "there tried, and would not accept deliverance, expecting a better re- "ſurrection." He died *October* 27, 1671, in the fifty third year of his age, and the 11th year of his impriſonment. *King* Charles II. 1672.

CHAP. IX.

From the king's declaration of indulgence, *to the* popiſh plot *in the year* 1678.

THE *french* king having prevailed with the *engliſh* court to break the triple alliance, and make war with the *dutch*, publiſhed a declaration at *Paris*, ſignifying that he could not without diminution of his glory, any longer diſſemble the indignation raiſed in him, by the unhandſome carriage of the *States General of the United Provinces*, and therefore proclaimed war againſt them both by ſea and land. In the beginning of *May*, he drew together an army of one hundred and twenty thouſand men, with which he took the principal places in *Flanders*, and with a rapid fury over-ran the greateſt part of the *Netherlands*. In the beginning of *July* he took poſſeſſion of *Utrecht*, a city in the heart of the *United Provinces*, where he held his court, and threatened to beſiege *Amſterdam* it ſelf. In this extremity the *dutch* opened their ſluices, and laid a great part of their country under water; the populace roſe, and having obliged the ſtates to elect the young prince of *Orange* ſtadtholder, they fell upon the two brothers *Cornelius* and *John de Wit*, their late penſionary, and tore them to pieces in a barbarous manner. The young prince, who was then but twenty two years old, uſed all imaginable vigilance and activity to ſave the remainder of his country; and like a true patriot declared, he would die in the laſt dike, rather than become tributary to any foreign power. At length their allies came to their aſſiſtance, when the young *prince*, like another *Scipio*, abandoning his own country, beſieged, and took the important town of *Bonne*, which opened a paſſage for the *germans* into *Flanders*, and ſtruck ſuch a ſurprize into the *french*, whoſe enemies were now behind them, that they abandoned all their conqueſts in *Holland*, except *Maeſtricht* and *Grave*, with as much precipitance as they had made them.

The french *declare war with the* dutch *and over-run their country.*

Pr. of Orange *ſtadtholder, and the* De Wits murdered.

Theſe

King Charles II. 1672.

These rapid conqueſts of the *french*, opened peoples mouths againſt the court, and raiſed ſuch diſcontents in *England*, that his majeſty was obliged to iſſue out his proclamation, to ſuppreſs all unlawful and undutiful converſation, threatning a ſevere proſecution of ſuch who ſhould ſpread falſe news, or intermeddle with affairs of ſtate, or promote ſcandal againſt his majeſty's counſellors, by their common diſcourſe in coffee-houſes, or places of public reſort. He was obliged alſo to continue the *exchequer* ſhut up, contrary to his royal promiſe, and to prorogue hisparliament till next year, which he foreſaw would be in a flame at their meeting.

Proclamation againſt ſpreading falſe news. Gazette, N° 686.

During this interval of parliament, the *declaration of indulgence* continued in force, and the diſſenters had reſt; when the preſbyterians and independents, to ſhew their agreement among themſelves, as well as to ſupport the doctrines of the reformation againſt the prevailing errors of popery, ſocinianiſm, and infidelity, ſet up a weekly *lecture* at *Pinners-hall* in *Broad-ſtreet*, on *Tueſday* mornings, under the encouragement of the principal merchants and tradeſmen of their perſuaſions in the city. Four preſbyterians were joined with two independents to preach by turns, and to give it the greater reputation the principal miniſters for learning and popularity were choſen as lecturers; as Dr. *Bates*, Dr. *Manton*, Dr. *Owen*, Mr. *Baxter*, Mr. *Collins*, *Jenkins*, *Mead*, and afterwards Mr. *Alſop*, *Howe*, *Cole*, and others; and though there were ſome little miſunderſtandings at their firſt ſetting out, about ſome high points of *Calviniſm*, occaſioned by one of Mr. *Baxter*'s firſt ſermons, yet the lecture continued in this form till the year 1695, when it ſplit upon the ſame rock, occaſioned by the reprinting Dr. *Criſp*'s works. The four *preſbyterians* removed to *Salters-hall*, and ſet up a lecture on the ſame day and hour. The two *independents* remained at *Pinners-hall*, and when there was no proſpect of an accommodation, each party filled up their numbers out of their reſpective denominations, and they are both ſubſiſting to this day.

The beginning of the merchants lecture at Pinners hall.

Among the puritan divines who died this year, biſhop *Wilkins* deſerves the firſt place; he was born at *Fawſly* in *Northamtonſhire*, in the houſe of his mother's father, Mr. *J. Dod* the decalogiſt, in the year 1614, and educated in *Magdalen-hall* under Mr. *Tombes*. He was ſome time warden of *Wadham College Oxford*, and afterwards maſter of of *Trinity College Cambridge*, of which he was deprived at the reſtoration, though he conformed. He married a ſiſter of the protector's *Oliver Cromwell*, and complied with all the changes of the late times, being, as *Wood* obſerves, always puritanically affected; but for his admirable abilities, and extraordinary genius, he had ſcarce his equal. He was made biſhop of *Cheſter* 1668. and ſurely, ſays Mr. *Eachard*, the court could not have found out a man of greater ingenuity and capacity, or of more univerſal knowledge and underſtanding in all parts of polite learning.

Death of bp. Wilkins. Ath. Ox. p. 505.

learning. Archbiſhop *Tillotſon* and biſhop *Burnet*, who were his intimates, give him the higheſt encomium; as, that he was a pious chriſtian, an admirable preacher, a rare mathematician, and mechanical philoſopher; a man of as great a mind, as true judgment, as eminent virtues, and of as great a ſoul, as any they ever knew. He was a perſon of univerſal charity, candour, and moderation of ſpirit; and was concerned in all attempts for a comprehenſion with the diſſenters. He died of the ſtone in Dr. *Tillotſon*'s houſe in *Chancery-lane*, *Nov.* 19. 1672, in the fifty ninth year of his age. *King* Charles II. 1672.

Mr. *Joſeph Caryl* M. A. the ejected miniſter of St. *Magnus*, *London-bridge*, was born of genteel parents in *London*, 1602, educated in *Exeter College*, and afterwards preacher of *Lincolns-inn*; he was a member of the aſſembly of divines, and afterwards one of the *tryers* for approbation of miniſters, in all which ſtations he appeared a man of great learning, piety and modeſty. He was ſent by the parliament to attend the king at *Holmby-houſe*, and was one of their commiſſioners in the treaty of the *Iſle of Wight*. After his ejectment in 1662, he lived privately in *London*, and preached to his congregation as the times would permit; he was a moderate *independent*, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his learned expoſition upon the book of *Job*. He died univerſally lamented by all his acquaintance *February* 7 1672-3, and in the ſeventy firſt year of his age. *Of Mr.* Joſ. Caryl.

Philip Nye M. A. was a divine of a warmer ſpirit: He was born of a genteel family 1596, and was educated in *Magdalen College Oxford*, where he took the degrees. In the year 1630 he was curate of St. *Michael*'s *Cornhill*, and three years after fled from biſhop *Laud*'s perſecution into *Holland*, but returned about the beginning of the long parliament, and became miniſter of *Kimbolton* in *Huntingdonſhire*. He was one of the diſſenting brethren in the aſſembly; one of the *tryers* in the protector's time, and a principal manager of the meeting of the congregational meſſengers at the *Savoy*. He was a great politician, inſomuch that it was debated in council after the reſtoration, whether he ſhould not be excepted for life; and it was concluded, that if he ſhould accept or exerciſe any office eccleſiaſtical or civil, he ſhould to all intents and purpoſes in law, ſtand as if he had been totally excepted. He was ejected from St. *Bartholomew* behind the *Exchange*, and preached privately as opportunity offered to a congregation of diſſenters till the preſent year, when he died in the month of *September*, about ſeventy ſix years old, and lies buried in the church of St. *Michael*'s *Cornhill*, leaving behind him the character of a man of uncommon depth, and of one who was ſeldom if ever out-reached. *Of Mr.* Phil. Nye.

King Charles II. 1673.

The parliament awakened.

When the king met his parliament *Feb.* 4, after a receſs of a year and nine months, he acquainted them with the reaſonableneſs and neceſſity of the war with the *Dutch*, and having aſked a ſupply, told them, "he "had found the good effect of his *indulgence to diſſenters*, but that it "was a miſtake in thoſe who ſaid, more liberty was given to papiſts "than others, becauſe they had only freedom in their own houſes, and "no public aſſemblies; he ſhould therefore take it ill to receive con-"tradiction in what he had done; and to deal plainly with you (ſays his "majeſty), *I am reſolved to ſtick to my declaration.*" Lord chancellor *Shaftſbury* ſeconded the king's ſpeech, and having vindicated the *indulgence*, magnified the king's zeal for the church of *England* and the proteſtant religion. But the houſe of commons declared againſt the *diſpenſing power*, and argued, that though the king had a power to pardon offenders, he had not a right to authorize men to break the laws, for this would infer a power to alter the government; and if the king could ſecure offenders by indemnifying them before-hand, it was in vain to make any laws at all, becauſe according to this maxim, they had no force but at the king's diſcretion —— But it was objected on the other ſide, that a difference was to be made between penal laws in ſpiritual matters and others; that the king's ſupremacy gave him a peculiar authority over theſe, as was evident by his tolerating the *Jews*, and the churches of foreign proteſtants —— To which it was replied, that the intent of the law in aſſerting the ſupremacy was only to exclude all foreign juriſdiction, and to lodge the whole *authority* with the king; but *that* was ſtill bounded and regulated by law; the *Jews* were ſtill at mercy, and only connived at, but the foreign churches were excepted by a particular clauſe in the act of uniformity; and therefore upon the whole, they came to this reſolution *Feb.* 10. "that penal ſtatutes in matters eccleſiaſtical can-"not be ſuſpended but by act of parliament; that no ſuch power had "been claimed or exerciſed by any of his majeſty's predeceſſors, and "therefore his majeſty's *indulgence* was contrary to law, and tended to "ſubvert the legiſlative power, which had always been acknowledged "to reſide in the king and his two houſes of parliament." Purſuant to this reſolution, they addreſſed the king *Feb.* 19, to recal his *declaration*. The king anſwered, that he was ſorry they ſhould queſtion his power in eccleſiaſtics, which had not been done in the reigns of his anceſtors; that he did not pretend to ſuſpend laws, wherein the properties rights or liberties of his ſubjects were concerned, nor to alter any thing in the eſtabliſhed religion, but only to take off the penalties inflicted on *diſſenters*, which he believed they themſelves would not wiſh executed according to the rigor of the law. The commons perceiving his majeſty was not inclined to deſiſt from his declaration, ſtopt the *money-bill*, and pre-

Arguments for and againſt the diſpenſing power.

H. of commons vote againſt it.

Eachard, p. 889. Burnet. p. 347.

preſented a ſecond addreſs, inſiſting upon a full and ſatisfactory aſſurance, that his majeſty's conduct in this affair might not be drawn into example for the future, which at length they obtained. *King* Charles II. 1673.

The parliament was now firſt diſpoſed to diſtinguiſh between *proteſtant diſſenters* and *popiſh recuſants*, and to give eaſe to the former without including the latter, eſpecially when the diſſenters in the houſe diſavowed the *diſpenſing power*, though it had been exerciſed in their favour. Alderman *Love*, member for the city of *London*, ſtood up, and in a handſome ſpeech declared, that *he had rather go without his own deſired liberty, than have it in a way ſo deſtructive of the liberties of his country, and the proteſtant intereſt; and that this was the ſenſe of the main body of diſſenters.* Which ſurprized the whole houſe, and gave a turn to thoſe very men, who for ten years together had been loading the non-conformiſts with one penal law after another: But things were now at a criſis; popery and ſlavery were at the door; the triple alliance broken; the proteſtant powers ravaging one another; the *exchequer* ſhut up; the heir apparent of the crown an open papiſt; and an army encamped near *London* under popiſh officers ready to be tranſported into *Holland* to compleat their ruin. When the diſſenters at ſuch a time laid aſide their reſentments againſt their perſecutors, and renounced their own liberty for the ſafety of the proteſtant religion, and the liberties of their country; all ſober men began to think, it was high time to put a mark of diſtinction between them and the *roman* catholics. *Ald.* Love *in the name of the diſſenters renounces the diſpenſing power.*

But the king was of another mind, yet being in want of money, he was eaſily perſuaded by his miſtreſſes to give up his *indulgence*, contrary to the advice of the *CABAL*, who told him, if he would make a bold ſtand for his *prerogative*, all would be well. But he came to the houſe *March* 8, and having preſſed the commons to diſpatch the *money bill*, he added, —— "If there be any ſcruple yet remaining with you, "touching the ſuſpenſion of the penal laws, I here faithfully promiſe "you, that what has been done in that particular, ſhall not for the fu- "ture be drawn into example and conſequence; and as I daily expect "from you a bill for my ſupply, ſo I aſſure you I ſhall as willingly re- "ceive and paſs any other you ſhall offer me, that may tend to the giv- "ing you ſatisfaction in all your juſt grievances." Accordingly he called for the *declaration*, and broke the ſeal with his own hands, by which means all the licenſes for meeting-houſes were called in. Our hiſtorians obſerve, that this proceeding of the king made a ſurprizing change in lord *Shaftſbury*, who had been the ſoul of the *Cabal*, and the maſter builder of the ſcheme for *making the king abſolute*; but that when his majeſty was ſo unſteady as to deſert him in the project of an *indulgence*, after *The king gives up his indulgence.* Shaftſbury *deſerts the* Cabal. Eachard, p. 890, 891. Burnet, p. 348.

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after he had promiſed to ſtand by him, he concluded the king was not to be truſted, and appeared afterwards at the head of the country party.

Bill for the eaſe of proteſtant diſſenters.

The non-conformiſts were now in ſome hopes of a *legal toleration* by parliament, for the commons reſolved, *nemine contradicente*, that a bill be brought in for the eaſe of his majeſty's proteſtant ſubjects, who are diſſenters in matters of religion from the church of *England*. The ſubſtance of the bill was,

Eachard, p. 889.

"1. That eaſe be given to his majeſty's proteſtant ſubjects diſſenting "in matters of religion, who ſhall ſubſcribe the articles of the doctrine "of the church of *England*, and ſhall take the oaths of allegiance and "ſupremacy. 2. That the ſaid proteſtant ſubjects be eaſed from all "pains and penalties for not coming to church. 3. That the clauſe in "the late act of uniformity, for declaring the aſſent and conſent, be "taken away by this bill. 4. That the ſaid proteſtant ſubjects be "eaſed from all pains and penalties, for meeting together for performance "of any religious exerciſes. 5. That every teacher ſhall give notice "of the place where he intends to hold ſuch his meetings to the quarter "ſeſſions, where in open court he ſhall firſt make ſuch ſubſcription, "and take ſuch oaths as aforeſaid, and receive from thence a certificate "thereof, where all ſuch proceedings ſhall remain upon record. 6. "That any ſuch teacher may exerciſe as aforeſaid, until the next re-"ſpective quarter ſeſſions, and no longer, in caſe he ſhall not firſt take "the oaths, and make ſuch ſubſcription before two of the neighbouring "juſtices of peace, and ſhall firſt give them notice of the place of his "intended meeting, and take a certificate thereof under the ſaid juſtices "hands, a duplicate whereof they are to return into the next quarter "ſeſſions. 7. The doors and paſſages of all houſes and places where "the ſaid diſſenters do meet, ſhall be always open and free during the "time of ſuch exerciſe. 8. If any diſſenter refuſes to take *the church "wardens oaths*, he ſhall then find another fit perſon, who is not a diſ-"ſenter, to execute that office, and ſhall pay him for it." But though all agreed in bringing in a bill, there was neither time nor unanimity enough in the houſe this ſeſſions, to agree upon particulars; for according to biſhop *Burnet*, it went no farther than a ſecond reading. Mr. *Eachard* ſays, it was dropt in the houſe of lords on the account of ſome amendments, till the parliament was prorogued, but Mr. *Coke* ſays more truly, that it was becauſe the *dead weight* of biſhops joined with the king and the caballing party againſt it.

It miſcarries.

Detect, p. 490.

Commons addreſs againſt papiſts.

While this was depending, the commons addreſſed the king againſt papiſts and jeſuits, expreſſing their great concern to ſee ſuch perſons admitted into employments and places of great truſt and profit, and eſpecially into military commands, and therefore pray, that the laws againſt them

them may be put in execution. Upon which a proclamation was iſſued, though to very little purpoſe, enjoining all popiſh prieſts and jeſuits to depart the realm, and the laws to be put in execution againſt all popiſh recuſants. *King* Charles II. 1673.

But his majeſty making no mention of removing them from *places of profit and truſt*, the commons knowing where their ſtrength lay, ſuſpended their *money bill*, and ordered a bill to be brought in, to confine all places of profit and truſt, to thoſe only who are of the communion of the church of *England:* This is commonly called the *teſt act*, and was levelled againſt the duke of *York* and the preſent miniſtry, who were chiefly of his perſuaſion. When it was brought into the houſe, the court oppoſed it with all their might, and endeavoured to divide the church party, by propoſing, that ſome regard might be had to *proteſtant diſſenters*, hoping by this means to clog the bill, and throw it out of the houſe; upon which alderman *Love*, a diſſenter, and repreſentative for the city, ſtood up again and ſaid, he hoped the clauſe in favour of proteſtant diſſenters would occaſion no intemperate heats; and moved, that ſince it was like to prove ſo conſiderable a barrier againſt popery, the bill might paſs without any alteration, and that nothing might interpoſe till it was finiſhed, and then (ſays the alderman), we [diſſenters] will try if the parliament will not diſtinguiſh us from *popiſh recuſants*, by ſome marks of their favour; but we are willing to lie under the ſeverity of the laws for a time, rather than clog a more neceſſary work with our concerns. Theſe being the ſentiments of the leading diſſenters both in the houſe and without doors, the bill paſſed the commons with little oppoſition; but when it came to be debated in the houſe of peers, in the king's preſence, *March* 15, the whole court was againſt it, except the earl of *Briſtol*; and maintained that it was his majeſty's prerogative to employ whom he pleaſed in his ſervice. Some were for having the king ſtand his ground againſt the parliament. The duke of *Buckingham* and lord *Berkley* propoſed bringing the army to town, and taking out of both houſes the members who made oppoſition. *Lauderdale* offered to bring an army from *Scotland*; lord *Clifford* told the king, that the people now ſaw through his deſigns, and therefore he muſt reſolve to make himſelf maſter at once, or be for ever ſubject to much jealouſy and contempt. But the earl of *Shaftſbury* having changed ſides, preſſed the king to give the parliament full content, and then they would undertake to procure him the ſupply he wanted. This ſuited the king's eaſy temper, who not being willing to riſk a ſecond civil war, went into theſe meaſures, and out of meer neceſſity for money, gave up the papiſts, in hopes that he might afterwards recover what in the preſent extremity he was forced to reſign. This effectually broke the *CABAL*, and put the *roman* catholics upon purſuing other meaſures

The teſt act brought into the houſe.

Debates about it.

Burnet, p. 348.

It receives the royal aſſent.

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meaſures to introduce their religion, which was the making way for a popiſh ſucceſſor of more reſolute principles; and from hence we may date the beginning of the popiſh plot, which did not break out till 1678, as appears by Mr. *Coleman*'s letters. The bill received the royal aſſent *March* 25, together with a money bill of one million two hundred thouſand pounds; and then the parliament was prorogued to *October* 20, after a ſhort ſeſſion of ſeven weeks.

The act itſelf. Stat. 25 Car. II. chap. 2.

The *teſt act* is entitled, an *act to prevent dangers which happen from popiſh recuſants*. It requires, "that all perſons bearing any office of truſt "or profit, ſhall take the oaths of ſupremacy and allegiance in open "court, and ſhall alſo receive the ſacrament of the Lord's ſupper, ac- "cording to the uſage of the church of *England*, in ſome pariſh church, "on ſome Lord's day immediately after divine ſervice and ſermon, and "deliver a certificate of having ſo received the ſacrament, under the "hands of the reſpective miniſters and church-wardens, proved by two "credible witneſſes upon oath, and upon record in court. And that all "perſons taking the ſaid oaths of ſupremacy and allegiance ſhall likewiſe "make and ſubſcribe this following declaration, *I* A. B. *do declare, that* "*I believe there is no tranſubſtantiation in the ſacrament of the Lord's* "*ſupper, or in the elements of bread and wine, at, or after the conſecra-* "*tion thereof, by any perſon whatſoever.* The penalty of breaking thro' "this act, is a diſability of ſuing in any court of law, or equity, being "guardian of any child, executor or adminiſtrator to any perſon, or of "taking any legacy, or deed of gift, or of bearing any public office; "beſides a fine of five hundred pounds."

Remarks.

Mr. *Eachard* obſerves well, that this act was principally, if not ſolely levelled at the *roman* catholics, as appears from the title; and this is further evident from the diſpoſition of the houſe of commons at this time, to eaſe the proteſtant diſſenters of ſome of their burdens. If the diſſenters had fallen in with the court meaſures, they might have prevented the bill's paſſing. But they left their own liberties in a ſtate of uncertainty, to ſecure thoſe of the nation. However though the intention was good, the act itſelf is in my opinion very unjuſtifiable, becauſe *it founds dominion in grace.* A man can't be an exciſe-man, a cuſtom-houſe officer, a lieutenant in the army or navy, no not ſo much as a tide-waiter, without putting on the moſt diſtinguiſhing badge of chriſtianity, according to the uſage of the church of *England.* Is not this a ſtrong temptation to prophanation and hypocriſy? Does it not pervert one of the moſt ſolemn inſtitutions of religion, to purpoſes for which it was never intended? And is it not eaſy to find ſecurities of a civil nature, ſufficient for the preſervation both of church and ſtate? When the act took place the duke of *York* lord high admiral of *England*; lord *Clifford* lord high treaſurer; and

and a great many other popiſh officers, reſigned their preferments, but not one proteſtant diſſenter, there not being one ſuch in the adminiſtration; however, as the church party ſhewed a noble zeal for their religion, biſhop *Burnet* obſerves, that the diſſenters got great reputation by their ſilent deportment; tho' the king and the court biſhops reſolved to ſtick in their ſkirts. *King* Charles II. 1673. p. 352.

This being the laſt penal law made againſt the *non-conformiſts* in this reign, it may not be improper to put them all together, that the reader may have a full view of their diſtreſſed circumſtances: for beſides the penal laws of queen *Elizabeth*, which were confirmed by this parliament; one of which was no leſs than *baniſhment*; and another a *mulct* on every one for not coming to church. *Summary of the penal laws.*

There were in force,

1ſt. *An act for well governing and regulating corporations*, 13 Car. II. Ch. 1. Whereby all who bear office in any city, corporation, town, or borough, are required to take the oaths and ſubſcribe the declaration therein mentioned, and *to receive the ſacrament of the Lord's ſupper according to the rites of the church of* England. This effectually turned the diſſenters out of the government of all corporations.

2d. *The act of uniformity*, 14 Car. II. Ch. 4. Whereby all parſons, vicars, and miniſters, who enjoyed any preferment in the church, were obliged to declare their unfeigned *aſſent and conſent* to every thing contained in the book of *common-prayer*, &c. or be *ipſo facto* deprived: And all *ſchool-maſters and tutors* are prohibited from teaching youth without licenſe from the archbiſhop or biſhop, under pain of three months impriſonment.

3d. *An act to prevent and ſuppreſs ſeditious conventicles*, 16 Car. II. Ch. 4. Whereby it is declared unlawful to be preſent at any meeting for religious worſhip, except according to the uſage of the church of *England*, where five beſides the family ſhould be aſſembled; in which caſe the firſt and ſecond offences are made ſubject to a certain fine or three months impriſonment, on conviction before a juſtice of peace on the oath of a ſingle witneſs; and the third offence, on conviction at the ſeſſions, or before the juſtices of aſſize, is puniſhable by *tranſportation for ſeven years*.

4th. *An act for reſtraining non-conformiſts from inhabiting in corporations*, 17 Car. II. Ch. 2. Whereby all diſſenting miniſters who would not take an oath therein ſpecified, againſt the lawfulneſs of taking up arms againſt the king on any pretence whatſoever, and that they would never attempt any alteration of government in church and ſtate; are baniſhed five miles from all corporation towns, and ſubjected to a fine of forty pounds, in caſe they ſhould preach in any conventicle.

5th. *An-*

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5th. *Another act to prevent and ſuppreſs ſeditious conventicles*, 22 Car. II. Ch. 5. Whereby any perſons who teach in ſuch conventicles, are ſubject to a penalty of twenty pounds for the firſt, and forty pounds for every ſubſequent offence; and any perſon who permits ſuch a conventicle to be held in their houſe, is liable to a fine of twenty pounds; and juſtices of peace are empowered to break open doors where they are informed ſuch conventicles are held, and take the offenders into cuſtody.

6th. *An act for preventing dangers which may happen from popiſh recuſants*, commonly called the *teſt act*, whereby (as aforementioned), every perſon is incapacitated from holding a place of truſt under the government, without taking the ſacrament according to the rites of the church of *England*.

Conſequences of them. Conf. Plea, part I. p. 41.

By the rigorous execution of theſe laws, the non-conformiſt miniſters were ſeparated ftom their congregations, from their maintenance, from their houſes and families, and their people reduced to diſtreſs and miſery, or obliged to worſhip God in a manner contrary to the dictates of their conſciences, on penalty of heavy fines, or of being ſhut up in a priſon among thieves and robbers. Great numbers retired to the plantations; but Dr. *Owen*, who was ſhipping off his effects for *New-England*, was forbid to leave the kingdom by expreſs orders from king *Charles* himſelf. If there had been treaſon or rebellion in the caſe, it had been juſtifiable; but when it was purely for non-conformity to certain rites and ceremonies, and a form of church government, it can deſerve no better name than that of *perſecution*.

Duke of York's *2d. marriage.*

The houſe of commons from their apprehenſions of the growth of popery, and of a popiſh ſucceſſor to the crown, petitioned the king againſt the duke's ſecond marriage with the princeſs of *Modena*, an *italian* papiſt, but his majeſty told them, they were too late. Upon which the commons ſtopt their *money bill*, voted the ſtanding army a grievance, and were proceeding to other vigorous reſolutions, when the king ſent for them to the houſe of peers, and with a ſhort ſpeech prorogued them to *January* 7, after they had ſat only nine days. In the mean time the *duke's marriage* was conſummated, with the conſent of the *french* king, which raiſed the expectation of the *roman* catholics higher than ever.

Further fruitleſs attempts for a comprehenſion.

This induced the more zealous proteſtants to think of a firmer union with the diſſenters; accordingly Mr. *Baxter*, at the requeſt of the earl of *Orrery*, drew up ſome propoſals for a comprehenſion, agreeably to thoſe already mentioned. "He propoſed that the *meeting-houſes* of diſſenters
Baxter, part III. p. 110. "ſhould be allowed as *chapels*, till there were vacancies for them in the "churches —— and that thoſe who had no meeting houſes ſhould be "ſchool-

" ſchool-maſters or lecturers till ſuch time —— that none ſhould be " obliged to read the *apocrypha* —— that parents might have liberty to " dedicate their own children in baptiſm —— that miniſters might preach " where ſomebody elſe who had the room might read the common- " prayer —— that miniſters be not obliged to give the ſacrament to ſuch " as are guilty of ſcandalous immoralities —— nor to refuſe it to thoſe " that ſcruple kneeling —— that perſons excommunicate may not be im- " priſoned and ruined —— and that toleration be given to all conſcien- " tious diſſenters —— " Theſe propoſals being communicated to the earl of *Orrery* were put into the hands of biſhop *Morley*, who returned them without yielding to any thing of importance. The motion was alſo revived in the houſe of commons; but the ſhortneſs of the ſeſſions put a ſtop to its progreſs. Beſides, the court biſhops ſeemed altogether indiſpoſed to any conceſſions. *King* Charles II. 1673. Baxter, part III. p. 140.

This year put an end to the lives of two conſiderable non-conformiſt divines; Mr. *William Whitaker*, the ejected miniſter of St. *Mary Magdalen Bermondſey*; ſon of Mr. *Jer. Whitaker*: A divine of great learning in the oriental languages. He was an eloquent preacher, and a good man from his youth. While he was at *Emanuel College* he was univerſally beloved; and when he came to *London* generally eſteemed for his ſweet diſpoſition. He was firſt preacher at *Hornchurch*, and then at the place from whence he was ejected. He afterwards preached to a ſeparate congregation as the times would permit, and died in the year 1673. *Death of Mr* Will. Whitaker.

Mr. *James Janeway* M. A. was born in *Hertfordſhire*, and ſtudent of *Chriſt College Oxford*. He was afterwards tutor in the houſe of Mr. *Stringer* at *Windſor*; but not being ſatisfied with conformity, he opened a ſeparate meeting in *Rotherhithe*, where he preached to a numerous congregation with great ſucceſs. He was a zealous preacher, and fervent in prayer, but being weakly, his indefatigable labours broke his conſtitution, ſo that he died of a conſumption *March* 16, 1673-4, in the thirty-eighth year of his age. *And of Mr.* Janeway.

The revocation of the *indulgence*, and the diſpleaſure of the court againſt the diſſenters, for deſerting them in their deſigns to prevent the paſſing the *teſt act*, let looſe the whole tribe of *informers*. The papiſts being excluded from places of truſt, the court had no tenderneſs for proteſtant nonconformiſts; the judges therefore had orders to quicken the execution of the laws againſt them. The eſtates of thoſe of the beſt quality in each county, were ordered to be ſeized. The mouths of the high church *pulpiteers* were encouraged to open as loud as poſſible: One in his ſermon before the houſe of commons told them, that the non-conformiſts ought not to be tolerated, but to be *cured by vengeance*. He urged them to ſet *Severity of the court againſt the diſſenters revived.* State Tracts, Vol. III. p. 42. Baxter's *Life*, part III. p. 153.

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fire to the faggot, and to teach them by ſcourges or ſcorpions, and open their eyes with gall. The king himſelf iſſued out a proclamation for putting the penal laws in full execution; which had its effect.

Ib. p. 155.

Mr. *Baxter* was one of the firſt upon whom the ſtorm fell, being apprehended as he was preaching his *Thurſday* lecture at Mr. *Turner*'s. He went with the conſtable and *Keting* the informer to Sir *William Pultney*'s, who demanding the warrant, found it ſigned by *Henry Montague* Eſq; bailiff of *Weſtminſter*. Sir *William* told the conſtable, that none but a city juſtice could give a warrant to apprehend a man for preaching in the city, whereupon he was diſmiſſed. Endeavours were uſed to ſurprize Dr. *Manton*, and ſend him to priſon upon the *Oxford* or *five mile act*, but Mr. *Bedford* preaching for him, was accidentally apprehended in his ſtead; and though he had taken the oath in the *five mile act*, was fined twenty pounds, and the place forty pounds, which was paid by the hearers.

Others plundered, impriſoned, and ruined.

The like ravages were made in moſt parts of *England*; Mr. *Joſeph Swaffield* of *Saliſbury* was ſeized preaching in his own houſe, and bound over to the aſſizes, and impriſoned in the county gaol almoſt a year. Twenty-five perſons men and women were indicted for a riot, that is, for a *conventicle*, and ſuffered the penalty of the law. The informers were *roman* catholics, one of whom was executed for treaſon in the popiſh plot. At *Eaſt Salcomb* in *Devonſhire* lived one *Joan Boſton*, an old blind widow, who for a ſuppoſed conventicle held at her houſe, was fined twelve pounds, and for non-payment of it threatened with a gaol. After ſome weeks the officers broke open her doors, and carried away her goods to above the value of the fine. They ſold as many goods as were worth thirteen pounds for fifty ſhillings; ſix hogſheads valued at forty ſhillings for nine ſhillings; and pewter, feather-beds, *&c.* for twenty ſhillings; beſides the rent which they demanded of her tenants. —— Mr. *John Thompſon* miniſter in *Briſtol*, was apprehended, and refuſing to take the *Oxford* oath was committed to priſon, where he was ſeized with a fever through the noiſomneſs of the place: A phyſician being ſent for, adviſed his removal; and a bond of five hundred pounds was offered the ſheriff for his ſecurity: Application was alſo made to the biſhop without ſucceſs; ſo he died in priſon *March* 4, declaring, that *if he had known when he came to priſon that he ſhould die there, he would have done no otherwiſe than he did.* Numberleſs examples of the like kind, might be produced during the receſs of the parliament. But the king's want of money, and the diſcontents of his people, obliged him to put an end to the war with the *dutch*, with no other advantage than a ſum of two or three hundred thouſand pounds for his expences.

Conf. Plea, part IV. p. 75.

Peace with the dutch.

His

His majeſty was unwilling to meet his parliament, who were now full of zeal againſt popery, and began to conſider the non-conformiſts as auxiliaries to the proteſtant cauſe; but neceſſity obliged him to convene them; and as ſoon as they met *Jan.* 7, they addreſſed his majeſty to baniſh all papiſts, who were not houſe-keepers nor menial ſervants to peers, ten miles from *London*; and to appoint a faſt for the calamities of the nation. They attacked the remaining members of the *cabal*, and voted an addreſs for removing them from his majeſty's council; upon which the king prorogued them for above a year, after they had ſat ſix weeks, without giving any money, or paſſing one ſingle act; which was an indication of ill blood between the king and parliament, and a certain forerunner of vengeance upon the *diſſenters*. But to ſtifle the clamours of the people, his majeſty republiſhed his proclamation, forbidding their meddling in ſtate affairs, or talking ſeditiouſly in coffee-houſes; and then commanded an order to be made public, "that effectual care be taken "for the *ſuppreſſing of conventicles*; and whereas divers pretend *old licen-* "*ſes* from his majeſty, and would ſupport themſelves by that pretence, "his majeſty declares, that all his licenſes were long ſince recalled, and "that no *conventicle* has any authority, allowance, or encouragement "from him.

King Charles II. 1674.

Parliament proſecute the the papiſts and the cabal.

Gazettee, Numb. 883.

Ib. 962, 965.

This year put an end to the life of that great man *John Milton*, born in *London*, and educated in *Chriſt College Cambridge*, where he diſcovered an uncommon genius, which was very much improved by his travels. He was *latin* ſecretary to the long parliament, and writ in defence of the murder of king *Charles* I. againſt *Salmaſius* and others, with great ſpirit, and in a pure and elegant *latin* ſtile. He was afterwards ſecretary to the protector *Cromwell*, and loſt the ſight of both his eyes by hard ſtudy. At the reſtoration ſome of his books were burnt, and himſelf in danger, but he was happily included in the act of indemnity, and ſpent the remainder of his life in retirement. He was a man of an unequalled genius, and acquired immortal fame by his incomparable poem of *Paradiſe loſt*; in which he manifeſted ſuch a ſublimity of thought, and ſuch elegance of diction, as perhaps were never exceeded in any age or nation of the world. His daughters read to him, after he was blind, the *greek* poets, though they underſtood not the language. He died in mean circumſtances at *Bunhill* near *London*, in the ſixty-ſeventh year of his age.

Death of Mr John Milton.

Though the proteſtant religion ſtood in need of the united ſtrength of all its profeſſors, againſt the advances of popery, and the parliament had moved for a toleration of *proteſtant diſſenters*, yet the biſhops continued to proſecute them in common with the papiſts. Archbiſhop *Sheldon* directed circular letters to the biſhops of his province, enjoining them to give directions to their archdeacons and commiſſaries, to procure particular in-

1675. *Abp.* Sheldon's *circular letter againſt the diſſenters.*

King Charles II. 1675.

formation from the church-wardens of their ſeveral pariſhes on the following enquiries, and tranſmit them to him after the next viſitation, 1. What number of perſons are there, by common eſtimation, inhabiting within each pariſh ſubject to your juriſdiction? 2. What number of popiſh recuſants, or perſons ſuſpected of recuſancy, are reſident among the inhabitants aforeſaid? 3. What number of other diſſenters are there in each pariſh of what ſect ſoever, which either obſtinately refuſe, or wholly abſent themſelves from the communion of the church of *England*, at ſuch times as by law they are required? —— Some of the clergy were grieved at theſe proceedings, and Dr. *Tillotſon* and *Stillingfleet* met privately with Dr. *Manton*, *Bates*, *Pool*, and *Baxter*, to conſider of terms of accommodation, which when they had agreed upon and communicated to the biſhops, they were diſallowed; ſo that when *Tillotſon* ſaw how things were going, he cautiouſly withdrew from the odium, and writ the following letter to Mr. *Baxter*, *April* 11, 1675, "that he was unwil-"ling his name ſhould be made public in the affair, ſince it was come "to nothing: not but that I do heartily deſire an accommodation (ſays "he), and ſhall always endeavour it; but I am ſure it will be a pre-"judice to me, and ſignify nothing to the effecting the thing, which as "circumſtances are, cannot paſs in either houſe *without the concurrence of "a conſiderable part of the biſhops, and the countenance of his majeſty, "which at preſent I ſee little reaſon to expect.*"

Attempts for an accommodation fruſtrated by the bps.

Baxter, part III. p. 157, 158.

But the biſhops conduct made them unpopular, and drew on them many mortifications; people's compaſſion began to move towards their diſſenting brethren, whom they frequently ſaw carried in great numbers to priſon, and ſpoiled of their goods, for no other crime but a tender conſcience. The very name of an *informer* became as odious as their behaviour was infamous. The aldermen of *London* often went out of the way, when they heard of their coming; and ſome denied them their warrants, though by the act they forfeited one hundred pounds. Alderman *Forth* bound over an informer to his good behaviour, for breaking into his chamber without leave. When twelve or thirteen biſhops came into the city to dine with Sir *Nathaniel Herne* one of the ſheriffs of *London*, and exhorted him to put the laws in execution againſt the non-conformiſts, he told them plainly, they could not trade with their fellow citizens one day, and put them in priſon the next.

People begin to compaſſionate the ſufferings of the non-conf.

Comp. Hiſt. p. 338.

The moderate churchmen ſhewing a diſpoſition to unite with the non-conformiſts againſt popery, the court reſolved to take in the old ranting cavaliers, to ſtrengthen the oppoſition; for this purpoſe *Morley* and ſome other biſhops were ſent for to court, and told, it was a great misfortune that the church party and diſſenters were ſo diſpoſed to unite, and run into one; the court was therefore willing to make the church eaſy, and

Proceedings of the court to eſtabliſh arbitrary power.

to

to ſecure to the king the allegiance of all his ſubjects at the ſame time; for this purpoſe a bill was brought into the houſe of lords, entitled, *an act to prevent the dangers wich may ariſe from perſons diſaffected to the government*; by which all ſuch as enjoyed any beneficial office or employment, eccleſiaſtical, civil, or military; all who voted in elections of parliament men; all privy counſellors and members of parliament themſelves, were under a penalty to take the following oath, being the ſame as was required by the *five mile* act: *I A. B. do declare, that it is not lawful upon any pretence whatſoever, to take up arms againſt the king; and that I do abhor that traiterous poſition of taking arms by his authority againſt his perſon, or againſt thoſe that are commiſſioned by him in purſuance of ſuch commiſſion. And I do ſwear, that I will not at any time endeavour the alteration of the government either in church or ſtate. So help me God.* The deſign of the bill was to enable the miniſtry to proſecute their deſtructive ſchemes, againſt the conſtitution and the proteſtant religion, without fear of oppoſition even from the parliament itſelf. The chief ſpeakers for the bill, were the lord treaſurer and the lord keeper, lord *Danby* and *Finch*, with biſhop *Morley* and *Ward*; but the earl of *Shaftsbury*, duke of *Buckingham*, lord *Hollis* and *Halliſax*, laid open the miſchievous deſigns and conſequences of it: It was conſidered as diſinheriting men of their birthright, to ſhut them out from their right of election by an enſnaring oath, as well as deſtructive of the privilege of parliament, which was to vote freely in all caſes without any previous obligation; that the peace of the nation would be beſt ſecured by making good laws; and that oaths and teſts without theſe, would be no real ſecurity; ſcrupulous men might be fettered by them, but that the bulk of mankind would boldly take any teſt, and as eaſily break through it, as had appeared in the late times. The bill was committed, and debated paragraph by paragraph, but the heats occaſioned by it were ſo violent, that the king came unexpectedly to the houſe *June* 9, and prorogued the parliament; ſo the bill was dropt; but the debates of the lords upon the intended oath being made public, were ordered to be burnt. Two proclamations were re-publiſhed on this occaſion; one to prevent ſeditious diſcourſes in coffee-houſes, the other to put a ſtop to the publiſhing ſeditious libels.

King Charles II. 1675.

A bill in the houſe of lords for that purpoſe.

Baxter's *Life*, part III. p. 167. Burnet, p. 384.

It is dropt.

Gazettee, N°. 1059.

The court had reaſon to deſire the paſſing this bill, becauſe the oath had been already impoſed upon the *non-conformiſts*; and the court clergy had been preaching in their churches, for ſeveral years, that *paſſive obedience* and *non-reſiſtance* were the received doctrines of the church of *England*; the biſhops had poſſeſſed the king and his brother with the belief of it, and if it had now paſſed into a law, the whole nation had been bound in chains, and the court might have done as they pleaſed. But the parliament ſaw through

Remarks.

King Charles II. 1675.

Burnet, p. 359.

through the deſign; and Dr. *Burnet* ſays, he opened the reſerve to the duke of *York*, by telling him, "that there was no truſting to diſputable "opinions; that *there were diſtinctions and reſerves in thoſe who had main-* "*tained theſe points*; and that when men ſaw a viſible danger of being "firſt undone and then burnt, they would be enclined to the ſhorteſt way "of arguing, and ſave themſelves the beſt way they could; intereſt and "ſelf-preſervation being powerful motives." This might be wholſome advice to the duke, but implies ſuch a *ſecret reſerve* as may cover the moſt wicked deſigns, and is not fit for the lips of a proteſtant divine, nor even of an honeſt man.

Inſolence of the papiſts produces another attempt for a toleration.

The daring inſolence ofthe papiſts, who had their regular clergy in every corner of the town, was ſo great, that they not only challenged the proteſtant divines to diſputations, but threatened to aſſaſſinate ſuch as preached openly againſt their tenets; which confirmed the lords and commons in their perſuaſion, of the abſolute neceſſity of entering into more moderate and healing meaſures with proteſtant diſſenters, notwithſtanding the inflexible ſteadineſs of the biſhops againſt it. Upon this occaſion the duke of *Buckingham*, lately commenced patriot, made the following ſpeech in the houſe of lords, which is inſerted in the *commons journal*.

Duke of Buckingham's *ſpeech for a toleration.*

"My lords, there is a "thing called liberty, which (whatſoever ſome men may think) is *that* the "people of *England* are fondeſt of, it is that they will never part with, "and is that his majeſty in his ſpeech has promiſed to take particular "care of. This, my lords, in my opinion, can never be done without "giving an *indulgence to all proteſtant diſſenters*. It is certainly a very "uneaſy kind of life to any man, that has either chriſtian charity, hu-"manity, or good nature, to ſee his fellow-ſubjects daily abuſed, diveſted "of their liberty and birthrights, and miſerably thrown out of their poſ-"ſeſſions and freeholds, only becauſe they cannot agree with others in "ſome opinions and niceties of religion, which their conſciences will "not give them leave to conſent to, and which even by the con-"feſſion of thoſe who would impoſe them, are no ways neceſſary to "ſalvation.

"But, my lords, beſides this, and all that may be ſaid upon it, in "order to the improvement of our trade and increaſe of the wealth, "ſtrength, and greatneſs of this nation, (which with your leave I ſhall "preſume to diſcourſe of ſome other time), there is, methinks in this "notion of perſecution, a very groſs miſtake, both as to the point of "government and the point of religion: there is ſo as to the *point of* "*government*, becauſe it makes every man's ſafety depend upon the "wrong place, not upon the governors, or man's living well towards "the civil government eſtabliſhed by law, but upon his being tranſ-"ported with zeal for every opinion, that is held by thoſe that have power

in

" in the church that is in faſhion; and I conceive it is a miſtake in *reli-* *King Charles II. 1675.*
" *gion*, becauſe it is poſitively againſt the expreſs doctrine and example of
" Jeſus Chriſt. Nay, *my lords*, as to our proteſtant religion there is
" ſomething in it yet worſe, for we proteſtants maintain, that none of
" thoſe opinions which chriſtians differ about are infallible, and therefore
" in us it is ſomewhat an inexcuſable conception, that men ought to be
" deprived of their inheritance, and all the certain conveniences and ad-
" vantages of life, becauſe they will not agree with us in our uncertain
" opinions of religion.

" My humble motion therefore to your lordſhips is, that you will give
" leave to bring in *a bill of indulgence to all proteſtant diſſenters.* I know
" very well, that every peer in this realm has a right to bring into par-
" liament any bill he conceives to be uſeful to his nation; but I thought
" it more reſpectful to your lordſhips to aſk your leave before; and I can-
" not think the doing it will be any prejudice to the bill, becauſe I
" am confident, the reaſon, the prudence, and the charitableneſs of it, will
" be able to juſtify it to this houſe, and to the whole world." Accordingly the houſe gave *his grace* leave to bring in a bill to that purpoſe; but this and ſome others were loſt by the warm debates which aroſe in the houſe, upon the impeachment of the earl of *Danby*, and which occaſioned the ſudden prorogation of the parliament *June* 9, without having paſſed one public bill; after which his majeſty upon further diſcontent, prorogued them for fifteen months, which gave occaſion to a queſtion in the enſuing ſeſſion, whether they were not legally diſſolved.

From this time to the diſcovery of the popiſh plot, parliaments were called and adjourned (ſays Mr. *Coke*) by order from *France* or *french* miniſters and penſioners, to carry on the deſign of promoting the *catholic cauſe* in maſquerade. The king himſelf was a known penſioner of *Lewis* XIV. who had appropriated a fund of twenty millions of livres for the ſervice of theſe kingdoms, out which the duke of *York*, and the prime miniſters and leaders of parties, received the wages of their commiſſion, according as the *french* ambaſſador repreſented their merit. The *penſioners* made it their buſineſs to raiſe the cry of the church's danger, and of the return of *forty-one*. This was ſpread over the whole nation in a variety of pamphlets, and news-papers, *&c.* writ by their own hirelings, and if they met with oppoſition from the friends of the country, the authors and printers were ſure to be fined and impriſoned. A reward of fifty pounds was offered for the printer of a pamphlet, ſuppoſed to be writ by *Andrew Marvel*, entitled, *an account of the growth of power, and a ſeaſonable argument to all grand juries*; and one hundred pounds for the perſons who conveyed it to the preſs. No man could publiſh

Cry of the danger of the church. Detect. p. 500.

King Charles II. 1675.

publiſh any thing on the ſide of liberty and the proteſtant religion, but with the hazard of a priſon, and a conſiderable fine; nor is this to be wondered at, conſidering that Sir *Roger L'Eſtrange* was the ſole licenſer of the preſs.

Of Sir Roger L' Eſtrange.

This gentleman was a penſioner of the court, and a champion for the prerogative; he was a younger ſon of Sir *Hammond L'Eſtrange* of *Norfolk*, who having conceived hopes of ſurpriſing the town of *Lynn* for his majeſty in the year 1644, obtained a commiſſion from the king for that purpoſe, but being apprehended and tried by a court martial, for coming into the parliament's quarters as a ſpy, he was condemned, and ordered to be executed in *Smithfield Jan.* 2, 1644-5, but by the interceſſion of ſome powerful friends he was reprieved, and kept in *Newgate* ſeveral years. His ſufferings made ſuch an impreſſion on his ſpirit, that upon the king's reſtoration, he was reſolved to make repriſals on the whole party. He was maſter of a fine *engliſh* ſtile, and of a great deal of keen wit, which he employed without any regard to truth or candour, in the ſervice of popery and arbitrary power, and in vilifying the beſt and moſt undoubted patriots. Never did man fight ſo, to force the diſſenters into the church (ſays *Coke*), and when he had got them there, branded them for *trimmers*, and would turn them out again. He was a moſt mercenary writer, and had a pen at the ſervice of thoſe who would pay him beſt. *Forty-one* was his retreat againſt all who durſt contend againſt him and the prerogative. Sir *Roger* obſerved no meaſures with his adverſaries in his *weekly obſervators*, *citt and bumkin*, and other pamphlets; and when the falſeneſs of his reaſoning, and inſolence of his ſarcaſm, were expoſed, *like a ſecond don quixot*, he called aloud to the civil magiſtrate to come into his aid. He repreſented the religion of the diſſenters, as a medly of folly and enthuſiaſm; their principles and tempers as turbulent, ſeditious, and utterly inconſiſtent with the peace of the ſtate; their pretences as frivolous, and often hypocritical. He excited the government to uſe the utmoſt ſeverities to extirpate them out of the kingdom. He furniſhed the clergy with pulpit materials to rail at them, which they improved with equal eagerneſs and indiſcretion; ſo that popery was forgot, and nothing ſo common in their mouths as *forty-one*. *L'Eſtrange* publiſhed ſome of the *incautious* expreſſions of ſome of the diſſenters in the late times, which he picked out of their writings, to excite the populace againſt the whole party, as if it had not been eaſy to make repriſals from the ranting expreſſions of the tories of this reign: For theſe exploits he was maintained by the court, and knighted; and yet when the tide turned in the reign of king *James* II. he forgot *his raillery againſt the principles of the non-conformiſts*, and writ as zealouſly for liberty of conſcience, on the foot of the diſpenſing power, as any man in the kingdom.

Burnet, p. 461. Rapin.

But

King Charles II. 1675.

But in anſwer to the invectives of this venal tribe, a pamphlet was publiſhed with the approbation of ſeveral miniſters, entitled, *the principles and practices of ſeveral non-conformiſts, ſhewing that their religion is no other than what is profeſſed in the church of* England. The authors declare, "that they heartily own the proteſtant reformation *in doctrine*, "as contained in the articles of the church of *England* —— that they "are willing to embrace biſhop *Uſher*'s model of church government, "which king *Charles* I. admitted —— they hold it unlawful, by the "conſtitution and laws of this kingdom, for ſubjects to take arms a-"gainſt the king, his office, authority, or perſon, or thoſe legally com-"miſſioned and authorized by him; nor will they endeavour any alte-"ration in church or ſtate by any other means than by prayer to God, and "by petitioning their ſuperiors —— they acknowledge the king's ſu-"premacy over all perſons, *&c.* within his dominions —— they de-"clare that their doctrine tends to no unquietneſs or confuſion, any more "than the doctrine of the church of *England*. And they think it not "fair dealing in their adverſaries, to repeat and aggravate all intemperate "paſſages vented in the late times, when impetuous actings hurried men "into extremities; and *they apprehend it would not tend to the advantage "of the conforming clergy, if collections ſhould be publiſhed of all their im-"prudences and weakneſſes, as has been done on the other ſide* —— they "abhor ſeditious conventicles, and affirm, that inſurrections were never "contrived in their meetings, nor in any whereof they are conſcious. "Experience (ſay they) hath witneſſed our peaceableneſs, and that "diſloyalty or ſedition is not to be found among us, by the moſt inquiſi-"tive of our adverſaries —— They deſire the church of *England* to "take notice, that they have no mind to promote popiſh deſigns; that "they are aware of the advantage that papiſts make of the diviſions of "proteſtants —— that the invectives thrown out againſt them, are made "up only of big and ſwelling words, or of the indiſcretions of a few, "with which they are not chargeable — they don't pretend to be courtiers "or philoſophers, but they teach their people to fear God and honour "the king, to love the brotherhood, to bridle their tongues, to be "meek and lowly, and do their own work with quietneſs ——"

Corbet's *principles and practices of the* nonconf.

1676.

Though the perſecution continued very fierce, the non-conformiſts ventured to aſſemble in private, and ſeveral pamphlets were publiſhed about this time in their defence; as, *the peaceable deſign; or, an account of the non-conformiſt meetings.* By ſome *London* miniſters. Deſigned, ſays Dr *Stillingfleet*, to be preſented to parliament. *Reaſons which prevailed with the diſſenters in* Briſtol, *to continue their meetings however proſecuted or diſturbed —— Separation no ſchiſm —— A rebuke to informers; with a plea*

Pamphlets in favour of ſeparate meetings.

King Charles II. 1676.

for the miniſters of the goſpel called non-conformiſts, and their meetings; with advice to thoſe to whom the informers apply for aſſiſtance in their undertaking.

Of the informers. Conf. Plea, part III. p. 8, 9, 10.

INFORMERS were now become the terror of the non-conformiſts, and the reproach of a civilized nation. They went about in diſguiſe, and like wandering ſtrollers, lived upon the plunder of induſtrious families. They are a ſelect company (ſays the *conformiſts plea for the non-conformiſts*), whom the long-ſuffering of God permits for a time; they are of no good reputation; they do not ſo much as know the names or perſons in the country whom they moleſt, but go by report of their under ſervants and accomplices. They come from two or three counties off, to ſet up this new trade; whether they are papiſts or nominal proteſtants, who can tell? They never go to their pariſh churches, nor any other, but lie in wait and ambuſh for their prey; their eſtate is inviſible, their country unknown to many, and their morals are as bad as the very dregs of the age: Theſe are the men who direct and rule many of the magiſtrates; who live upon the ſpoil of better chriſtians and ſubjects than themſelves, and go away with honeſt mens goods honeſtly gotten. —— They are generally poor (ſays another writer), as are many of the *juſtices*, ſo that they ſhared the booty belonging to the king as well as the poor among themſelves; by which means the king and the poor got but little.

Sewel, p. 493.

Their methods.

Their practice was to inſinuate themſelves into an acquaintance with ſome under ſervants, or lodgers in a *non-conformiſt family*, under the cloak of religion, in order to diſcover the place of their *meeting*. They walked the ſtreets on the *Lord's day*, to obſerve which way any ſuſpected perſons went. They frequently ſet down in coffee-houſes, and places of public reſort, to liſten to converſation. They could turn themſelves into any ſhape, and counterfeit any principles, to obtain their ends. When they had diſcovered a conventicle, they immediately got a warrant from ſome who were called *confiding juſtices*, to break open the houſe. If the miniſter was in the midſt of his ſermon or prayer, they commanded him in the king's name, to come down from his pulpit; and if he did not immediately obey, a file of muſqueteers was uſually ſent up to pull him down by force, and to take him into cuſtody; the congregation was broke up, and the people guarded along the ſtreet to a magiſtrate, and from him to a priſon, unleſs they immediately paid their fines: The goods of the houſe were rifled, and frequently carried off, as a ſecurity for the large fine ſet upon it.

Their infamous lives and deaths.

This was a new way of raiſing contributions, but it ſeldom or never proſpered; that which was ill gotten was as ill ſpent, upon lewd women,

or

or in taverns and ale-houſes, in gaming or ſome kind of debauchery. An *informer* was but one degree above a beggar; there was a remarkable blaſt of providence upon their perſons and ſubſtance: Moſt of them died in poverty and extreme miſery; and as they lived in diſgrace, they ſeemed to die by a remarkable hand of God. *Stroud* and *Marſhal*, with all their plunder, could not keep out of priſon; and when *Keting*, another informer, was confined for debt, he writ to Mr. *Baxter* to endeavour his deliverance, confeſſing he believed God had ſent that calamity upon him, for giving him ſo much trouble. Another died in the *Compter* for debt; and great numbers by their vices came to miſerable and untimely ends. *King* Charles II. 1676.

But as ſome died off, others ſucceeded, who by the inſtigation of the court diſturbed all the meetings they could find. The king commanded the judges and juſtices of *London* to put the penal laws in ſtrict execution; and Sir *Joſ. Sheldon* lord mayor, and kinſman to the archbiſhop, did not fail to do his part. Sir *Thomas Davis* iſſued a warrant, to diſtrain on Mr. *Baxter* for fifty pounds, on account of his lecture in *New-ſtreet*; and when he had built a little chapel in *Oxenden-ſtreet*, the doors were ſhut up after he had preached in it once. In *April* this year, he was diſturbed by a company of conſtables and officers, as he was preaching in *Swallow-ſtreet*, who beat drums under the windows, to interrupt the ſervice, becauſe they had not a warrant to break open the houſe. *They are encouraged by the court.*

The court biſhops, as has been obſerved more than once, puſhed on the *informers* to do all the miſchief they could to the non-conformiſts; "the prelates will not ſuffer them to be quiet in their families (ſays a "conſiderable writer of theſe times), though they have given large and "ample teſtimonies, that they are willing to live quietly by their church "neighbours——" The diſſenting proteſtants have been reputed the only enemies of the nation, and therefore only perſecuted (ſays a noble writer), while the papiſts remain undiſturbed, being by the court thought loyal, and by our great biſhops not dangerous. Mr. *Locke*, biſhop *Burnet*, and others, have ſet a mark upon the names of archbiſhop *Sheldon*, biſhop *Morley*, *Gunning*, *Henchman*, *Ward*, &c. which will not be eaſily eraſed; but I mention no more, becauſe there were others of a better ſpirit who reſided in their dioceſes, and had no concern with the court. *And the biſhops.* State Tracts, Vol. II. p. 54, 55. Vol. III. p. 42, &c.

Among theſe we may reckon Dr. *Edward Reynolds* biſhop of *Norwich*, born in *Southampton* 1599, and educated in *Merton College Oxford*; he was preacher to the ſociety of *Lincoln's-Inn*, and reckoned one of the moſt eloquent preachers of his age, though he had ſome hoarſeneſs in his voice. In the time of the civil wars, he took part with the parliament, *Death of biſhop* Reynolds.

King Charles II. 1676.

and was *one of the aſſembly of divines.* In the year 1646, he was appointed one of the preachers to the univerſity of *Oxford*, and afterwards a *viſitor*. Upon the reform of the univerſity, he was made dean of *Chriſt Church*, and vicechancellor. After the king's death, he loſt his deanry for refuſing the *engagement*, but complied with all the other changes til the king's reſtoration, when he appeared with the preſbyterians, but was prevailed with to accept a biſhopric on the terms of the king's declaration, which never took place. He was a perſon of ſingular affability, meekneſs, and humility, and a frequent preacher. He was a conſtant reſident in his dioceſe, and a good old puritan, who never concerned himſelf with the politics of the court. He died at *Norwich Jan.* 16, 1676, *ætatis* ſeventy-ſix.

1677. *Dangerous ſtate of the nation.* Gazettee, Numb. 1203

The murmurs of the people againſt the government, increaſed rather than diminiſhed. When the parliament met, they addreſſed the king to enter into an alliance with the *dutch*, and other confederates, for preſerving the *ſpaniſh netherlands*, as the only means to ſave *Great Britain* from popery and ſlavery. But his majeſty declared, he would not ſuffer his prerogative of making war and peace to be invaded, nor be preſcribed to as to his alliances. However, he conſented to a ſeparate peace with the *dutch*, and then prorogued the parliament to the middle of *July*, by which time the *french* had almoſt compleated their conqueſts of the *ſpaniſh Flanders*. The chief thing the parliament could obtain, was the repeal of the popiſh act *de hæretico comburendo.*

Marriage of the prince of Orange *with the princeſs* Mary.

But when the campaign was over, his majeſty did one of the moſt popular actions of his reign, which was, marrying the princeſs MARY, eldeſt daughter of the duke of *York*, to the PRINCE of ORANGE. The king imagined he could oblige the *dutch* by this family alliance, to ſubmit to a diſadvantageous peace with the *french*; but when the prince declared roundly, that he would not ſacrifice his honour, nor the liberties of *Europe* for a wife, his majeſty ſaid, he was an honeſt man, and gave him the *princeſs* without any conditions, to the great joy of all the true friends of their country, who had now a proteſtant heir to the crown in view, though at ſome diſtance. The nuptials were ſolemnized *Nov.* 4, 1677, and the royal pair ſoon after embarked privately for *Holland.*

Death of archbp. Sheldon, *and promotion of* Sancroft *and* Compton.

This year died archbiſhop *Sheldon*, one of the moſt inveterate enemies of the non-conformiſts, a man of perſecuting principles, and a tool of the prerogative, who made a jeſt of religion, any farther than it was a political engine of ſtate. He was ſucceeded by Dr. *Sancroft*, who was deprived for *jacobitiſm* at the revolution. Dr. *Compton* was promoted to the ſee of *London*, in the room of Dr. *Henchman*, a man of weak but arbitrary principles, till it came to his turn to be a ſufferer. Many of the

the biſhops waited on the king this ſummer, for his commands to put the penal laws in execution, which they did with ſo much diligence, that Mr. *Baxter* ſays, he was ſo weary of keeping his doors ſhut, againſt perſons who came to diſtrain his goods for preaching, that he was forced to leave his houſe, to ſell his goods, and part with his very books. About twelve years (ſays he), I have been driven one hundred miles from them, and when I had paid dear for the carriage, after two or three years I was forced to ſell them. This was the caſe of many others, who being ſeparated from their families and friends, and having no way of ſubſiſtance, were forced to ſell their books, and houſhold furniture, to keep them from ſtarving.

King Charles II. 1677.

Baxter's *life*, part III. p. 171, 172.

This year died the reverend Dr. *Thomas Manton*, ejected from *Covent-Garden*; he was born in *Somerſetſhire* 1620, educated at *Tiverton* ſchool, and from thence placed in *Wadham College Oxon.* He was ordained by Dr. *Hall* biſhop of *Exeter*, when he was not more than twenty years of age: His firſt ſettlement was at *Stoke-Newington* near *London*, where he continued ſeven years, being generally eſteemed an excellent preacher, and a learned expoſitor of ſcripture. Upon the death or reſignation of Mr. *Obadiah Sedgwick*, he was preſented to the living of *Covent-Garden* by the duke of *Bedford*, and preached to a numerous congregation. The doctor was appointed one of the protector's chaplains, and one of the *triers* of perſons qualifications for the miniſtry; which ſervice he conſtantly attended. In the year 1660, he was very forward in concert with the preſbyterian miniſters, to accompliſh the king's reſtoration, and was one of the commiſſioners at the *Savoy* conference; He was then created doctor of divinity, and offered the deanry of *Rocheſter*, but declined it. After he was turned out of his living in 1662, he held a private meeting in his own houſe, but was impriſoned, and met with ſeveral diſturbances in his miniſterial work. He was conſulted in all the treaties for a comprehenſion with the eſtabliſhed church, and was high in the eſteem of the duke of *Bedford*, earl of *Mancheſter*, and other noble perſons. At length finding his conſtitution breaking, he reſigned himſelf to God's wiſe diſpoſal, and being ſeized with a kind of lethargy, he died *October* 18, 1677, in the fifty-ſeventh year of his age, and was buried in the chancel of the church of *Stoke-Newington*. Dr. *Bates* in his funeral ſermon ſays, he was a divine of a rich fancy, a ſtrong memory, and happy elocution, improved by diligent ſtudy. He was an excellent chriſtian, a fervent preacher, and every way a bleſſing to the church of God. His practical works were publiſhed in five volumes in folio, at ſeveral times after his death, and are in eſteem among the diſſenters to this day.

Death of Dr Manton.

About

King Charles II. 1677.

And of Mr. John Rowe.

About the ſame time died Mr. *John Rowe* M. A. born in the year 1626, and educated for ſome time at *Cambridge*, but tranſlated to *Oxford* about the time of the viſitation in the year 1648. Here he was admitted M. A. and fellow of *Corpus Chriſti College*. He was firſt lecturer at *Witney* in *Oxfordſhire*; afterwards preacher at *Tiverton* in *Devonſhire*, and one of the commiſſioners for ejecting ignorant and inſufficient miniſters in that county. Upon the death of Mr. *William Strong* in the year 1654, he was called to ſucceed him in the abbey church of *Weſtminſter*; at which place, as in all others, his ſermons were very much attended to by perſons of all perſuaſions. On the 14th of *March* 1659, he was appointed one of the approvers of miniſters by act of parliament; but on the king's reſtoration he gave way to the change of the times, and was ſilenced with his brethren by the act of uniformity. He was a divine of great gravity and piety; his ſermons were judicious and well ſtudied, fit for the audience of men of the beſt quality in thoſe times. After the *Bartholomew act*, he continued with his people, and preached to them in *Bartholomew-Cloſe*, and elſewhere, as the times would permit, till his death, which happened *October* 12, 1677, in the fifty-ſecond year of his age. He lies buried in *Bunhil-Fields*, under an altar monument of a brick foundation. The words with which he concluded his laſt ſermon were theſe, *we ſhould not deſire to continue longer in this world than to glorify God, to finiſh our work, and to be ready to ſay, farewel time, welcome bleſſed eternity: Even ſo come Lord Jeſus!*

CHAP. X.

From the popiſh plot *to the death of king* CHARLES II. *in the year* 1684-5.

1678. *Peace of* Nimeguen.

THE king having concluded a peace with the *dutch*, became mediator between the *french* and the confederates, at the treaty of *Nimeguen*; where the former managed the *engliſh* court ſo dextrouſly, that the emperor and *ſpaniards* were obliged to buy their peace, at the expence of the beſt part of *Flanders*.

From

From this time to the end of the king's reign, we meet with little elſe but *domeſtic quarrels* between the king and his parliament; *ſham plots*, and *furious ſallies of rage and revenge*, between the court and country parties. The non-conformiſts were very great ſufferers by theſe conteſts; the penal laws being in full force, and the execution of them in the hands of their avowed enemies. *King* Charles II. 1678.

No ſooner was the nation at peace abroad, but a formidable plot broke out at home, to take away the king's life, to ſubvert the conſtitution, to introduce popery, and to extirpate the proteſtant religion root and branch. It was called the POPISH PLOT, from the nature of the deſign, and the quality of the *conſpirators*, who were no leſs than pope *Innocent* XI. cardinal *Howard* his legat; and the *generals of the jeſuits* in *Spain* and at *Rome*. When the king was taken off, the duke of *York* was to receive the crown as a gift from the pope, and hold it in fee. If there happened any diſturbance, the city of *London* was to be fired, and the infamy of the whole affair to be laid upon the *preſbyterians* and *fanatics*, in hopes that the *churchmen* in the heat of their fury would cut them in pieces, which would make way for the more eaſy ſubverſion of the proteſtant religion. Thus an inſurrection, and perhaps a ſecond maſſacre of the proteſtants was intended; for this purpoſe they had great numbers of popiſh officers in pay, and ſome thouſands of men ſecretly liſted to appear as occaſion required; as was depoſed by the oaths of *Bedloe*, *Tongue*, Dr. *Oates*, and others. *The popiſh plot.* Eachard, p. 934.

The diſcovery of this plot, ſpread a prodigious alarm over the nation, and awakened the fears of thoſe who had been lulled into a fatal ſecurity. The king's life was the more valuable becauſe of the *popiſh ſucceſſor*, who was willing to run all riſks for the introducing his religion. The murder of Sir *Edmunbury Godfrey* at this juncture, a zealous and active proteſtant juſtice of peace, encreaſed men's ſuſpicions *of a plot*, and the depoſitions upon oath of the above-mentioned witneſſes, ſeemed to put it beyond all doubt; for upon their impeachment, Sir *G. Wakeman* the queen's phyſician, Mr. *Ed. Coleman* the duke of *York*'s ſecretary, Mr. *Richard Langhorne*, and eight other romiſh prieſts and jeſuits, were apprehended and ſecured. When the parliament met they voted, that *there was a damnable helliſh plot contrived and carried on by popiſh recuſants, againſt the life of the king and the proteſtant religion.* Five popiſh lords were ordered into cuſtody, *viz.* lord *Stafford*, *Powis*, *Arundel*, *Petre*, and *Bellaſys*. A proclamation was iſſued againſt papiſts; and the king was addreſſed to remove the duke of *York* from his perſon and councils. *Alarms the nation.*

Though

King Charles II. 1678.

Though the king gave himſelf no credit to the plot, yet finding it impracticable to ſtem the tide of the people's zeal, he conſented to the execution of the law, upon ſeveral of the condemned criminals: Mr. *Coleman*, and five of the jeſuits, were executed at *Tyburn*, who proteſted their innocence to the laſt; and a year or two forward lord *Stafford* was beheaded on *Tower-Hill*. But the court party turned the plot into ridicule; the king told lord *Halifax*, *that it was not probable that the papiſts ſhould conſpire to kill him, for have I not been kind enough to them (ſays his majeſty?) Yes (ſays his lordſhip) you have been too kind indeed to them; but they know you will only trot, and they want a prince that will gallop.* The court employed their tool Sir *Roger L'Eſtrange*, to write a weekly paper againſt the plot; and the country party encouraged Mr. *Car* to write *a weekly packet of advice from* Rome, *diſcovering the frauds and ſuperſtitions of that court*; for which he was arraigned, convicted and fined in the court of *King's-Bench*, and his papers forbid to be printed. An admirable order for a proteſtant court of judicature!

Not credited at court.

Act to diſqualify papiſts to ſit in parliament. Burnet, p. 436.

But it was impoſſible to allay the fears of the parliament, who had a quick ſenſe of the danger of popery, and therefore paſſed a bill, *to diſable all perſons of that religion from ſitting in either houſe of parliament*, which is ſtill in force, being excepted out of the act of toleration. The act requires all members of parliament to renounce by oath, *the doctrine of tranſubſtantiation, and to declare the worſhip of the virgin* Mary, *and of the ſaints, practiſed in the church of* Rome, *to be idolatrous*. Biſhop *Gunning* argued againſt charging the church of *Rome* with idolatry; but the houſe paid him little regard; and when the bill was paſſed, he took the oath in common with the reſt.

Occaſion of diſſolving the long parliament.

The duke of *York* got himſelf excepted out of the bill, but the fears of his acceſſion to the crown were ſo great, that there was a loud talk of bringing a bill into the houſe, to exclude him from the ſucceſſion as *a papiſt*, upon which the king came to the houſe *November* 9, and aſſured them, that he would conſent to any bills for ſecuring the proteſtant religion, *provided they did not impeach the right of ſucceſſion, nor the deſcent of the crown in the true line, nor the juſt rights of any proteſtant ſucceſſor.* But this not giving ſatisfaction, his majeſty towards the end of *December*, firſt prorogued, aud then diſſolved the parliament, after they had been choſen almoſt eighteen years.

Remarks on the popiſh plot.

It may be proper to obſerve concerning the *popiſh plot*, that though the king's life might not be immediately ſtruck at, yet there was ſuch ſtrong evidence to prove the reality of a plot, to *ſubvert the conſtitution and introduce popery*, that no diſintereſted perſon can doubt it. Mr. *Rapin* who had carefully conſidered the evidence, concludes that *there was a meditated*

ditated deſign ſupported by the king and the duke of York, *to render the king abſolute, and introduce the popiſh religion*; for this is preciſely what was meant by the plot: The deſign of killing the king was only an appendage to it, and an effect of the zeal of ſome private perſons, who thought the plot would be crowned with the ſurer ſucceſs, by ſpeedily ſetting the duke of *York* upon the throne. Biſhop *Burnet* adds, that though the king and he agreed in private converſation, that the greateſt part of the evidence was a contrivance, yet he confeſſes it appeared by *Coleman's* letters, that the deſign of converting the nation, and of rooting out the northern hereſy, was very near being executed. To which I beg leave to add, that though *the deſign of killing the king*, did not take place at this time, his majeſty felt the effects of it, in his violent death, four or five years afterwards. *King* Charles II. 1678. p. 427, 437.

This year died Mr. *Thomas Vincent* M. A. the ejected miniſter of *Milk-ſtreet*, born at *Hertford May* 1634, and educated in *Chriſt Church Oxford*. He was chaplain to *Robert* earl of *Leiceſter*, and afterwards miniſter of *Milk-ſtreet London*, till the act of uniformity took place. He was an humble and zealous preacher, of moderate principles, and an unſpotted life. He continued in the city throughout the whole plague, the aweſulneſs of which, gave him a peculiar fervency and zeal in his miniſterial work. On this occaſion he publiſhed ſome very awakening treatiſes; as *a ſpiritual antidote for a dying ſoul*; and *God's terrible voice in the city*. He not only preached in public, but viſited all the ſick who ſent for him in their infected houſes, being void of all fear of death. He continued in health during the whole of that dreadful calamity, and was afterwards uſeful, as the times would permit, to a numerous congregation, being generally reſpected by men of all perſuaſions; but his exceſſive labours put an end to his life *October* 15, 1678, in the forty-fifth year of his age. *Death of Mr* Tho. Vincent. Cal. cont. p. 30.

Mr. *Theophilus Gale* M. A. and fellow of *Magdalen College Oxford*, was ejected from *Wincheſter*, where he had been ſtated preacher for ſome time; after which he travelled abroad as tutor to the ſons of *Philip* lord *Wharton*. Upon his return, he ſettled with Mr. *John Rowe* as an aſſiſtant, in which ſtation he died. The *Oxford* hiſtorian allows, that he was a man of great reading, an exact philologiſt and philoſopher, a learned and induſtrious divine, as appears by his *court of the* gentiles, and *the vanity of pagan philoſophy*. He kept a little accademy for the inſtruction of youth, and was well verſed in the fathers, being at the ſame time a good metaphyſician and ſchool divine. He died of a conſumption this year, in the forty-ninth year of his age. *And of Mr.* Gale.

King Charles II. 1679.

A new parliament.

The king having ſummoned a new parliament to meet in *March*, all parties exerted themſelves in the elections; the *non-conformiſts* appeared generally for thoſe who were for proſecuting the *popiſh plot*, and *ſecuring a proteſtant ſucceſſion*: Theſe being eſteemed patriots and friends of liberty, in oppoſition to thoſe who made a loud cry for the church, and favoured the arbitrary meaſures of the court, and the perſonal intereſt of the duke of *York*. The elections in many places were the occaſion of great heat, but were carried almoſt every where againſt the court. Mr. *Rapin* ſays, that the preſbyterians, though long oppreſſed, were ſtill numerous in corporations. The *ſemi-conformiſts* (as Mr. *Eachard* calls the moderate churchmen), and the *diſſenters* were an one ſide, and the *high churchmen* and *papiſts* on the other. Before the parliament aſſembled, the duke of *York* was ſent out of the way to *Flanders*, but with this poſitive aſſurance, that *his majeſty would conſent to nothing in prejudice of his right of ſucceſſion*. And further to ingratiate himſelf with the people, and make a ſhew of moderation, a new privy counſel was choſen out of the low church party; but this not ſatisfying as long as the duke' ſucceſſion was in view, the commons ſoon after the opening the ſeſſions, ordered in a bill to diſable the duke of *York* from inheriting the imperial crown of *England*, and carried it through the houſe with a high hand. Upon which his majeſty came to the houſe and diſſolved them, before they had ſat three months. This threw the nation into new convulſions, and produced a great number of pamphlets againſt the govenment, the act for reſtraining the preſs being lately expired.

Mealtub plot. Burnet, p. 475. Rapin, p. 239, 240.

The *popiſh plot* having fixed a brand of infamy and ingratitude on the whole body of *roman* catholics, the courtiers attempted to relieve them, by ſetting on foot a *ſham proteſtant plot*, and fathering it upon the preſbyterians: For this purpoſe ſpies and other *mercenaries* were employed, to bring news from all parts of the town, which was then full of cabals. At length a plot was formed by one *Dangerfield*, a ſubtle and dangerous papiſt, but a very villain, who had been lately got out of gaol by the aſſiſtance of one Mrs. *Cellier* a midwife, a lewd woman, who carried him to the counteſs of *Powis*, whoſe huſband was in the *Tower* for the popiſh plot; with her he formed his ſcheme, and having got a liſt of the names of the chief proteſtant nobility and gentry, he writ treaſonable letters to them, to be left at the houſes of the non-conformiſts and other active proteſtants in ſeveral parts of *England*, that ſearch being made upon ſome other pretences, when the letters were found, they might be apprehended for treaſon. At the ſame time, he intruded into the company of ſome of the moſt zealous enemies of popery about town, and informed the king and the duke of *York*, that *he had been invited to accept of a commiſſion*; *that a new form of government was to be ſet up*; *and that the king and royal family*

mily were to be baniſhed. The ſtory was received with pleaſure, and *Dangerfield* had a preſent, and a penſion of three pounds a week, to carry on his correſpondence. Having got ſome little acquaintance with colonel *Manſel* in *Weſtminſter*, he made up a bundle of ſeditious letters, with the aſſiſtance of Mrs. *Cellier*, and having laid them in a dark corner of *Manſel*'s room behind the bed, he ſent for officers from the *Cuſtom-houſe*, to ſearch for prohibited goods while he was out of town, but none were found, except the bundle of letters, which, upon examination of the parties concerned, before the king and council, were proved to be counterfeit; upon which the court diſowned the plot, and having taken away *Dangerfield*'s penſion, ſent him to *Newgate*. Search being made into Mrs. *Cellier*'s houſe, there was found a little book in a *meal tub*, written very fair, and tied up with ribbands, which contained the whole ſcheme of the fiction. It was dictated by lady *Powis*, and proved by her maid to be laid there by her order, from whence it obtained the name of the *meal tub plot*. *Dangerfield*, who was a notorious lyar, finding himſelf undone if he perſiſted in what he could not ſupport, made an ample confeſſion, and publiſhed a narrative, wherein he declared, that *he was employed by the popiſh party*; *and chiefly by the popiſh lords in the* Tower, *with the counteſs of* Powis, *to invent the* MEAL TUB PLOT, *which was to have thrown the* POPISH PLOT *wholly upon the preſbyterians.* It was printed by order of the houſe of commons in the year 1680. *Dangerfield* being pardoned, went out of the way into *Flanders*; but returning to *England* in king *James*'s reign, he was tried for it, and ſentenced to be whipt at the cart's tail from *Newgate* to *Tyburn*; in his return from whence he was murdered by one *Frances* in the coach. Mrs. *Cellier* was tried *June* 11, 1680, before lord chief juſtice *Scroggs*, and acquitted for want of evidence. But the diſcovery, inſtead of relieving the papiſts from the charge of the popiſh plot, turned very much to their diſadvantage; for when the next parliament met, the houſe of commons reſolved, that Sir *Robert Can* be expelled the houſe and ſent to the *Tower*, for declaring publicly in the city of *Briſtol*, that there was no *popiſh* but a *preſbyterian* plot. Sir *Robert Yeomans* was ſent for into cuſtody on the ſame account; and Mr. *Richard Thompſon* a clergyman, was impeached for decrying the popiſh plot in his ſermon, *Jan.* 30, 1679, and for turning the ſame upon the *proteſtants*; for which, and for preaching againſt the liberty and property of the ſubject, and the privileges of parliament, the houſe declared him a *ſcandal and reproach to his profeſſion.*

King Charles II. 1679.

State Tracts, Vol. II. p. 217.

This year died the reverend and learned Mr. *Matthew Pool* M. A. the ejected miniſter of St. *Michael*'s *Querne*; he was born in *Yorkſhire*, and educated in *Emanuel College Cambridge*, a divine of great piety, charity,

Death of Mr Matt. Pool.

King Charles II. 1679.

and literature. He was indefatigable in his labours, and left behind him (ſays the *Oxford* hiſtorian), the character of a moſt celebrated critic and caſuiſt. After ten years cloſe application, he publiſhed his *ſynopſis criticorum*, in five folio's. He afterwards entered on a commentary upon the whole bible, but proceeded no further than the fifty-third chapter of *Iſaiah*: However, the deſign being valuable, was carried on, and compleated by other hands. Mr. *Pool* publiſhed ſeveral excellent treatiſes, as the *nullity of the romiſh faith*, &c. for which he was threatened to be aſſaſſinated; his name being in Dr. *Oates*'s liſt; he therefore retired to *Holland*, but died (as it is thought), by poiſon at *Amſterdam*, in the month of *October*, 1679, *ætat.* fifty-ſix.

Cal. cont. p. 15.

Of Dr. Thomas Goodwin.

Dr. *Thomas Goodwin*, born at *Roliſby* in *Norfolk*, and educated in *Katherine Hall Cambridge*. He was a great admirer of Dr. *Preſton*, and afterwards himſelf a famous preacher in *Cambridge*. In 1634 he left the univerſity, being diſſatisfied with the terms of conformity. In 1639 he went into *Holland*, and became paſtor of an *independent congregation at Arnheim*. He returned to *London* about the beginning of the long parliament, and was one of the diſſenting brethren in the aſſembly of divines. After the king's death, he was made preſident of *Magdalen College*, and one of the *tryers* of miniſters. He was in high eſteem with *Oliver Cromwell*, and attended him on his death-bed. In the common regiſter of the univerſity he is ſaid to be, *in ſcriptis theologicis quam plurimis orbi notis*, i. e. well known to the world by many theological writings. After the reſtoration he reſigned his preſidentſhip, and retired to *London*, where he continued the exerciſe of his miniſtry till his death, which happened *Feb.* 23, 1679-80, in the eighteenth year of his age. He was a good ſcholar, an eminent divine and textuary. His works are ſince printed in five folio's.

1680.

Of the petitioners *for the ſitting of the parliament, and of the* abhorers.

Eachard, p. 982, 987.

The laſt parliament being diſſolved abrubtly, a new one was convened for *October* 17, in which the elections went pretty much as in the laſt, the cry of the people being, *no popery, no penſioners, no arbitrary government*. But the king prorogued them from time to time for above a twelvemonth, without permitting them to finiſh any buſineſs. His majeſty falling ſick in the ſummer, the duke of *York* returned immediately to court without the king's leave, which alarmed the people, and made them eager for the ſitting of the parliament to regulate the ſucceſſion. This gave riſe to ſundry *petitions*, ſigned by great numbers of hands both in city and country, which the king received with the utmoſt diſpleaſure, telling the petitioners, that *he was ſole judge of what was fit to be done: You would not take it well (ſays he), if I ſhould meddle with your affairs, and I deſire you will not meddle with mine.* After this the king iſſued out his proclamation, declaring them to be illegal, and forbidding his

Gazette, No. 1468, 1489.

ſubjects

ſubjects to promote any *ſubſcriptions*, or to join in any petitions of this kind, upon peril of the utmoſt rigor of the law. Warrants were iſſued againſt ſeveral of the *petitioners*, and indictments preferred againſt others. But at the next ſeſſions of the common council of *London*, *Jan.* 21, the court agreed that no ſuch *petition* ſhould be preſented from them; and the king returned them thanks for it. Upon which addreſſes were procured from divers parts of the nation, expreſſing their *deteſtation* and *abhorrence* of the ſeditious practice of the late PETITIONERS, and referring the *ſitting of the parliament* abſolutely to the king's ſovereign pleaſure, from whence they obtained the name of ABHORRERS. In theſe addreſſes, they offer their lives and fortunes for the preſervation of his majeſty's perſon and government, and for the *ſucceſſion of the duke of York*. They renounce the right of the ſubjects petitioning, or intermeddling in affairs of ſtate, and lay their liberties at the feet of the prerogative, promiſing to ſtand by it, and to be *obedient without reſerve* to his majeſty's commands; which addreſſes were printed in the *gazettes*, and diſperſed over the kingdom. Theſe proceedings threw the people into a ferment; ſeveral of the privy council deſerted their ſtations, and deſired to be excuſed their attendance at council; ſome in the admiralty reſigned, and becauſe they might not petition, an ASSOCIATION was formed by ſundry perſons, and copied after the example of that in queen *Elizabeth*'s time, *for the defence of his majeſty's perſon, and the ſecurity of the proteſtant religion, and to revenge his majeſty's death upon the papiſts, if he ſhould come to any violent death.* A model of which was ſaid to be found among the earl of *Shaftſbury*'s papers. This was reſented very highly at court, as done without the royal authority, and produced the next year another ſet of *ranting addreſſes* from all parts of the kingdom, in which their lives and fortunes were given up to the king, and the *aſſociation* branded with the names of *damnable*, *curſed*, *execrable*, *traiterous*, *ſeditious*, and a *bond of rebellion*, which they *deteſt* and *abhor* from their very ſouls; in moſt of which the non-conformiſts are marked as enemies of the king and his government, and their conventicles as the encouragement and life of the *aſſociations*. They promiſe to ſtand by the *duke's ſucceſſion*, and to chooſe ſuch members for the next parliament, as ſhall do the king's buſineſs according to his mind. But notwithſtanding the utmoſt efforts of the court, the near approach of a popiſh ſucceſſor awakened mens fears, and kept them upon their guard.

King Charles II. 1680.

Burnet. p. 487.

The PETITIONERS for the ſitting of the parliament, and their adverſaries, the ABHORRERS of ſuch petitions, gave riſe to the two grand parties which have ſince divided the nation, under the diſtinguiſhing names of WHIG and TORY.

Which gave riſe to Whig *and* Tory.

The

King Charles II. 1680.

Of the Whigs.

The WHIGS or LOW CHURCHMEN were the more zealous proteſtants, declared enemies of popery, and willing to remove to a farther diſtance from their ſuperſtitions; they were firm to the conſtitution and liberties of their country; and for an union, or at leaſt a toleration of diſſenting proteſtants. The clergy of this perſuaſion were generally men of larger principles, and therefore were diſtinguiſhed by the name of *latitudinarian divines*; their laity were remarkable for their zeal in promoting the *bill of excluſion*, as the only expedient to ſecure the proteſtant eſtabliſhment in this kingdom. They were for confining the royal prerogative within the limits of the law, for which reaſon their adverſaries charged them with *republican principles*, and gave them the reproachful name of WHIGS or *ſour milk*, a name firſt given to the moſt rigid *ſcots* covenanters.

Of the Tories. Mem. p. 125.

The TORIES or HIGH CHURCHMEN ſtood on the ſide of the prerogative, and were for advancing the king above law; they went into all the arbitrary court meaſures, and adopted into our religion (ſays Dr. *Welwood*), a *mahometan* principle, under the names of *paſſive-obedience* and *non-reſiſtance*, which ſince the times of that impoſtor, who firſt broached it, has been the means to enſlave a great part of the world. Theſe gentlemen leaned more to a coalition with the papiſts, than with the preſbyterians. They cried up the name and authority of the church, and were for forcing the diſſenters to conformity, by all kinds of coercive methods; but with all their zeal, they were many of them perſons of lax and diſſolute morals, and would riſk the whole proteſtant religion rather than go into any meaſures of excluſion, or limitation of a popiſh ſucceſſor. Moſt of the clergy (ſays a member of parliament), are infected with the *Laudean* principles of raiſing money without parliament; one or two biſhops give meaſures to the reſt, and they to their clergy, ſo that all derive their politics from one or two, and are under the influence of an over-awing power. No men did more to enſlave the nation, and introduce popery into the eſtabliſhment than they; their adverſaries therefore gave them the name of TORIES, a title firſt given to *iriſh robbers*, who lived upon plunder, and were prepared for any daring or villainous enterprize.

Burnet. Collect. of Debates. p. 163.

The non-conformiſts fell in unanimouſly with the *whigs* or *low churchmen*, in all points relating to liberty and the civil conſtitution, as they muſt always do if they are conſiſtent with themſelves; but theſe with their allies were not a ſufficient ballance for the *tories*, the road to preferment lying through the territories of power; but they were kept in heart with ſome ſecret hopes, that *by a ſteady adherence to the conſtitution*, they ſhould one time or other obtain *a legal toleration*. But the ſuperior influence of the *tories* above the *whigs*, was the occaſion of the

the

the ſeverites which befel the non-conformiſts in the latter part of this reign. *King* Charles II. 1680.

When the parliament met *October* 21, the commons were very warm in maintaining the proteſtant religion and the privileges of parliament. They aſſerted the rights of the people to *petition* for the ſitting of parliaments, and voted the ABHORRERS betrayers of the liberties of the nation. Among other grievances they complained, that the edge of the penal laws was turned againſt *proteſtant diſſenters*, while the papiſts remained in a manner untouched —— That the *teſt act had little effect becauſe the papiſts either by diſpenſations obtained from* Rome, *ſubmitted to thoſe teſts, and held their offices themſelves; or thoſe put in their places were ſo favourable to the ſame intereſt, that popery itſelf had rather gained than loſt ground by that act.* They declared for that very ASSOCIATION, to revenge the king's death upon the papiſts, if his majeſty ſhould happen to be aſſaſſinated, which the tories had *abhorred*; and in the month of *November* revived the bill, *to diſable the duke of* York *from inheriting the imperial crown of theſe realms.* It was introduced by lord *Ruſſel*, and paſſed the commons by a great majority, but was thrown out of the houſe of lords by a majority of thirty voices, no's ſixty three, yea's thirty three, the *bench of biſhops* being in the negative, and the king preſent during the whole debate. It has been ſaid, king *Charles* came into the bill at firſt, the favourite miſtreſs having prevailed with him to abandon his brother, for a large ſum of money, and for an act of parliament to enable him to diſpoſe of the crown by will, under certain reſtrictions; but a foreign popiſh court offering more money, he oppoſed it to the laſt.

Proceedings of parliament. Rapin, p. 268. Eachard, p. 995.

Bil of excluſion brought in a ſecond time.

Wel. Mem. p. 127.

The parliament being inclined to relieve the non-conformiſts, appointed a committee *Nov.* 18, who agreed upon a *comprehenſion with the diſſenters*, upon much the ſame terms with thoſe already mentioned; they were to ſubſcribe the doctrinal articles of the church; the *ſurplice* was to be omitted, except in cathedrals and the king's chapel; the *ceremonies* to be left indifferent. And as for ſuch proteſtants as could not be comprehended within theſe terms, they were to have a toleration, and freedom from the penal ſtatutes, upon condition of ſubſcribing a declaration of allegiance, *&c.* and of aſſembling with open doors. Biſhop *Burnet* ſays, the bill for a comprehenſion was offered by the epiſcopal party in the houſe of commons, but that the friends of the diſſenters did not ſeem forward to promote it, becauſe (as Mr. *Baxter* obſerves), they found the bill would not go; or if it had paſſed the commons, it would have been thrown out by the biſhops in the houſe of lords; the *clergy (ſays* Kennet), *being no further in earneſt, than as they apprehended the knife of the papiſts at their throats.*

Attempts for a comprehenſion.

When

King Charles II. 1680.

When the above-mentioned bill was brought into the houſe *December* 21, entituled *an act for uniting his majeſty's proteſtant ſubjects*, the firſt gentleman of the court party who ſpoke againſt it obſerved, "that "there were a ſort of men who would neither be adviſed nor over-"ruled, but under the pretence of conſcience break violently through "all laws whatſoever; to the great diſturbance both of church and "ſtate; therefore he thought it more convenient to have a law, for "forcing the diſſenters to yield to the church, and not to force the "church to yield to them ——" Another ſaid, "he was afraid, that "if once the government ſhould begin to yield to the diſſenters, it "would be as in *forty one*, nothing would ſerve but an utter ſubverſion; "the receiving of one thing would give occaſion for demanding more; "and it would be impoſſible to give them any ſatisfaction without lay-"ing all open, and running into confuſion." This was the common language of the tories. And there has been a loud cry againſt the diſſenters, for their obſtinacy and perverſeneſs, though not a ſingle conceſſion had been offered ſince the reſtoration, to let the world ſee how far they would yield; or by receiving a denial, to get an oppportunity to reproach them with greater advantage. But in favour of the bill it was urged by others, "that it was intended for the preſervation of the "church, and the beſt bill that could be made in order thereto, all "circumſtances conſidered —— If we are to deal with a ſtubborn ſort "of people, who in many things prefer their humour before reaſon, "or their own ſafety, or the public good, this is a very good time to "ſee, whether they will be drawn by the cords of love or no. The "bill will be very agreeable to the chriſtian charity which our church "profeſſes; and it may be hoped, that in the time of this imminent "danger, they will conſider their own ſafety, and the ſafety of the pro-"teſtant religion, and no longer keep a-foot the unhappy diviſions a-"mong us, on which the papiſts ground their hopes; but when they "ſee the church ſo far condeſcend, as to diſpenſe with the *ſurplice, and* "*thoſe other things they ſcruple*, that they will ſubmit to the reſt which "are enjoined by law, that ſo we may unite againſt the common ene-"my. But if this bill ſhould not have the deſired effect, but on the "contrary, the diſſenters ſhould continue their animoſities and diſobe-"dience to the church, I think ſtill the church will gain very much "hereby, and leave the party without excuſe —" This ſeems agreeable to reaſon.

Speeches againſt it. Eachard, p. 999.

Others in favour of it.

It is loſt, and a bill for a toleration, or eaſing them from the penalties of 35 Eliz. *introduced.* Burnet, p. 494.

Although the bill for a comprehenſion was committed, it did not paſs the houſe, being changed for another, entituled, *an act to exempt his majeſty's proteſtant ſubjects, diſſenting from the church of* England, *from the penalties impoſed upon the papiſts by the act of* 35*th* Eliz. By which act

act non-conformiſts were adjudged to perpetual impriſonment, or obliged to abjure (that is) depart the realm never to return. This terrible law had lain dormant almoſt eighty years, but was now revived, and threatened to be put in execution by the *tories*. The *repeal* paſſed the houſe of commons with a high hand, but went heavily through the houſe of lords; the *biſhops* apprehending that the terror of the law might be of ſome uſe; but when it ſhould have been offered to the king for the royal aſſent at the cloſe of the ſeſſion, it was miſſing, and never heard of any more, the clerk of the crown having withdrawn it from the table, by the king's particular order. The king (ſays *Burnet*), had no mind openly to deny the bill, but leſs mind to paſs it, and therefore this illegal method was taken, which was an high offence in the officer of the houſe, and would have been ſeverely puniſhed in the next ſeſſion, if the parliament had not been abruptly diſſolved. Thus the *non-conformiſts* were ſawn to pieces between the king, the biſhops, and the parliament; when one party was willing to give them relief, the other always ſtood in the way. The *parliament* was their enemy for about twelve years, and now *they* are ſoftened, *the king* and the *court biſhops* are inflexible; and his majeſty will rather ſacrifice the conſtitution to his deſpotic will, than exempt them from an old law which ſubjected them to baniſhment and death.

King Charles II. 1680.

Withdrawn by the clerk of the crown.

However, the morning before the houſe was prorogued, *January* 10, two votes were paſſed of a very extraordinary nature. "1. Reſolved "*nemine contradicente, that it is the opinion of this houſe, that the acts of* "*parliament made in the reigns of queen* Elizabeth *and king* James *a-* "*gainſt popiſh recuſants, ought not to be extended againſt proteſtant diſ-* "*ſenters.* 2. Reſolved, that it is the opinion of this houſe, *that the pro-* "*ſecution of proteſtant diſſenters upon the penal laws, is at this time grievous* "*to the ſubject, a weakening the proteſtant intereſt, an encouragement to* "*popery, and dangerous to the peace of the kingdom.*" Biſhop *Burnet* ſays, theſe reſolutions were thought an invaſion of the legiſlature, when one houſe pretended to ſuſpend the execution of the laws; which was to act like dictators in the ſtate. But with all due ſubmiſſion I ſhould think, that this cannot be conſtrued a ſuſpenſion of thoſe laws, and that a houſe of commons, which is not ſuffered to ſit and repeal laws, or when they have repealed them have their bills withdrawn illegally by the crown, may have liberty to declare their judgment, that the continuance of thoſe laws is burdenſome to the ſtate. They muſt do ſo (ſays Mr. *Coke*), in order to a repeal. If the bill for the repeal of the old popiſh act *de hæretico comburendo* for *burning heretics*, which the parliament were afraid might be revived in a popiſh reign, had been loſt in this manner, might not the parliament have declared the execution of that law a

Votes of the commons. Eachard. p. 495. p. 561.

King Charles II. 1680.

weakening to the proteſtant intereſt, or dangerous to the peace of the kingdom?

Dr. Stillingfleet *writes againſt the diſſenters.* p. 276.

While the parliament was endeavouring to relieve the diſſenters, and charging the miſeries of the kingdom upon the papiſts, many of the biſhops and clergy of the church of *England*, were pleaſed to ſee the *court* enclined to proſecute the non-conformiſts. The clergy in general (ſays *Rapin*), were attached to the court; men of doubtful religion were promoted, and there was reaſon to charge them with leaning to popery. Even ſome able champions againſt popery, went ſo far into the court meaſures, as to impute the calamities of the times to the non-conformiſts; and to raiſe the cry of the populace againſt them. Dr. *Edward Stillingfleet*, who had writ an *Irenicum* in favour of liberty, and againſt *impoſitions*, in his ſermon before the lord mayor, *May* 2 this year, intituled, *the miſchief of ſeparation*, condemned all the diſſenters as *ſchiſmatics*; and very gravely adviſed them not to complain of perſecution. When the ſermon was publiſhed, it brought upon the doctor ſeveral learned adverſaries, as Mr. *Baxter*, Mr. *Alſop*, Mr. *Howe*, Mr. *Barret*, and Dr. *Owen*; from which laſt divine, who writ with great temper and ſeriouſneſs, I will venture to tranſcribe the following paſſage, without entering into the argument: "After ſo many of the non-conformiſts have "died in common gaols (ſays the doctor), ſo many have endured long "impriſonments, not a few being at this day in the ſame durance; ſo "many driven from their habitations into a wandering condition to "preſerve for a while the liberty of their perſons; ſo many have been "reduced to want and penury by the taking away their goods, and "from ſome the very inſtruments of their livelihood. After the pro"ſecution that has been againſt them in all courts of juſtice in this na"tion, on informations, indictments, and ſuits, to the great charge of "all who have been ſo perſecuted, and the ruin of ſome. After ſo "many miniſters and their families have been brought into the utmoſt "outward ſtraits which nature can ſubſiſt under; after all their perpetual "fears and dangers wherewith they have been exerciſed and diſquieted, "they think it hard to be cenſured for *complaining*, by them who are at "eaſe." The doctor endeavoured to ſupport his charge by the ſuffrage of the *french* preſbyterians; and *Compton* biſhop of *London* applied to monſieur *Le Moyne*, and ſeveral others, for their opinions; as if truth was to be determined by numbers; or as if the *engliſh* preſbyterians could pay a vaſt difference to *their* judgments, who had ſo deceived them at the reſtoration. The miniſters bred up in *french* complaiſance, and under *french* ſlavery, after high ſtrains of compliment to the *engliſh* biſhops, declared, that they were of opinion, their brethren might comply; and that *they were not for puſhing things to extremity only for a different*

Various anſwers to his ſermon.

p. 53, 54.

Collyer, p. 900.

ferent form of government. Which the doctor and his friends interpreted as a deciſion in their favour. But did not the biſhops exaſperate the ſpirits of their diſſenting brethren, by enforcing the ſanguinary laws? Were theſe proteſtant methods of converſion, or likely to bring them to temper? The *french* miniſters complained ſufficiently of this about five years after, at the revocation of the edict of *Nantz*; biſhop *Burnet* remarks of Dr. *Stillingfleet* on this occaſion, that he not only retracted his *Irenicum*, but went into the humours of the high ſort of people beyond what became him, perhaps *beyond his own ſenſe of things.* *King* Charles II. 1681. Vol. I. p. 189.

This year died Mr. *Stephen Charnock* B. D. firſt of *Emanuel College Cambridge*; and afterwards fellow of *New College Oxford.* He was chaplain to *Henry Cromwell* lieutenant of *Ireland*, and was much reſpected by perſons of the beſt quality in the city of *Dublin* for his polite behaviour. After the reſtoration he returned into *England*, and became paſtor of a ſeparate congregation in *London*, where he was admired by the more judicious part of his hearers, though not popular, becauſe of his diſadvantageous way of reading with a glaſs: He was an eminent divine, and had a good judgment, a curious imagination, and a ſtrong manner of reaſoning, as appears by his works printed ſince his death in two volumes folio; which were no other than his common ſermons tranſcribed from his notes; his ſtile is manly and lofty, and his thoughts ſublime: His love and charity were very extenſive, and there was no part of learning to which he was a ſtranger. He died *July* 27, 1680, aged fifty-two. *Death of Mr* Charnock.

The king having parted with his laſt parliament in diſpleaſure, without being able to obtain any money, reſolved once more to try a new one; and apprehending that the malecontents were encouraged by the neighbourhood of the city of *London*, he ſummoned them to meet at *Oxford*; the ſame repreſentatives being rechoſen for *London*, had a paper put into their hands by four merchants, in the name of all the citizens then aſſembled in the common hall, containing a return of their moſt hearty thanks for their faithful and unwearied endeavours in the two laſt parliaments, to ſearch into the depth of the popiſh plot, to preſerve the proteſtant religion, to promote an union among his majeſty's proteſtant ſubjects, to repeal the thirty-fifth of *Elizabeth*, and the *corporation act*, and to promote the *bill of excluſion*, and to requeſt their continuance of the ſame. The members being afraid of violence, were attended to *Oxford* with a numerous body of horſe, having ribbons in their hats, with this motto, *no popery*; *no ſlavery*; the citizens having promiſed to ſtand by them with their lives and fortunes. Many other papers of the like nature were preſented to the members in the ſeveral counties. 1681. *The* Oxford *parliament.* Eachard, p 1002. Rapin, p. 284.

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counties. The king in his ſpeech at the opening the ſeſſions, *March* 21, reflected ſeverely on the laſt parliament, and ſaid, *he was reſolved to maintain the ſucceſſion of the crown in the right line*, and for quieting people's fears, he was willing to put the adminiſtration into the hands of a *proteſtant regent*; but the commons rejected the propoſal, to the inexpreſſible joy of the duke's party, and ordered the *bill of excluſion* to be brought in again. In the mean time a motion was made to conſider of the loſs of the bill in favour of the *diſſenters* laſt parliament. Sir *William Jones* ſaid, "the bill was of great moment and ſervice to the "country, and might be to their lives, in the time of a popiſh ſucceſſor; "but be the bill what it will, the precedent was of the higheſt conſe- "quence; the king has a *negative* to all bills, but ſurely the clerk of "the parliament has not. —— If this way be found out, that bills "ſhall be thrown by, it may hereafter be ſaid, they were forgot and "laid by, and ſo we ſhall never know whether the king would paſs "them or no: If this be ſuffered 'tis in vain to ſpend time "here ——" In concluſion this affair was referred to a conference with the houſe of lords, which was fruſtrated by the haſty diſſolution of the parliament.

They revive the bill of excluſion. Their proceeding about the withdrawing the toleration bill.

Fitz Harris's *ſham plot deſigned againſt the diſſenters.* Burnet, p. 497. Eachard.

They next went upon the libel of one *Fitz-Harris*, an *iriſh papiſt*, which was a ſecond *meal tub plot*, promoted in the name of the nonconformiſts; the libel was to be ſent by penny poſt letters to the lords who had proteſted in favour of the bill of excluſion, and to the leading men in the houſe of commons, who were immediately to be apprehended and ſearched. *Everard*, who was *Fitz-Harris*'s confident, and betrayed the ſecret, affirmed that the king himſelf was privy to it, as *Fitz-Harris*'s wife averred to a perſon of worth many years after; that his majeſty had given *Fitz-Harris* money, and promiſed him more if it met with ſucceſs. The *libel* was to traduce the king and the royal family as papiſts, and arbitrarily affected from the beginning, and ſays, that king *Charles* I. had a hand in the *iriſh* rebellion —— That the act forbidding to call the king a papiſt, was only to ſtop mens mouths, and that it was as much in the power of the people to depoſe a *popiſh poſſeſſor* as a *popiſh ſucceſſor*. It was entituled the *true* engliſh-man *ſpeaking plain* engliſh; and adds, "If JAMES be conſcious and guilty, CHARLES "is ſo too; believe me theſe two brothers in iniquity are in confedera- "cy with the pope and the *french*, to introduce popery and arbitrary go- "vernment, and to caſt off parliaments, *magna charta*, and the liberty "of the ſubject, as heavy yokes, and to be as arbitrary as the king of "*France* —— Let the *engliſh* move and riſe as one man to ſelf-defence; "blow the trumpet, ſtand on your guard, and withſtand them as bears

His libel.

"and

" and tygers —— Truſt to your ſwords in defence of your lives, liber- *King Charles II. 1681.*
" ties, and religion, like the ſtout earl of old, who told his king, if he
" could not be defended by *magna charta*, he would be relieved by
" *longa ſpada*." He goes on to reproach the king with the breach of his *ſcots oaths*, *Breda promiſes*, *proteſtant profeſſion*, *liberty of conſcience*, as deſigned only to delude proteſtants; and puts him in mind of all his political and moral vices, as intended to debauch the nation, to promote the popiſh religion and arbitrary government, *&c.* Thus were the non-conformiſts to be expoſed again to the reſentments of the nation; but when the ſham was diſcovered to the houſe of commons by Sir *William Waller*, he received the thanks of the houſe, and *Fitz-Harris*, though im- *He is executed.*
peached in parliament, was tried by a jury, and executed with Dr. *Plunket* the titular primate of *Ireland*. The whigs would have ſaved *Fitz-Harris*, though a papiſt, in hopes of his being an evidence in the popiſh plot; but the court was reſolved to diſpatch him out of the way, that he might tell no more tales.

His majeſty hearing that the *bill of excluſion* was to be brought into *Sudden diſſolution of the parliament.* Burnet, p. 499.
the houſe again, went ſuddenly, and not very decently (ſays *Burnet*), to the houſe of lords in a *ſedan*, with the crown between his feet, and having put on his robes in haſte, called up the commons and diſſolved his fifth and laſt parliament, after they had ſat only ſeven days. As ſoon as his majeſty got out of the houſe, he poſted away in all haſte to *Windſor*, as one that was glad he had got rid of his parliament, which was the laſt that he ever convened; though he lived three or four years after. And here was an end of the conſtitution and liberties of *England* for the preſent; all that followed to the king's death, was no more than the convulſions and ſtruggles of a dying man. The king raiſed what money he wanted without parliaments; he took away all the charters of *England*, and governed abſolutely by dint of prerogative. *April* the 8th the king *King's declaration of reaſons for it.*
publiſhed a *declaration to all his loving ſubjects, touching the cauſes and reaſons that moved him to diſſolve the two laſt parliaments*; and ordered it to be read in all the churches and chapels throughout *England*. It contains a recital of his majeſty's condeſcenſions for the ſecurity of the proteſtant religion, *as far as was conſiſtent with the ſucceſſion of the crown in the lineal deſcent*; and a large rehearſal of the unſuitable returns of the commons. —— " But notwithſtanding all this (ſays his majeſty), let not
" theſe men, who are labouring to poiſon our people with *commonwealth*
" *principles*, perſuade any of our ſubjects that we intend to lay aſide the
" uſe of parliaments, for we ſtill declare, that no irregularities in par-
" liaments, ſhall make us out of love with them; and we are reſolved
" by the bleſſing of God, to have frequent parliaments;" although he never called another. Several anonymous remarks were made upon *this declaration*

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declaration, to weaken its influence. But the court uſed all its intereſt among the people to ſupport it's credit: Addreſſes were ſent from all parts, thanking his majeſty for his *declaration*, promiſing to ſupport his perſon and government with their lives and fortunes. Moſt of them declared againſt the *bill of excluſion*, and for the duke's ſucceſſion (as has been obſerved.) Some ventured to arraign the late parliament as guilty of ſedition and treaſon, and to pray his majeſty to put in execution the ſtatute of 35 *Eliz.* againſt the non-conformiſts. The grand juries, the juſtices at their ſeſſion, divers boroughs and corporations, the companies in towns, and at laſt the very apprentices, ſent up addreſſes. Thoſe who preſented or procured them were well treated at court, and ſome of them knighted. Many zealous healths were drank, and in their cups the ſwaggerings of the old cavaliers, ſeemed to be revived. One of the moſt celebrated addreſſes was from the univerſity of *Cambridge*, preſented by Dr. *Gower* maſter of St. *John's*, which I ſhall give the reader as a ſpecimen of the reſt. It begins thus, "Sacred Sir! We your majeſty's "moſt faithful and obedient ſubjects have long, with the greateſt and "ſincereſt joy, beheld the generous emulation of our fellow-ſubjects, "contending who ſhould beſt expreſs their duty to their ſovereign at "this time, when the ſeditious endeavours of unreaſonable men, have "made it neceſſary to aſſert the ancient loyalty of the *engliſh* nation. "—— It is at preſent the great honour of this your univerſity, not only to be ſtedfaſt and conſtant in our duty, but to be eminently ſo, "and to ſuffer for it as much as the calumnies and reproaches of factious and malicious men can inflict upon us. And that they have not "proceeded to ſequeſtration and plunder, as heretofore, next to the "over-ruling providence of almighty God, is only due to the royal care "and prudence of your moſt ſacred majeſty, who gave ſo ſeaſonable a "check to their arbitrary and inſolent undertakings. —— *We ſtill be-* "*lieve and maintain, that our kings derive not their power from the people,* "*but from God; that to him only they are accountable; that it be-* "*longs not to ſubjects either to create or cenſure, but to honour and obey* "*their ſovereign, who comes to be ſo by a fundamental, hereditary right of* "*ſucceſſion, which no religion, no law, no fault or forfeiture can alter or* "*diminiſh*; nor will we abate of our well inſtructed zeal for the church "of *England* as by law eſtabliſhed. —— Thus we have learned "our own, and thus we teach others their duty to God and the "king ——" His majeſty diſcovered an unuſual ſatisfaction on this occaſion, and after having returned them thanks, was pleaſed to add, that *no other church in the world taught and practiſed loyalty ſo conſcientiouſly as they did.*

Burnet, p. 500, 506.

Addreſs from the univerſity of Cambridge.

As

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As ſuch abject and ſervile flattery could not fail of pleaſing the king, it muſt neceſſarily draw down vengeance on the non-conformiſts, who joined in none of their addreſſes, but were doomed to ſuffer under a double character, as *whigs*, and as *diſſenters*. " This (ſays biſhop *Burnet*), " was ſet on by the papiſts, and it was wiſely done of them, for they " knew how much the *non-conformiſts* were ſet againſt them. They " made uſe alſo of the indiſcreet zeal of the *high church clergymen* to " ruin them, which they knew would render the clergy odious, and " give the papiſts great advantage when opportunity offered." The times were boiſterous and ſtormy; ſham plots were contrived, and warrants iſſued againſt the leaders of the whig party for ſeditious language; *Shaftſbury*, now called the *proteſtant carl*, was ſent to the *Tower*, and *Stephen College*, the *proteſtant joiner*, was carried to *Oxford*, and hanged; after the grand jury in *London* had brought in a bill of indictment againſt him *ignoramus*. Witneſſes were imported from *Ireland*, and employed to ſwear away men's lives. " The court intended to ſet them to ſwear againſt " all the hot party, which was plainly murder in them who believed them " falſe witneſſes (ſays *Burnet*), and yet made uſe of them to deſtroy o- " thers." Spies were planted in all coffee-houſes, to furniſh out evidence for the witneſſes. Mercenary juſtices were put into commiſſion all over the kingdom; juries were packed; and with regard to the non-conformiſts, informers of the vileſt of the people were countenanced to a ſhameful degree, inſomuch that the gaols were quickly filled with priſoners, and large ſums of money extorted from the induſtrious and conſcientious, and played into the hands of the moſt profligate wretches in the nation.

Perſecution of the diſſenters revived by order of the king and court.

p. 528.

p. 501, 505, 506.

Orders of the king and council.

Eachard.

The juſtices of *Middleſex* ſhewed great forwardneſs, and repreſented to his majeſty in *December*, " that an intimation of his pleaſure was ne- " ceſſary at this time, to the putting the laws in execution againſt con- " venticles, becauſe when a charge was lately given at the council-board " to put the laws in execution againſt popiſh recuſants, no mention was " made of ſuppreſſing conventicles." Upon this his majeſty commanded the lord mayor, aldermen, and juſtices, to uſe their utmoſt endeavour to ſuppreſs all conventicles and unlawful meetings, upon pretence of religious worſhip, for it was his expreſs pleaſure, that the laws be effectually put in execution againſt them, both in city and country. Accordingly the juſtices of peace at their ſeſſions at *Hickes's Hall*, *Jan.* 13, ordered, " that whereas the conſtables and church-wardens, *&c.* of every " pariſh and precinct within the ſaid county, had been enjoined laſt ſeſ- " ſions to make a return the firſt day of this, of the names of the " preachers in conventicles, and the moſt conſiderable frequenters of " the ſame within their ſeveral limits; which order not being obeyed,

" but

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" but contemned by ſome, it was therefore by the juſtices then aſſembled " deſired, that the lord biſhop of *London* will pleaſe to direct thoſe offi- " cers which are under his juriſdiction, to uſe their utmoſt diligence, " that all ſuch perſons may be excommunicated who commit crimes de- " ſerving the eccleſiaſtical cenſure; and that the ſaid excommunications " may be publiſhed in the pariſhes where the perſons live, that they may " be taken notice of, and be obvious to the penalties that belong to " perſons excommunicate, (*viz.*) *not to be admitted for a witneſs, or re-* " *turned upon juries, or capable of ſuing for any debt.*" They further ordered at the ſame time, " that the ſtatute of the firſt of *Eliz.* and " third of king *James*, be put in due execution, for the levying twelve " pence *per* ſunday upon ſuch perſons who repaired not to divine ſervice " and ſermons at their pariſh, or ſome other public church." All which (ſays Mt. *Eachard*), made way for all ſorts of proſecutions both in city and country, which in many places were carried on with great ſpight and ſeverity, where there never wanted buſy agents and informers, of which a few were ſufficient to put the laws in execution; ſo that *the diſſenters this year, and much longer* (ſays he), *met with cruel and unchriſtian uſage*; which occaſioned great complaints among the people, and ſome ſevere reflections on the king himſelf.

Treatiſes publiſhed in favour of diſſenters.

It was not in the power of the *church-whigs* to relieve the *non-conformiſts*, nor ſcreen them from the edge of the penal laws, which were in the hands of their enemies. All that could be done was to encourage their conſtancy, and to write ſome compaſſionate treatiſes to move the people in their favour, by ſhewing them, that while they were plundering and deſtroying their proteſtant diſſenting neighbours, they were cutting the throat of the reformed religion, and making way for the triumphs of popery upon its ruins. Among other writings of this ſort, the moſt famous was, *the conformiſts plea for the non-conformiſts*, in four parts, *by a beneficed miniſter and a regular ſon of the church of* England. In which the author undertakes to ſhew, 1. The greatneſs of their ſufferings. 2. The hardſhips of their caſe. 3. The reaſonableneſs and equity of their propoſals for union. 4. The qualifications and worth of their miniſters. 5. Their peaceable behaviour. 6. Their agreement with the church of *England* in the articles of her faith. 7. The prejudice to the church by their excluſion; and then concludes, with an account of the infamous lives, and lamentable deaths, of ſeveral of the informers. It was a ſenſible and moving performance, but had no influence on the tory juſtices, and tribe of informers. There was no ſtemming the tide; every one who was not a furious tory (ſays *Rapin*), was reputed a preſbyterian.

Moſt

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Moſt of the clergy were with the court, and diſtinguiſhed themſelves on the ſide of perſecution. The pulpits every where reſounded with the doctrines of *paſſive-obedience* and *non-reſiſtance*, which were carried to all the heights of king *Charles* I. No eaſtern monarch (according to them), was more abſolute than the king of *England*. They expreſſed ſuch a zeal for the duke's ſucceſſion, as if a popiſh king over a proteſtant country, had been a ſpecial bleſſing from heaven. They likewiſe gave themſelves ſuch a looſe againſt *proteſtant non-conformiſts*, as if nothing was ſo formidable as that party. In all their ſermons, *popery* was quite forgot (ſays *Burnet*), and the force of their zeal was turned almoſt wholly againſt *proteſtant diſſenters*. In many country places the *parſon of the pariſh*, who could bully and drink, and ſwear, was put into the commiſſion of the peace, and made *a confiding juſtice*, by which means he was both judge and party in his own cauſe. If any of his ſober pariſhioners did not appear at church, they were ſure to be ſummoned, and inſtead of the mildneſs and gentleneſs of a chriſtian clergyman, they uſually met with haughty and abuſive language, and the utmoſt rigor the law could inflict. There was alſo a great change made in the *commiſſions* throughout *England*. A ſet of *confiding magiſtrates* was appointed; and none were left on the bench, or in the militia, that did not declare for the arbitrary meaſures of the court; and ſuch of the clergy as were averſe to this fury were declaimed againſt as *betrayers of the church*, and ſecret favourers of the diſſenters; but the truth is (ſays the biſhop), *the number of ſober honeſt clergymen was not great*, for where the carcaſe is, there will the eagles be gathered together. The ſcent of preferment will draw aſpiring men after it. Upon the whole, the preſent times were very lowring, and the proſpect under a popiſh ſucceſſor ſtill more threatening.

The conduct of the high church clergy.

Rapin, p. 309, 310. Burnet, p. 501.

Sufferings of the non-conformiſts.

It would fill a volume, to enter into all the particulars of theſe unchriſtian proceedings, which even the black regiſters of the ſpiritual courts cannot fully unfold. The reverend Mr. *Edward Bury* aſſiſting at a private faſt, on account of the extraordinary drought, was apprehended *June* 14, and fined twenty pounds; and refuſing to pay it, becauſe he did not preach, they took away his goods, books, and even the bed he lay upon. The reverend Mr. *Philip Henry* was apprehended at the ſame time, and fined forty pounds, and for non-payment they carried away thirty-three loads of corn which lay cut upon the ground, together with hay, coals, and other chattels. The *informers* took the names of one hundred and fifty more, who were at the meeting: They fined the maſter of the houſe twenty pounds, and five pounds more as being conſtable that year, and exacted five ſhillings a head from all who were preſent. Examples of this uſage in *London*, *Middleſex*, and moſt of the counties of *England*, are innumerable.

King Charles II. 1681.

And of the quakers. Sewel, p. 574, 581.

The quakers publiſhed a narrative of the ſufferings of their friends ſince the reſtoration, by which it appeared, that great numbers had been fined by the biſhops courts, robbed of their ſubſtance, and periſhed in priſon. Many had been ſo beaten and wounded for attending *their meetings*, that they died of their wounds. An account was alſo publiſhed, of the unjuſt proceedings of the *informers*, ſhewing, that at their inſtance many had been plundered without a juridicial proceſs; that ſeven hundred of them were now in priſon in ſeveral parts of *England*, and eſpecially about *Briſtol*; but remonſtrances and complaints availed nothing.

Death of the reverend Mr Gouge. Tillotſons's *Works*, Vol. I. p. 265.

In the midſt of this furious perſecution, the famous Mr. *Thomas Gouge*, ſon of Dr. *Gouge* of *Black-Friars*, and the ejected miniſter of St. *Sepulchres*, was taken out of this world: He was born at *Bow* near *Stratford*, 1605, bred at *Eaton ſchool*, and educated in *King*'s *College Cambridge*. He ſettled at St. *Sepulchres* in the year 1638, and for twenty-four years diſcharged all the parrs of a vigilant and faithful paſtor. He was a wonder of piety, charity, humility, and moderation, making it his ſtudy to keep a conſcience void of offence towards God and man. Mr. *Baxter* ſays, he never heard any man ſpeak to his diſhonour, except that he did not conform. He was poſſeſſed of a good eſtate, and devoted the chief of it to charity. He ſettled ſchools, to the number of three or four hundred, and gave money to teach children to read in the mountainous parts of *Wales*, where he travelled annually, and preached, till he was forbid by the biſhops, and excommunicated, though he ſtill went as a hearer to the pariſh churches. He printed eight thouſand *welſh* bibles, a thouſand of which were given to the poor, and the reſt ſent to the principal towns of *Wales*, to be ſold at an under rate. He printed five hundred of the *whole duty of man* in *welſh*, and gave them away; two hundred and forty *new teſtaments*; and kept almoſt two thouſand *welſh* children at ſchool to learn *engliſh*. Archbiſhop *Tillotſon* in his funeral ſermon, ſays, that all things conſidered, there has not ſince the primitive times of chriſtianity, been many among the ſons of men, to whom that glorious character of the ſon of God might be better applied, that *he went about doing good*. He was a divine of a chearful ſpirit, and went away quietly, in his ſleep, *October* 29, 1681, in the ſeventy-ſeventh year of his age.

Conteſts about election of magiſtrates.

While the tories and high church clergy were ravaging the diſſenters, the court was intent upon ſubverting the conſtitution, and getting the government of the city into their hands. *June* 24 there was a conteſt about the election of ſheriffs, which occaſioned a conſiderable tumult. And when the election of a lord mayor came on at *Michaelmas*, the citizens were again in an uproar, the *lord mayor* pretending a right to adjourn the court, while the *ſheriffs* to whom the right belonged, con-

continued the poll till night; when the books were caſt up, each party claimed the majority according to their reſpective books. The conteſt roſe ſo high, that Sir *William Pritchard* lord mayor, was afterwards arreſted at the ſuit of Mr. *Papillon* and *Dubois*, and detained priſoner in *Skinners-hall* till midnight. But when the affair came to a trial, the election was vacated, *Papillon* and *Dubois* were impriſoned, and the leading men of the whig party, who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the conteſt, were fined in large ſums of money, which made way for the loſs of the charter. *King* Charles II. 1682.

The court would have perſuaded the *common-council* to make a voluntary ſurrender of it to the crown, to put an end to all conteſts for the future; but not being able to prevail, they reſolved to condemn it by law; accordingly a *quo warranto* was iſſued out of the court of *King's-bench*, to ſee whether its charter had been duly obſerved, becauſe the common-council in one of their addreſſes, had petitioned for the ſitting of the parliament, and had taxed the prorogation as a delay of juſtice; and becauſe they had laid taxes on their wharfs and markets, contrary to law. After trial upon theſe two points, the chief juſtice delivered it as the unanimous opinion of the court, *that the liberties and franchiſes of the city of* London *had been forfeited, and might be ſeized into the king's hands*, but judgment was not to be entered, till the king's pleaſure was further known. In the mean time the lord mayor and common-council, who are the repreſentatives of the city, agreed to ſubmit to the king's mercy, and ſent a deputation to *Windſor*, *June* 18, 1683, to beg pardon; which the king was pleaſed to grant on condition, *that his majeſty might have a negative on the choice of all the chief magiſtrates* —— that *if his majeſty diſapproved of their choice of a lord mayor, they ſhould chooſe another within a week* —— And *that if his majeſty diſapproved their ſecond choice, he ſhould himſelf nominate a mayor for the year enſuing*; and the like as to *ſheriffs*, *aldermen*, &c. When this was reported to the common-council, it was put to the vote, and upon a diviſion, one hundred and four were for accepting the king's regulation, and eighty ſix againſt it; but even theſe *conceſſions* continued no longer than a year. The charter of *London* being loſt, the cities and corporations in general were prevailed with to deliver up their charters, and accept of ſuch new ones as the court would grant, which was the higheſt degree of perfidy and baſeneſs in thoſe who were intruſted with them, eſpecially when they knew, that the deſign was to pack a parliament, in order to make way for a popiſh ſucceſſor.

Charter of the city of London, &c. *forfeited.* Burnet. p. 528, 568. Rapin. p. 319. Burnet. p. 527, 530, 536. Gazette, N° 1835.

Thus the liberties of *England* were delivered up to the crown; and though the forms of law remained, mens lives and eſtates were at the mercy of a ſet of profligate creatures, who would ſwear any thing for *Remarks.*

King Charles II. 1682.

hire. *Juries* (ſays *Burnet*) were a ſhame to the nation, and a reproach to religion, for they were packed and prepared to bring in verdicts, as they were directed, and not as matters appeared upon the evidence. Zeal againſt popery was decried as the voice of a faction, who were enemies to the king and his government. All rejoicings on the fifth of *November* were forbid, and ſtrict orders given to all conſtables, and other officers to keep the peace; but the populace not being ſo orderly as they ſhould have been, ſeveral *London* apprentices were fined twenty marks for a riot, and ſet in the pillory. Theſe were the triumphs of a tory and popiſh adminiſtration.

Death of Mr. Caſe.

A little before this died old Mr. *Thomas Caſe*, M. A. educated in *Chriſt Church Oxford*, and one of the aſſembly of divines; he was peculiarly zealous in promoting the *morning exerciſes*, but was turned out of his living of St. *Mary Magdalen Milk-ſtreet*, for refuſing the engagement, and impriſoned for Mr. *Love*'s plot; he was afterwards rector of St. *Giles*'s, and waited on the king at *Breda*. He was one of the commiſſioners at the *Savoy*, and ſilenced with his brethren in 1662. He was an open plain-hearted man, an excellent preacher, of a warm ſpirit, and a hearty lover of all good men. He died *May* 30, 1682, aged 84.

And of Mr. S. Clarke.

Mr. *Samuel Clarke*, the ejected miniſter of St. *Bennet Fink*, was an indefatigable ſtudent, as appears by his martyrology, his lives of eminent divines, and other hiſtorical works; he was a good ſcholar, and had been an uſeful preacher in *Cheſhire* and *Warwickſhire* before he came to *London*; he was one of the commiſſioners at the *Savoy*, and preſented the preſbyterian miniſters addreſs of thanks to the king for his declaration concerning eccleſiaſtical affairs; and though he could not conform as a preacher, he frequently attended the ſervice of the church as a hearer and communicant. He died *December* 25, 1682, *ætatis* eighty.

1683.

Mr. Baxter and others ſeverely proſecuted. p. 191.

While the liberties of *England* lay bleeding, the fury of the court raged higher than ever againſt the *non-conformiſts*, as inflexible enemies of their arbitrary meaſures. Mr. *Baxter* was ſurprized in his own houſe, by a company of conſtables and other *peace-officers*, who arreſted him for coming within five miles of a corporation, and brought warrants to diſtrain upon him for five ſermons, amounting to one hundred ninety five pounds. They took him out of his bed, to which he had been confined for ſome time, and were carrying him to gaol; but Dr. *Cox* the phyſician meeting him in the way went, and made oath before a juſtice of peace, that he could not be removed to priſon without danger of his life, ſo he was permitted to go home again to bed; but the officers rifled his houſe, took away ſuch books as he had, and ſold even the

the bed from under him. Dr. *Anneſley*, and ſeveral other miniſters, had their goods diſtrained for *latent convictions*; that is, *upon the oaths of perſons they never ſaw, nor received ſummons to anſwer for themſelves before a juſtice of peace.* This was ſtabbing men in the dark. Some were impriſoned on the corporation act. The reverend Mr. *Vincent* was tried and convicted at the *Surry aſſizes* on the 35th of queen *Elizabeth*, already mentioned: He lay in priſon many months, but was at laſt releaſed by the interceſſion of ſome great men. The diſſenting laity were haraſſed every where in the *ſpiritual courts*, warrants were ſigned for *diſtreſſes* in the village of *Hackney* alone, to the ſum of fourteen hundred pounds; one of which was for five hundred. The reader will then judge what muſt have been the caſe of the intereſt in general. *King* Charles II. 1683.

But in the midſt of all this oppreſſion and violence, the court found that the ſpirit of *engliſh* liberty was not eaſily ſubdued; there was a ſet of patriots who ſtood in their way, and were determined to hazard their lives and fortunes for the conſtitution; theſe were therefore to be removed or cut off, by bringing them within the compaſs of ſome pretended plot againſt the government. Some who were more zealous than prudent, met together in clubs at the taverns and other places, to talk over the common danger, and what might be done to ſecure their religion and liberties in caſe of the king's death; but there was no deſign in any of them formed againſt the king or the preſent government. The court however laid hold of this occaſion, and as Mr. *Coke* ſays, ſet on foot three plots, one to aſſaſſinate the king and duke as they came from *New-Market*; another to ſeize the guards; and a third was called the *Blackheath plot*; in all which, for ought I can find (ſays he), the *fox was the finder.* Dr. *Welwood* adds, that the ſhattered remains of *engliſh* liberty were attacked on every ſide, and ſome of the nobleſt blood in the nation, offered up a ſacrifice to the *Manes* of popiſh martyrs. *Swearing* came into faſhion, and an evidence office was ſet up at *Whitehall*; the witneſſes were highly encouraged, and inſtead of judges and juries that might boggle at half evidence, care was taken to pick out ſuch as ſhould ſtick at nothing to ſerve a turn. The plot which the court made uſe of was called the *Ryehouſe plot*, from the name of the houſe where the two royal brothers were to be ſhot; it was within two miles of *Hodſdon* in *Hertfordſhire*, and was firſt diſcovered by one *Keeling* an *anabaptiſt*, after him *Goodenough*, *Rumſey*, and *Weſt*, made themſelves witneſſes, and framed a ſtory out of their own heads, of *lopping off the two brothers*, as they came from *New-Market*, and having heard of conferences between the duke of *Monmouth*, lord *Ruſſel*, and others, concerning ſecuring the proteſtant religion upon the king's deceaſe, they impeached them to the council, upon which lord *Ruſſel*, *Algernon Sidney*, the earl of. Rye-houſe *plot.* Mem. p. 132. Burn. p. 544, 550, 633.

King Charles II. 1683.

of *Eſſex*, and Mr. *Houblon* were apprehended and ſent to the *Tower*. Warrants were iſſued out for ſeveral others, who knowing, that innocence was in theſe times no ſufficient protection, abſconded, and went out of the way; but ſeveral were tried, and executed upon the *court evidence*; as Mr. *Rumbold*, maſter of the houſe where the plot was to take place, who declared at his execution in king *James*'s reign, that he never knew of any deſign againſt the king; as did Capt. *Walcot* and Sir *Thomas Armſtrong*, *Rouſe*, and the reſt. Lord *Ruſſel* was condemned, and beheaded, for being within the hearing of ſome treaſonable words at Mr. *Shepherd*'s a wine-cooper in *Abchurch-lane*. The earl of *Eſſex*'s throat was cut in the *Tower* during lord *Ruſſel*'s trial; and *Algernoon Sidney* was executed for having *a ſeditious libel in his ſtudy*; of the injuſtice of which the parliament at the revolution was ſo ſenſible, that they reverſed the judgments. A proclamation was iſſued out againſt the duke of *Monmouth*, though the king knew where he was; and after the ferment brought him to court. Mr. *Eachard* obſerves, that ſome have called this the *fanatic*, the *proteſtant*, the *whiggiſh*, or *preſbyterian plot*; others have called it with more juſtice, a piece of ſtate policy, and no better than an impoſture, for it had no other foundation than the raſh and imprudent diſcourſe of ſome warm whigs, which in ſo critical a conjuncture was very hazardous, but no ſcheme of a plot had been agreed upon, no preparations made, no arms nor horſes purchaſed, nor perſons appointed to execute any deſign againſt the king or government. However the court had their ends in ſtriking terror into the whole party.

Ld. Ruſſel *beheaded.*

Wel. Mem. p. 161.

Non-conformiſts *charged with it.* Burnet. p. 583, 584.

Great induſtry was uſed by the court to bring the body of non-conformiſts into this plot: It was given out that Dr. *Owen*, Mr. *Mead*, and Mr. *Griffith* were acquainted with it; Mr. *Mead* was ſummoned before the council, and gave ſuch ſatisfactory anſwers to all queſtions, that the king himſelf ordered him to be diſcharged. The reverend Mr. *Caſtaires*, a *ſcots* divine, was put to the torture of the *thummikins* in *Scotland*, to extort a confeſſion; both his thumbs being bruiſed between two irons till the marrow was almoſt forced out of the bones: This he bore for an hour and half without making any confeſſion. Next day they brought him to undergo the torture of the *boot*, but his arms being ſwelled with the late torture, and he already in a fever, made a declaration of all that he knew, which amounted to no more than ſome looſe diſcourſe of what might be fit to be done, to preſerve their liberties and the proteſtant religion, if there ſhould be a *criſis*; but he vindicated himſelf and his brethren in *England*, from all aſſaſſinating deſigns, which he ſaid, they abhorred. Dr. *South* was deſired to write the hiſtory of this plot, but Dr. *Sprat*, afterwards biſhop of *Rocheſter*, performed it, though at the revolution he diſowned it ſo far as to declare, that king *James* had altered

tered ſeveral paſſages in it before it was publiſhed. Biſhop *Burnet* adds, that when the congratulatory addreſſes for the diſcovery of this plot had gone all round *England*, the *grand juries* made high preſentments againſt all who were accounted whigs and non-conformiſts. Great pains were taken to find out more witneſſes; pardons and rewards were offered very freely to the guilty, but none came in, which made it evident, (ſays his lordſhip), that nothing was ſo well laid, or brought ſo near execution, as the witneſſes had depoſed, otherwiſe the people would have crouded for pardons. Biſhop *Kennet* ſays, that the *diſſenters* bore all the odium, and were not only branded for expreſs *rebels* and *villains*, in multitudes of congratulatory and tory addreſſes from all parts of the kingdom, but were ſeverely arraigned by the king himſelf, in a declaration to all his loving ſubjects, read in all the churches on *Sunday September* 9, which was appointed as a day of thankſgiving, and ſolemnized after an extraordinary manner, with mighty pomp and magnificence. There was hardly a pariſh in *England* that was not at a conſiderable expence to teſtify their joy and ſatisfaction: Nay the papiſts celebrated in all their chapels in *London* an extraordinary ſervice on that account; ſo that *theſe* had their places of public worſhip, though the proteſtant diſſenters were denied them.

King Charles II. 1673. p. 567. Eachard.

The *quakers* avowed their innocence of the plot in an addreſs to the king at *Windſor*, preſented by *G. Whitehead*, *Parker*, and two more, wherein they appeal to the ſearcher of all hearts, that "their principles "do not allow them to take up defenſive arms, much leſs to avenge "themſelves for the injuries they receive from others. That they con- "tinually pray for the king's ſafety and preſervation, and therefore take "this occaſion humbly to beſeech his majeſty, to compaſſionate their "ſuffering friends, with whom the gaols are ſo filled, that they want "air, to the apparent hazard of their lives, and to the endangering an "infection in divers places. Beſides many houſes, ſhops, barns and "fields are ranſacked, and the goods, corn and cattel ſwept away, to "the diſcouraging of trade and huſbandry, and impoveriſhing great num- "bers of quiet and induſtrious people; and this for no other cauſe but "for the exerciſe of a tender conſcience, in the worſhip of Almighty "God, who is ſovereign lord and king in mens conſciences ——"

Quakers *purge themſelves and declare their ſufferings.* Sewel. p. 585.

But this addreſs made no impreſſion, all things proceeding triumphantly on the ſide of the prerogative; the court did what they pleaſed; the king aſſumed the government of the city of *London* into his own hands, and appointed a mayor, ſheriffs, and aldermen, without the election of the people; ſermons were filled with the principles of abſolute obedience and non-reſiſtance, which were carried higher than ever their forefathers had thought of or practiſed. The univerſity of *Oxford*.

Oxford *decree.* Kennet, p. 410.

King Charles II. 1683.

Oxford paſſed a *decree* in full convocation, *July* 21, 1683, *againſt certain pernicious books, and damnable doctrines, deſtructive to the ſacred perſons of princes, their ſtate and government, and all human ſociety.* It conſiſts of twenty ſeven propoſitions, extracted from the writings of *Buchanan, Baxter, Owen, Milton, J. Goodwin, Hobbs, Cartwright, Travers,* and others, who had maintained that there was an *original contract* between king and people; and that *when kings ſubvert the conſtitution of their country, and become abſolute tyrants, they forfeit their right to the government, and may be reſiſted:* Theſe, and other propoſitions of a like nature, they declare to be *impious, ſeditious, ſcandalous, damnable, heretical, blaſphemous,* and *infamous to the chriſtian religion.* They forbid their ſtudents to read thoſe writers, and ordered their books to be burnt. But how well they practiſed their own doctrines at the revolution, will be ſeen in its proper place; and one of queen *Anne*'s parliaments ordered the *decree itſelf* to be burnt, by the hands of the common hangman.

Collyer, p. 902.

Sufferings of Mr. Delaune.

Dr. *Benjamin Calamy*, rector of St. *Lawrence Jewry*, in one of his printed ſermons, entituled *a ſcrupulous conſcience*, invited the *non-conformiſts* to examine what each party had to ſay for themſelves with reſpect to the ceremonies impoſed by the church, and inforced by the penal laws, calling upon them modeſtly to propoſe their doubts, and meekly to hearken to, and receive inſtruction. In compliance with this invitation, Mr. *Thomas Delaune* an anabaptiſt ſchool-maſter, and a learned man, printed a *plea for the non-conformiſts*, ſhewing the true ſtate of their caſe, and juſtifying their ſeparation. But before it was publiſhed, he was apprehended by a meſſenger from the preſs, and ſhut up cloſe priſoner in *Newgate*, by warrant from the recorder *Jenner*, dated *Nov.* 30, 1683. Mr. *Delaune* writ to Dr. *Calamy* to endeavour his enlargement: "My confinement (ſays he), is for accepting your invitation; I "look upon you obliged in honour to procure my ſheets, yet unfiniſh-"ed, a public paſſport, and to me my liberty —— There is nothing "in them but a fair examination of thoſe things your ſermon invited "to, and I cannot find that Chriſt and his diſciples ever forced *ſcrupu-"lous conſciences* to conformity, by ſuch methods as ſending them to "*Newgate*; I beſeech you therefore in the fear of God, as you will "anſwer it to our great Lord and Maſter Jeſus Chriſt, that you would "endeavour to convince a ſtranger by ſomething more like reaſon and "divinity, than a priſon." The *doctor* at firſt ſaid, he would do him any kindneſs that became him. But in anſwer to a ſecond letter he ſaid, he looked upon himſelf as unconcerned, becauſe he was not mentioned in that ſheet he ſaw with the recorder. Mr. *Delaune* inſiſted that his honour was at ſtake for his deliverance, and prayed him

him at leaſt to perform the office of a divine, in viſiting him in priſon, to argue him out of his doubts; but the *doctor*, like an ungenerous adverſary, deſerted him. Mr. *Delaune* therefore was to be convinced by an indictment at law; for *that on* Nov. 30, *he did by force of arms*, &c. *unlawfully, ſeditiouſly, and maliciouſly, write, print, and publiſh, a certain falſe, ſeditious, and ſcandalous libel, of, and concerning our lord the king, and the book of common-prayer*, entituled, *a plea for the non-conformiſts*. For which offence he was fined one hundred marks, and to be kept priſoner till he paid it; to find ſecurity for his good behaviour for one year, and his books to be burnt before the *Royal Exchange*. The court told him, that in reſpect of his being a ſcholar, he ſhould not be pilloryed, though he deſerved it. Mr. *Delaune* not being able to pay his fine, lay in priſon fifteen months, and ſuffered great hardſhips by extreme poverty, having no ſubſiſtance but on charity. He had a wife and two ſmall children with him, who all died in the gaol, through the length and cloſeneſs of the confinement, and other inconveniencies they endured; and at length Mr. *Delaune* himſelf ſunk under his ſufferings, and died in *Newgate*, a martyr to the challenge of this high church champion.

King Charles II. 1683.

Mr. *Francis Bampfield* ſuffered the like, or greater hardſhips; he had been educated in *Wadham College Oxon*, and was miniſter of *Sherbourn* in *Dorſetſhire*. After the act of uniformity, he continued preaching as he had opportunity in private, till he was impriſoned for five days and nights, with twenty-five of his hearers in one room, with only one bed, where they ſpent their time in religious exerciſes; but after ſome time he was releaſed. Soon after he was apprehended again, and lay nine years in *Dorcheſter* gaol, though he was a perſon of unſhaken loyalty to the king, and againſt the parliament war; but this availed nothing to his being a non-conformiſt. He afterwards retired to *London*, where being again apprehended, he was ſhut up in *Newgate* and there died, *Feb.* 16, 1683-4. He was for the *ſeventh day ſabbath*, but a perſon of unqueſtionable ſeriouſneſs and piety.

And of Mr. Bampfield. Calamy, p. 260.

With him might be mentioned Mr. *Ralphſon*, a learned man, and a fellow-ſufferer with Mr. *Delaune* in *Newgate*. On the 10th of *December*, a bill was found againſt him by the grand jury of *London*; on the 13th of the ſame month he pleaded *not guilty* at the *Old Baily*. On the 16th of *January* he was called to the *Seſſions Houſe*, but other trials proving tedious, his did not come on. The next day he was brought to the outer bar; and after an attendance of divers hours in a place not very agreeable, and in the ſharpeſt winter that had been known, he contracted a violent cold, which iſſued in a fever, that carried him as well as Mr. *Bampfield* beyond the reach of tyrants, or the reſtraint of *bail-docks* and *preſs yards*, to the manſions of everlaſting reſt. Mr. *Philips*, partner with Mr. *Bamp-*

And of Mr. Ralphſon. Calamy's Abridg. 259, 377.

King Charles II. 1683.

Bampfield, ſuffered eleven months impriſonment in *Ilcheſter* gaol, in a naſty ſtinking hole, to the great hazard of his life. Mr. *French* of *Town-Maulin*, was confined ſix months in *Maidſtone* common gaol, in a hard winter, without fire or candle, or any private apartment.

Of Mr. Salkeld *and others.*

Mr. *Salkeld*, the ejected miniſter of *Worlington* in *Suffolk*, was fined one hundred pounds, and committed to the common gaol of St. *Edmundſbury*, for ſaying, *popery was coming into the nation apace, and no care taken to prevent it.* He lay in priſon three years, and was not diſcharged till the year 1686.

Mr. *Richard Stretton* ſuffered ſix months impriſonment this year, for refuſing the *Oxford* oath, in company with ten miniſters more, who were alſo his fellow-priſoners. Moſt of the diſſenting miniſters were forced to ſhift their places of abode to avoid diſcovery, and travel in long nights and cold weather, from one village to another, to preach to their people. If at any time they ventured to viſit their families in a dark night, they durſt not ſtir abroad, but went away before morning. Some ſpent their time in woods and ſolitary places; others being excommunicated, removed with their effects into other dioceſes — great numbers of the common people, taken at private meetings, were convicted as rioters, and fined ten pounds a-piece; and not being able to pay, were obliged to remove into other counties, by which they loſt their buſineſs, and their families were reduced to want. I forbear to mention the rudeneſs offered to young women, ſome of whom were ſent to *Bridewell*, to beat hemp among rogues and thieves: others that were married and with child, received irreparable damages; even children were terrified with conſtables and halberdeers breaking open houſes, of whom I myſelf (ſays Mr. *Peirce*), being very young, was one example; and the writer of this hiſtory could mention others.

Calamy, p. 627, *&c.*

London *caſes publiſhed.*

In the midſt of theſe violent proceedings, the divines of the church of *England* publiſhed the *London caſes* againſt the non-conformiſts, as if the danger of religion aroſe from that quarter; they were twenty three in number, and have ſince been abridged by Dr. *Bennet*. Theſe champions of the church, were very ſecure from being anſwered, after Mr. *Delaune* had ſo lately loſt his life, for accepting ſuch a challenge. They muſt therefore have the field to themſelves, for if their adverſaries writ, they were ſure to be rewarded with fines, and a priſon; but ſince the return of liberty, they have been anſwered ſeparately by Mr. *Nathaniel Taylor*, Mr. *James Peirce*, and others.

Peirce. p. 259.

Death of Dr John Oweh.

This year died Dr. *John Owen*, one of the moſt learned of the *independent* divines; he was educated in *Queen's College Oxon*, but left the univerſity in 1637, being diſſatisfied with *Laud's* innovations. He was a ſtrict *calviniſt*, and publiſhed his *diſplay of arminianiſm* in 1642, for which

which the committee of religion preſented him to the living of *Fordham* in *Eſſex*. In 1643 he removed to *Coggeſhall* in the ſame county, where he firſt declared himſelf an *independent*, and gathered a church according to the diſcipline of that people. He often preached before the long parliament, even about the time the king was beheaded, but always kept his ſentiments in reſerve upon ſuch a ſubject. Soon after, lieutenant general *Cromwell* took him into his ſervice, as a chaplain in his expedition to *Ireland*; and when the general marched to *Scotland*, he obtained an order of parliament for the doctor to attend him thither. Upon his return, he was preferred to the deanry of *Chriſt Church*, and next year to the vice-chancellorſhip of *Oxford*, where he preſided with great reputation and prudence for five years. He always behaved like a gentleman and ſcholar, and maintained the dignity of his character. The writer of his life ſays, that though he was an *independent* himſelf, he gave moſt of the vacant livings in his diſpoſal among the *preſbyterians*, and obliged the epiſcopal party, by conniving at an aſſembly of about three hundred of them, almoſt over againſt his own doors. The *Oxford* hiſtorian, after having treated his memory with moſt opprobrious language, confeſſes, that he was well ſkilled in the tongues, in rabinnical learning, and in the *jewiſh* rites and cuſtoms, and that he was one of the moſt genteel and faireſt writers, that appeared againſt the church of *England*. The doctor had a great reputation among foreign proteſtants; and when he was ejected by the act of uniformity, was invited to a profeſſorſhip in the *United Provinces*. He was once alſo determined to ſettle in *New-England*, but was ſtopt by expreſs order from the council. He was paſtor of a conſiderable congregation in *London*, and died with great calmneſs and compoſure of mind, on *Bartholomew day* 1683. His works are very numerous, and ſtill in eſteem among the diſſenters; though his ſtile is a little intricate and perplexed.

King Charles II. 1683.

This year the king, by the aſſiſtance of the *tories* and *roman catholics*, compleated the ruin of the conſtitution, and aſſumed the whole government into his own hands. The *whigs* and *non-conformiſts* were ſtruck with terror, by the ſevere proſecutions of the heads of their party. Mr. *Hampden* was fined forty thouſand pounds, Sir *Samuel Barnadiſton* ten thouſand pounds; for defaming the evidence in the *Rye-Houſe plot*. Mr. *Speke* two thouſand, and Mr. *Braddon* one thouſand pounds, for reporting that the earl of *Eſſex* had been murdered in the *Tower*. Mr. *John Duttoncolt* one hundred thouſand pounds, for *ſcandalum magnatum* againſt the duke of *York*, who now ruled all at court. *Oates* was fined for the ſame crime one hundred thouſand pounds, and never releaſed till after the revolution. Thirty-two others were fined or pilloryed for libelling the king or the duke of *York*. In ſhort, the greateſt part of the hiſtory

1684. *Further ſufferings of the* whigs. Rapin, p. 354, 356. Eachard, p. 1043, 1044.

King Charles II. 1684.

of this year, conſiſts of proſecutions, penalties, and puniſhments, (ſays Mr. *Eachard.*) At the ſame time, the earl of *Danby* and the *popiſh lords* were releaſed out of the *Tower* on bail, the garriſon of *Tangier* was brought over into *England*, and augmented to a ſtanding army of four or five thouſand reſolute men, fit for any ſervice the court ſhould employ them in. And the corporations throughout *England*, having been prevailed with, by promiſes or threatenings, to ſurrender their charters, after the example of *London*, the whole kingdom was diveſted of its privileges, and reduced to an abſolute monarchy. Whole peals of anathema's were rung out againſt thoſe *patriots*, who ſtood in the gap againſt this inundation of power. The ſcriptures were tortured to prove the divine right of tyrants. The abſolute government of the *jewiſh kings*, was preached up as a pattern for *ours*. And heaven itſelf was ranked on that ſide, by ſome who pretended to expound its will. Inſtead of dropping a tear over our expiring laws, liberties, and parliaments, fulſome panegyricks were made upon their murderers, and curſes denounced on thoſe who would have ſaved them from deſtruction.

The conſtitution of England *given up and deſtroyed* Welw. Mem. p. 130.

In this melancholy ſituation of public affairs, the proſecution of the *non-conformiſts* was continued, and egged on with an infatuation hardly to be parallelled, in any proteſtant nation. Dr. *Barlow* biſhop of *Lincoln*, publiſhed a letter for ſpiriting up the magiſtrates againſt the diſſenters, in concurrence with another drawn up by the juſtices of peace of *Bedford*, bearing date *Jan.* 14, 1684. Many were cited into the *ſpiritual courts*, excommunicated and ruined. Two hundred warrants of diſtreſs were iſſued out upon private perſons and families, in the town and neighbourhood of *Uxbridge*, for frequenting conventicles or not reſorting to church. An order was made by the juſtices of *Exeter*, promiſing a reward of forty ſhillings, to any one who ſhould apprehend a non-conformiſt miniſter, which the biſhop of the dioceſe, Dr. *Lamplugh*, commanded to be publiſhed in all the churches, by his clergy on the following ſunday. The reverend Dr. *Bates*, Dr. *Anneſley*, and many of their brethren in the miniſtry, had their goods ſeized and confiſcated. Mr. *Robert Mayot* of *Oxon*, a moderate conformiſt, having left Mr. *Baxter* ſix hundred pounds to diſtribute among ſixty poor ejected miniſters; the lord keeper *North* took it from him, as given to a *ſuperſtitious uſe*, but it lying unappropriated in the court of *Chancery*, till after the revolution, it was reſtored by the commiſſioners of the *great ſeal* under king *William*. Soon after the juſtices ſent warrants to apprehend Mr. *Baxter*, as being one in a liſt of a thouſand names, who were to be bound to their good behaviour upon *latent convictions*, that is, without ſeeing their accuſers, or being made acquainted with their charge. Mr. *Baxter* refuſing to open his doors, the officers forced into his houſe, and finding him locked up in his ſtudy, they reſolved

Howe's *Life*, p. 80.

Mr. Baxter *again in priſon.* Baxter, p. 198.

reſolved to ſtarve him from thence, by ſetting ſix men at the door, to whom he was obliged next day to ſurrender. They then carried him to the *Seſſions Houſe* two or three times, and bound him in a bond of four hundred pounds, ſo that if his friends had not been ſureties for him, contrary to his deſire, he muſt have died in priſon, as many excellent perſons did about this time. *King* Charles II. 1684.

Jefferies, now lord chief juſtice of *England*, who was ſcandalouſly vitious, and drunk every day, beſides a drunkenneſs of fury in his temper that looked like madneſs, was prepared for any dirty work the court ſhould put him upon. *September* 23 Mr. *Thomas Roſewel* the diſſenting miniſter at *Rotherhithe*, was impriſoned in the *Gate-Houſe Weſtminſter*, for high treaſon; and a bill was found againſt him at the quarter-ſeſſions, upon which he was tried *November* 8 at the *King's-Bench* bar, by a *Surrey* jury, before lord chief juſtice *Jefferies*, and his brethren (*viz.*) *Withins*, *Holloway*, and *Walcot*. He was indicted for the following expreſſions in his ſermon *Sept.* 14. *That the king could not cure the king's evil, but that prieſts and prophets by their prayers could heal the griefs of the people* —— *That we had had two wicked kings* (meaning the preſent king and his father), *whom we can reſemble to no other perſon but to the moſt wicked* Jeroboam; *and that if they* (meaning his hearers), *would ſtand to their principles, he did not doubt, but they ſhould overcome their enemies* (meaning the king), *as in former times, with rams-horns, broken platters, and a ſtone in a ſling.* The witneſſes were three infamous women, who ſwore to the words without the *innuendo's*; they were laden with the guilt of many perjuries already, and ſuch of them as could be found afterwards, were convicted, and the chief of them pilloryed before the *Exchange*. The trial laſted ſeven hours, and Mr. *Roſewel* behaved with all the decency and reſpect to the court that could be expected, and made a defence that was applauded by moſt of the hearers. He ſaid it was impoſſible the witneſſes ſhould remember, and be able to pronounce ſo long a period, when they could not ſo much as tell the *text*, nor any thing elſe in the ſermon, beſides the words they had ſworn: Several who heard the ſermon and writ it in ſhort hand, declared they heard no ſuch words. Mr. *Roſewel* offered his own notes to prove it, but no regard was had to them. The *women* could not prove (ſays *Burnet*), by any one circumſtance, that they were at the meeting; or that any perſon ſaw them there on that day; the words they ſwore were ſo groſs, that it was not to be imagined that any man in his wits would expreſs himſelf ſo, before a mixed aſſembly; yet *Jefferies* urged the matter with his uſual vehemence. He laid it for a foundation, that all preaching at conventicles was treaſonable, and that this ought to diſpoſe the jury to believe any evidence upon that head, ſo the jury brought him in *guilty*; *upon which* (ſays the biſhop), *there was* *Trial of Mr.* Roſewel. Burnet, p. 567.

He is condemned. p. 597.

King Charles II. 1684.

a ſhameful rejoycing; and it was now thought, all conventicles muſt be ſuppreſſed, when ſuch evidence could be received againſt ſuch a defence. But when the words came to be examined by men learned in the law, they were found not to be treaſon by any ſtatute. So Mr. *Roſewel* moved in arreſt of judgment, and though it was doubtful, whether the motion was proper *on this foundation* after the verdict, yet the king was ſo out of countenance at the accounts he heard of the *witneſſes*, that he gave orders to yield to it; and in the end he was pardoned. The court loſt a great deal of reputation by this trial, for beſides that *Roſewel* made a ſtrong defence, he proved that he had always been a loyal man even in *Cromwell*'s days, that he prayed conſtantly for the king in his family, and that in his ſermons he often inſiſted upon the obligations to loyalty.

Sufferings and death of Mr. Jenkins.

Among other ſufferers for non-conformity, we muſt not forget the reverend Mr. *William Jenkins* M. A. the ejected miniſter of *Chriſt Church*, who died this year in *Newgate*; he was educated in St. *John*'s *College Cambridge*; and about the year 1641 was choſen miniſter of this place, and lecturer of *Black-Friars*, both which pulpits he filled with great acceptance till the deſtruction of monarchy, after which he was ſequeſtered, for refuſing to comply with the orders of parliament. He was ſent to the *Tower* for *Love*'s *plot*, but upon his humble petition, and promiſe of ſubmiſſion to the *powers in being*, he was pardoned, and his ſequeſtration taken off, and he carefully avoided meddling in politics afterwards. He was ſummoned before the council *Jan.* 2, 1661, and reprimanded, becauſe he forgot to pray for the king; and being ejected with his brethren in 1662, he retired into the country, but upon the indulgence in 1671, he had a new meeting houſe erected for him in *Jewen-ſtreet*, where he preached to a crouded audience. He was one of the merchants lecturers at *Pinners-Hall*. And when the indulgence was revoked, he continued preaching as he could, till this year; but *September* 2, 1684, being at a private faſt with ſome of his brethren, the ſoldiers broke in, and carried Mr. *Jenkins* before two aldermen, who treated him very rudely, and upon his refuſing the *Oxford* oath, committed him to *Newgate*; while he was there, he petitioned the king for a releaſe, his phyſicians declaring, that his life was in danger from his cloſe confinement; but no ſecurity would be accepted. So that he ſoon declined in his health, and died in *Newgate* in the ſeventy-third year of his age, *Jan*, 19, 1684-5, having been a priſoner four months and one week. A little before his death he ſaid, *a man might be as effectually murdered in* Newgate *as at* Tyburn. He was buried by his friends in *Bunhill Fields* with great honour, many eminent perſons, and ſome ſcores of coaches attending his funeral.

K. Chron. p. 601.

This

This was the uſage the diſſenters met with from the church of *England* at this time, which has hardly a parallel in the chriſtian world: Remarkable are the words of the earl of *Caſtlemain*, a *roman* catholic, on this occaſion, "'Twas never known (ſays he), that *Rome* perſecuted as "the biſhops do, thoſe who adhere to the ſame faith with themſelves; "and eſtabliſhed an inquiſition againſt the profeſſors of the ſtricteſt pie- "ty among themſelves; and however the prelates complain of the "bloody perſecution of queen *Mary*, it is manifeſt that their perſecu- "tion exceeds it, for under her there were not more than two or three "hundred put to death, whereas under their perſecution, above treble that "number have been rifled, deſtroyed, and ruined in their eſtates, lives, and "liberties, being (as is moſt remarkable) men for the moſt part of the "ſame ſpirit, with thoſe proteſtants who ſuffered under the prelates in "queen *Mary*' time." *King* Charles II. 1684. Peirce, p. 259.

This year died Mr. *Benjamin Woodbridge* M. A. the ejected miniſter of *Newbury*. He was bred up in *Magdalen Hall Oxon*; from thence he went to *New-England*, and was the firſt graduate of the college there. On his return to *England*, he ſucceeded Dr. *Twiſſe* at *Newbury*, where he had a mighty reputation as a ſcholar, a preacher, a caſuiſt, and a chriſtian. He was a great inſtrument of reducing the whole town to ſobriety, and to family as well as public religion. Upon the *reſtoration*, he was made one of the king's *chaplains in ordinary*, and preached once before him. He was one of the *commiſſioners* at the *Savoy*, and very deſirous of an accommodation with the church party. He was offered a canonry of *Windſor*, but refuſed it, and afterwards ſuffered many ways for his non-conformity, though he was generally reſpected and beloved by all who were judges of real worth. He had a ſound judgment, and was a fine preacher, having a commanding voice and aſpect. His temper was chearful, and his behaviour obliging; he was examplary for his moderation, and of conſiderable learning. When the five mile act took place, he removed from *Newbury* to a ſmall diſtance, where he preached as he had opportunity. He was liberal to the poor, and in all reſpects a good and great man. He died at *Ingleſield November* 1, 1684, in a good old age, after he had been a miniſter in thoſe parts almoſt forty years. *And of Mr.* Benj. Woodbridge.

The ſufferings of the preſbyterians in *Scotland*, run parallel with thoſe of *England*, during the whole courſe of this reign; but the people were not quite ſo tame and ſubmiſſive: The ſame or greater acts of ſeverity, than thoſe which were made againſt the non-conformiſts in *England*, were enacted in *Scotland*. Epiſcopacy was reſtored *May* 8, 1662, and the *covenant* declared to be an unlawful oath. All perſons in office were to ſign a *declaration of the unlawfulneſs of taking up arms againſt the king*, *Summary of the perſecution in* Scotland. p. 284.

or

King Charles II. 1684.

or any commiſſioned by him, on any pretence whatſoever. The *engliſh* act againſt conventicles, was copied, and paſſed almoſt in the ſame terms in *Scotland.* The *biſhops* were ſome of the worſt of men, and hated by the people as they deſerved, for their deportment was unbecoming their function (ſays biſhop *Burnet*); ſome did not live within their dioceſes, and thoſe who did, ſeemed to take no care of them: They ſhewed no zeal againſt vice; the moſt eminently vitious in the country were their peculiar confidents; nor had they any concern to keep their clergy to their duty, but were themſelves guilty of levity, and great ſenſuality.

Character of the ſcots biſhops and clergy. p. 217.

And of the people.

The people were generally of the preſbyterian perſuaſion, and ſtood firm by each other. In many places they were fierce and untractable, and generally forſook the churches; the whole country complained of the new epiſcopal clergy, as immoral, ſtupid, ignorant, and greedy of gain; and treated them with an averſion that ſometimes proceeded to violence. Many were brought before the council, and *eccleſiaſtical commiſſion,* for not coming to church, but the proofs were generally defective, for the people would not give evidence one againſt another. However, great numbers were caſt into priſon, and ill uſed; ſome were fined; and the younger ſort whipt publicly about the ſtreets; ſo that great numbers tranſported their families to *Ulſter* in *Ireland,* where they were well received.

Proceedings of the government. p. 211, 212.

The government obſerved no meaſures with this people; they exacted exorbitant fines for their not coming to church, and quartered ſoldiers upon them till they were ruined. The truth is (ſays *Burnet*), the whole face of the government looked more like the proceedings of an *inquiſition,* than of legal courts. At length, in the year 1666, Sir *James Turner* being ſent into the weſt, to levy fines at *diſcretion,* the people aroſe, and publiſhed a manifeſto, that they did not take arms againſt the king, but only *that they might be delivered from the tyranny of the biſhops, and that preſbytery and the covenant might be ſet up, and their old miniſters reſtored.* *Turner* and all his ſoldiers were made priſoners, but marching out of their own country, they were diſperſed by the king's forces, about forty being killed, and one hundred and thirty taken; many of whom were hanged before their own doors, and died with great firmneſs and joy, Mr. *Macaail* their miniſter underwent the torture, and died with great conſtancy; his laſt words were, *farewel ſun, moon, and ſtars; farewel, kindred and friends, world and time, and this weak and frail body; and welcome eternity, welcome angels and ſaints, welcome Saviour of the world, and God, the judge of all!* Which he ſpoke in a manner that ſtruck all who heard him. The commander of the king's

Occaſions an inſurrection. Burnet, p. 237.

king's forces killed ſome in cold blood, and threatened to ſpit others and roaſt them alive. *King* Charles II. 1684.

When the indulgence was publiſhed in *England* the *ſcots* had the benefit of it, but when it was taken away, the perſecution revived, with inexpreſſible ſeverity, under the adminiſtration of duke *Lauderdale*. Conventicles abounded in all parts of the country; the preſbyterian miniſters preached in their own houſes, to numbers of people that ſtood without doors to hear them; and when they were diſperſed by the magiſtrates, they retreated into the fields with their miniſters to hear the word of God; and to prevent being diſturbed, carried arms ſufficient for their defence. Upon which a very ſevere act was paſſed againſt *houſe conventicles* and *field conventicles*, declaring them treaſonable; and the landlords in whoſe grounds they were held, were to be ſeverely fined, unleſs they diſcovered the perſons preſent. But ſtill this did not terrify the people, who met together in defiance of the law. Writs were iſſued againſt many who were called *Cameronians*, who were out-lawed, and therefore left their houſes, and travelled about the country, till at length they collected into a body, and declared that *the king had forfeited the crown of that kingdom, by renouncing the covenant*; but the duke of *Monmouth* being ſent to diſperſe them, routed them at *Bothwel bridge*, killing four hundred, and taking twelve hundred priſoners; two miniſters were hanged, and two hundred baniſhed to the plantations, who were all loſt at ſea. *Cameron* their preacher fell in battle, but *Hackſton* and *Cargil*, the two other preachers, died with invincible courage; as did all the reſt, who were offered their lives if they would ſay, *God bleſs the king! Hackſton* had both his hands cut off, which he ſuffered with a conſtancy and rapture that was truly amazing. When both his hands were cut off, he aſked, whether they would cut off his feet too? And notwithſtanding all his loſs of blood, after he was hanged, and his heart taken out of his body, it was alive upon the hangman's knife.

Of houſe and field conventicles.

p. 291, 370, 399.

p. 511.

At length (ſays biſhop *Burnet*), things came to that extremity, that the people ſaw they muſt come to church or be undone, but they came in ſo aukward a manner, that it was viſible they did not come to ſerve God, but to ſave their ſubſtance, for they were talking or ſleeping during the whole ſervice. This introduced a ſort of atheiſm among the younger people. But the *inquiſition* was ſo terrible, that numbers fled from their native country and ſettled in the plantations. Theſe methods of converſion were ſubverſive of chriſtianity, and a reproach to a proteſtant church and nation; but oppreſſion and tyranny had overſpread the *engliſh* dominions; the hearts of all good men failed them for fear, and for looking after thoſe things that were coming on the land; the clouds were gathering thick over their heads, and there was no other defence againſt

Effects of the perſecution.

p. 519, 524.

King Charles II. 1684.

an inundation of popery and ſlavery, but the thin ſecurity of the king's life.

King Charles *the 2d's death.*

To return to *England:* When the king had made way for a popiſh ſucceſſor, by introducing an arbitrary and tyrannical government, his majeſty began to think himſelf neglected, all the *court* being made to the riſing ſun; upon which he was heard to ſay in ſome paſſion, that *if he lived a month longer, he would find a way to make himſelf eaſy for the remainder of his life.* This was interpreted as a deſign to change hands, by ſending abroad the duke of *York*, and recalling the duke of *Monmouth*; which ſtruck terror into the popiſh party, and is thought to have haſtened his death, for he was ſeized with a kind of apoplexy *Feb.* 2, and died on the *Friday* following, *Feb.* 6, 1684-5, in the fifty fourth year of his age, not without violent ſuſpicion of poiſon, either by ſnuff, or an infuſion in broth, as biſhop *Burnet*, and others of undoubted credit have aſſured us, the body not being ſuffered to be thoroughly examined.

Burnet, p. 609.

And character.

King CHARLES II. was a gentleman of wit and good-nature, till his temper was ſoured in the latter part of life by his popiſh counſellors. His court was a ſcene of luxury, and all kinds of lewdneſs, and his profuſe expences upon unlawful pleaſures, reduced him to the neceſſity of becoming a *penſioner* of *France* —— If he had any religion it was that of a *diſguiſed papiſt*, or rather a *deiſt*; but he was ſtrangely entangled during his whole life, with the obligations he had been brought under to the *roman catholics.* He aimed at being an abſolute monarch, but would be at no farther trouble to accompliſh it, than to give his corrupt miniſtry liberty to do what they pleaſed. The king had a great many vices (ſays *Burnet*), but few virtues to correct them. Religion was with him no more than an engine of ſtate. He hated the *non-conformiſts*, becauſe they appeared againſt the prerogative, and received the fire of all the enemies of the conſtitution and of the proteſtant religion, with an unſhaken firmneſs. His majeſty's chief concern at laſt was for his *brother's ſucceſſion*; and when he came to die, he ſpoke not a word of religion, nor ſhewed any remorſe for his ill-ſpent life: He expreſſed no tenderneſs for his ſubjects, nor any concern for his queen, but only recommended his miſtreſſes and their children to his brother's regard. So that no *engliſh-man*, or friend of his country, could weep at his death, from any other motive, than his keeping out a ſucceſſor who was worſe than himſelf.

CHAP.

CHAP. XI.

From the death of king CHARLES II. *to king* JAMES II*d's declaration for* liberty *of* conſcience.

King James II. 1685.

WHEN the news of king *Charles*'s deceaſe was ſpread over the city, a penſive ſadneſs was viſible in moſt countenances for the fate of the kingdom. His brother *James*, who ſucceeded him, told the privy council at his firſt meeting them, that "*as he would never depart* "*from any branch of the prerogative, ſo he would not invade any man's* "*property, but would preſerve the government as by law eſtabliſhed in* "*church and ſtate.*" Which gratified the clergy ſo much, that the pulpits throughout *England* reſounded with thankſgivings; and a numerous ſet of addreſſes flattered his majeſty in the ſtrongeſt expreſſions, with aſſurances of unſhaken *loyalty* and *obedience, without limitation or reſerve.* Among others was the humble addreſs of the univerſity of *Oxford*; in which, after expreſſing their ſorrow for the death of the late king, they add, that they *can never ſwerve from the principles of their inſtitution, and their religion by law eſtabliſhed, which indiſpenſably binds them, to bear faith and true obedience to their ſovereign, without any* LIMITATION *or* RESTRICTION, *and that no conſideration whatſoever ſhould ſhake their loyalty and allegiance.* And the univerſity of *Cambridge* add, that *loyalty* [or unlimited obedience] *is a duty flowing from the very principle of their religion, by which they have been enabled to breed up, as true and ſteady ſubjects as the world can ſhew, as well in doctrine as practice, from which they can never depart.* The *quakers* addreſs was more ſimple and honeſt; "We are come (ſay they), to teſtify our ſorrow for the death of "our good friend CHARLES, and our joy for thy being made our go- "vernor. We are told thou art not of the perſuaſion of the church of "*England*, no more than we, therefore we hope thou wilt grant us "the ſame liberty, which thou alloweſt thyſelf; which doing, we wiſh "thee all manner of happineſs."

State of the nation. Burnet, p. 620.

Gazettee, N°. 2018.

Sewel. p. 594. Eachard, p. 1051.

The king begins his reign with arbitrary and ſevere methods.

The king began his reign with a frank and open profeſſion of his religion, for the firſt *Sunday* after his acceſſion, he went publicly to maſs, and obliged father *Huddleſton*, who attended his brother in his laſt hours, to declare to the world that he died a *roman catholic.* His majeſty acted the part of an abſolute ſovereign from the very firſt, and though he had

King James II. 1685.

declared he would invade no man's property, yet he iſſued out a proclamation for collecting the duties of *tonnage* and *poundage*, &c. which were given to the late king only for life; and in his letter to the *ſcots* parliament, which met *March* 28, he ſays, "*I am reſolved to maintain my* "*power in its greateſt luſtre, that I may be better able to defend your re-*"*ligion againſt fanatics.*"

His ſeverity towards his enemies. Burnet, p. 637.

Before the king had been two months on his throne, he diſcovered ſevere reſentments againſt the *enemies of his religion, and of his ſucceſſion to the crown.* Dr. *Oates* was brought out of priſon and tried for *perjury*, in the affair of the popiſh plot, for which he was ſentenced to ſtand in the pillory ſeveral times, to be whipt from *Aldgate* to *Newgate*, and from thence to *Tyburn*; which was exerciſed with a ſeverity, unknown to the *engliſh* nation. And *Dangerfield*, who had invented the *meal tub plot*, for which he declared he had received money from the duke of *York*, was indicted for a libel, and was fined five hundred pounds. He was alſo ſentenced to be pilloried, and whipt from *Newgate* to *Tyburn*, and and in his return home, was murdered in the coach by one *Frances* a barriſter at law, who was afterwards hanged for it. The *whigs* who went to court, to pay their duty to the king, were received but coldly; ſome were reproached, and others denied acceſs, eſpecially thoſe who who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves for the *bill of excluſion.*

A new parliament. Burnet, p. 622, 625.

In the election of a new parliament, all methods of corruption and violence were uſed, to get ſuch members returned, as might be ſupple to the king's arbitrary deſigns. When the houſes met, *May* 22, the king repeated what he had declared in council, that *he would preſerve the government in church and ſtate as by law eſtabliſhed.* Which, *Rapin* ſays, he never intended; for he inſinuated in his ſpeech, that he would not depend on the precarious aids of parliament, nor meet them often, if they did not uſe him well. But the parliament unanimouſly ſettled all the revenues of his late majeſty, upon the king for life, which amounted to more than *two millions a year*; and preſented an addreſs *May* 27, to deſire him to iſſue forth his royal proclamation, to cauſe the *penal laws to be put in execution againſt diſſenters from the church of* England.

Gazette, N° 2036.

Perſecution revived.

This brought down the ſtorm, and revived the perſecution, which had ſlackened a little upon the late king's death. His majeſty was now encouraged to purſue his brother's meaſures. The *tories*, who adhered firmly to the prerogative, were gratified with full licenſe to diſtreſs the *diſſenters*, who were to be ſacrificed over again to a bigotted clergy, and an incenſed king, zealous for their deſtruction (ſays biſhop *Kennet*), in order to unite and encreaſe the ſtrength of popery, which he favoured without reſerve. Upon this, all meeting-houſes of pro-

proteſtant diſſenters were ſhut up, the old trade of *informing* revived and flouriſhed; the *ſpiritual courts* were crouded with buſineſs; private conventicles were diſturbed, in all parts of the city and country. If they ſurprized the miniſter, he was pulled out of his pulpit by conſtables or ſoldiers, and together with his people, carried before a *conſiding juſtice of peace*, who obliged them to pay their fines, or dragged them to priſon. If the miniſter eſcaped, they ranſacked the houſe from top to bottom; tore down hangings, broke open chambers and cloſets; entered the rooms of thoſe who were ſick; and offered all kinds of rudeneſs and incivilities to the family, though they met with no manner of oppoſition or reſiſtance. Shop-keepers were ſeparated from their trades and buſineſs; and ſometimes wives from their huſbands and children; ſeveral families were obliged to remove to diſtant places, to avoid the direful effects of an *excommunication* from the *commons*; and great ſums of money were levied as forfeitures, which had been earned by honeſt labour. Diſſenting miniſters could neither travel the road, nor appear in public but in diſguiſe; nay, they were afraid to be ſeen in the houſes of their friends, purſuivants from the *ſpiritual courts*, being always abroad upon the watch. *King* James II. 1685.

One of the firſt who came into trouble was the reverend Mr. *Baxter*, who was committed to the *King's-Bench priſon February* 28, for ſome exceptionable paſſages in his paraphraſe on the *new teſtament*, reflecting on the order of *dioceſan biſhops*, and the lawfulneſs of reſiſtance in ſome poſſible caſes. The paſſages were in his paraphraſe on *Matth.* v. 19. *Mark* ix. 39. *Mark* xi. 31. *Mark* xii. 38, 39, 40. *Luke* x. 2. *John* xi. 57, and *Acts* xv. 2. They were collected by Sir *Roger L'Eſtrange*; and a certain eminent clergyman, reported to be Dr. *Sh——ck*, put into the hands of his enemies, ſome accuſations from *Rom.* xiii. that might touch his life, but no uſe was made of them. Mr. *Baxter* being ill, moved by his council for time; but *Jefferies* ſaid, he would not give him a minute's time to ſave his life. *Yonder ſtands* Oates *in the pillory* (ſays he), *and if Mr.* Baxter *ſtood on the other ſide, I would ſay, two of the greateſt rogues in* England *ſtood there.* He was brought to his trial *May* 30, but the chief *juſtice* would not admit his council to plead for their client. When Mr. *Baxter* offered to ſpeak for himſelf, *Jefferies* called him a ſnivelling, canting *preſbyterian*, and ſaid, "*Richard, Richard*, don't thou think we "will hear thee poiſon the court. *Richard*, thou art an old fellow, and "an old knave; thou haſt written books enough to load a cart, eve-"ry one as full of ſedition, I might ſay of treaſon, as an egg is full of "meat: Hadſt thou been whipt out of thy writing trade forty years "ago, it had been happy. Thou pretendeſt to be a preacher of the goſ-"pel of peace, and thou haſt one foot in the grave, 'tis time for thee to "begin to think, what account thou intendeſt to give; but leave thee to "thyſelf, and I ſee thou wilt go on as thou haſt begun, but by the "grace *Mr.* Baxter's *trial.*

King James II. 1685.

" grace of God, I will look after thee. I know thou haſt a mighty " party, and I ſee a great many of the brotherhood in corners, waiting " to ſee what will become of their mighty don, and a doctor of the " party [doctor *Bates*] at your elbow, but by the grace of almighty " God, I will cruſh you all." The *chief juſtice* having directed the jury, they found him guilty, without going from the bar, and fined him five hundred marks, to lay in priſon till he paid it, and be bound to his good behaviour for ſeven years. Mr. *Baxter* continued in priſon about two years, and when the court changed its meaſures, his fine was remitted, and he was releaſed.

Duke of Monmouth's *rebellion.*

The rebellion of the duke of *Monmouth*, furniſhed the court with a plauſible handle, to carry the proſecution of the *whigs* and *diſſenters* to a further extremity. There was a conſiderable number of *engliſh* fugitives in *Holland* at this time, ſome on political accounts, and others on the ſcore of religion. The king being apprehenſive of danger from thence, obliged the prince of *Orange* to diſmiſs the duke of *Monmouth* from his court, and to break all thoſe officers who had waited upon him, and who were in his ſervice; this precipitated the counſels of the malecontents, and made them reſolve upon a raſh and ill concerted invaſion, which proved their ruin. The earl of *Argyle* imagining all the *ſcots* preſbyterians would revolt, ſailed to the north of *Scotland* with a very ſmall force, and was defeated with the effuſion of very little blood, before the *declaration* which he brought with him, could have any effect. After him the duke of *Monmouth*, with the like precipitate raſhneſs, landed *June* 11 with an inconſiderable force at *Lyme* in *Dorſetſhire*; and though he was joined by great numbers in the weſt country, he was defeated by the king's forces, made priſoner, and executed on *Tower-Hill*; as was the earl of *Argyle* at *Edinburgh*.

It affects the non-conformiſts.

Though the body of the diſſenters were not concerned in either of theſe invaſions, they ſuffered conſiderably on this occaſion. Great numbers of their chief merchants and tradeſmen in the city, being taken up by warrants, and ſecured in gaols, and in the public halls; as were many whig gentlemen, in *York Caſtle*, *Hull*, and the priſons in all parts of *England*, which had this good effect, that it kept them out of harms way, while many of their friends were ruined by joining the duke; ſome from a perſuaſion that the late king was married to his mother; and others in hope of a deliverance from popery and arbitrary power.

Jefferies *and Col.* Kirk's *cruelties in the* Weſt. Burnet, p. 647, 648.

The king elated with ſucceſs reſolved, to let both *whigs* and *diſſenters* feel the weight of the arm of a conqueror: His army lived upon free-quarters in the *weſt*, and treated all who were ſuppoſed to be diſaffected, with great rudeneſs and violence. Some days after *Monmouth*'s defeat, colonel *Kirk* ordered ſeveral of the priſoners to be hung up at *Taunton*, without any trial or form of law, while he and his company were dancing,

cing, revelling, and drinking healths at a neighbouring window, with a variety of muſic, from whence they beheld with a more than brutiſh triumph, the dreadful ſpectacle. The gaols being full of priſoners, the king appointed lord chief juſtice *Jefferies* to go the weſtern circuit, whoſe cruel behaviour ſurpaſſed all that had been ever heard of in a civilized nation: He was always drunk either with wine, or vengeance. When the juries found perſons not guilty, he threatened and confined them, till they brought in a verdict to his mind, as in the caſe of the old lady *Liſle*, who was beheaded, for admitting Mr. *Hicker*, a non-conformiſt miniſter, into her houſe, though the jury brought her in three times *not guilty*; and ſhe ſolemnly declared, that ſhe knew not that he had been in the duke's army. He perſuaded many of the priſoners to plead guilty, in hopes of favour, and then taking advantage of their confeſſion, ordered their immediate execution, without giving them a minute's time to ſay their prayers. Mr. *Tutchin*, who writ the *obſervator*, was ſentenced to be impriſoned ſeven years, and to be whipt once every year, through all the towns in *Dorſetſhire*; upon which he petitioned the king, that he might be hanged. Biſhop *Burnet* ſays, that in ſeveral places in the *weſt*, there were executed near ſix hundred perſons, and that the quarters of two or three hundred, were fixed upon gibbets, and hung upon trees all over the country for fifty or ſixty miles about, to the terror and even annoyance of travellers. The manner in which he treated the priſoners, was barbarous and inhumane; and his behaviour towards ſome of the nobility and gentry who were well affected, but appeared to the character of ſome of the criminals, would have amazed one (ſays biſhop *Burnet*), if done by a *baſhaw* in *Turkey*. The king had advice of his proceedings every day, and ſpoke of it in a ſtile, neither becoming the majeſty nor mercy of a great prince. And *Jefferies*, beſides ſatiating himſelf with blood, got great ſums of money, by ſelling pardons to ſuch as were able to purchaſe them, from ten pounds to fourteen thouſand guineas a-piece.

King James II. 1685.

Bennet's Mem. p. 300.

Ib. p. 299.

After the executions in the *weſt*, the king being in the height of his power, reſolved to be revenged of his old enemies, the *whigs*, by making examples of their chief leaders: Alderman *Corniſh*, who had ſignalized himſelf in proſecuting the *popiſh plot*, and was frequently in company with the late lord *Ruſſel*, was taken off the *Exchange October* 13, and within little more than a week tried, condemned, and executed in *Cheapſide* for high treaſon, without any tolerable evidence, and his quarters ſet upon *Guildhall*. On the ſame day Mrs. *Gaunt* a diſſenter, who ſpent a great part of her life in acts of charity, viſiting the gaols, and looking after the poor of what perſuaſion ſoever, having entertained *Burton*, one of *Monmouth*'s men in her houſe, he, by an unheard of baſeneſs, while

His ſevere proſecution of the whigs.

Burnet, p. 649.

King James II. 1685.

while ſhe was looking out for an opportunity, to ſend him out of the kingdom, went out and accuſed her for harbouring him, and by that means ſaved his own life by taking away hers; ſhe was burnt alive at *Tyburn*, and died with great reſolution and devotion. Mr. *Bateman* a ſurgeon, Mr. *Rouſe*, Mr. *Ferneley*, Col. *Ayloffe*, Mr. *Nelthorpe*, and others, ſuffered in like manner. *Lord Stamford* was admitted to bail, and lord *Delamere* was tried by his peers, and acquitted. Many who had correſponded with the duke of *Monmouth* abſconded, and had proclamations againſt them, as *John Trenchard*, Eſq; Mr. *Speke*, and others. But all who ſuffered in this cauſe, expreſſed ſuch a zeal for the proteſtant religion, which they apprehended in danger, as made great impreſſions on the ſpectators. Some ſay the king was hurried on by *Jefferies*; but if his own inclinations had not run ſtrong the ſame way, and if his *prieſts* had not thought it their intereſt to take off ſo many active proteſtants, who oppoſed their meaſures, they would not have let *that butcher* looſe (ſays *Burnet*), to commit ſo many barbarous acts of cruelty, as ſtruck an univerſal horror over the body of the nation. It was a bloody ſummer, and a dangerous time for honeſt men to live in.

When the king met his parliament *November* 9, he congratulated them on the ſucceſs of his arms; but told them, that in order to prevent any new diſturbances, he was determined to keep the preſent army together; and let no "man (ſays his majeſty), take exceptions that ſome officers "are not qualified, for they are moſt of them known to me for the loyal-"ty of their principles and practices; and therefore to deal plainly with "you, after having had the benefit of their ſervices in a time of need "and danger, I will neither expoſe them to diſgrace, nor myſelf to "the want of them ——" Thus we were to have a ſtanding army under popiſh officers, in defiance of the penal laws and teſt. The *commons* would have given them an act of indemnity for what was paſt, but the king would not accept it; and becauſe the houſe was not diſpoſed to his *diſpenſing power*, he prorogued them *Nov.* 20, when they had ſat only eleven days; and after many ſucceſſive prorogations in the ſpace of two years, diſſolved them.

King's ſpeech to his parliament. Gazette, No. 2085.

Burnet, p. 667.

1686. *Some turn from the church to the diſſenters.* Calamy's Abridg. p. 460, &c.

The proſecution of the diſſenters, which was carried on with all imaginable ſeverity this and the laſt year, forced ſome of their miniſters into the church, but it had a different, and more ſurpriſing influence upon others, who had the courage in theſe difficult times, to renounce the church as a *perſecuting eſtabliſhment*, and to take their lot among the nonconformiſts; as the reverend Mr. *John Spademan* M. A. of *Swayton* in *Lincolnſhire*; Mr. *John Raſtrick*, vicar of *Kirton* near *Boſton*; Mr. *Burroughs* of *Frampton*; Mr. *Scoffin* of *Brotherton*; Mr. *Quip* of *Moreton*; and a few others; who could be influenced by no other principle but con-

conſcience in a cauſe which had nothing in this world to recommend it but truth, attended with bonds and impriſonment, and the loſs of all things. *King James II. 1686.*

Progreſs of the perſecution. Calamy, p. 372, 373.

Great were the oppreſſions of thoſe who frequented the *ſeparate meetings* in ſeveral counties; the informers broke in upon Sir *John Hartoppe*, Mr. *Fleetwood*, and others at *Stoke-Newington*, to levy diſtreſſes for conventicles, to the value of ſix or ſeven thouſand pounds; the like at *Enfield*, *Hackney*, and all the neighbouring villages near *London*. The juſtices and *conſiding clergy* were equally diligent in their ſeveral pariſhes. Injunctions were ſent out from ſeveral of the biſhops under the ſeal of their offices, requiring all church-wardens to preſent ſuch, as did not repair to church, nor receive the ſacrament at *Eaſter*; which were read publicly in the churches of *Hertfordſhire*, *Eſſex*, &c. And the *juries* at the aſſizes gave it as their opinion, that the diſſenters ſhould be effectually proſecuted; but the ſcandalous villanies and perjuries of the *informers*, made wiſe men abhor the trade; however, ſo terrible were the times, that many families and miniſters removed with their effects to *New-England*, and other plantations in *America*; among whom we may reckon the reverend and worthy Mr. *Samuel Lee*, the ejected miniſter of *Biſhopſgate*, who in his return to his flock, after the revolution, was made priſoner by the *french*, and carried to St. *Maloes*, where he periſhed in a dungeon, under the hands of thoſe *whoſe tender mercies are cruel.* Many miniſters were fined and impriſoned, and great numbers of their moſt ſubſtantial hearers cited into the *commons*, their names being fixed upon the doors of their pariſh churches, and if they did not appear, an excommunication and a *capias* followed, unleſs they found means, by preſents of wine, by gold in the fingers of a pair of gloves, or ſome effectual bribe, to get themſelves excuſed; for which among others, the name of Dr. *Pinfold* is famous to this day.

Methods of the diſſenters to conceal their meetings.

The diſſenters continued to take the moſt prudent meaſures, to cover their private meetings from their adverſaries. They aſſembled in ſmall numbers —— they frequently ſhifted their places of worſhip, and met together late in the evenings, or early in the mornings —— there were friends without doors, always on the watch to give notice of approaching danger—when the dwellings of diſſenters joined, they made windows or holes in the walls, that the preachers voice might be heard in two or three houſes —— they had ſometimes private paſſages from one houſe to another, and *trap doors* for the eſcape of the miniſter, who went always in diſguiſe, except when he was diſcharging his office — in country towns and villages they were admitted through back yards and gardens into the houſe, to avoid the obſervation of neighbours and paſſengers—for the ſame reaſon they never ſung pſalms—and the miniſter was placed in ſuch an inward part of the houſe, that his voice might not be heard in the ſtreets—the doors were al-

King James II. 1686.

ways locked, and a centinel placed near them, to give the alarm, that the preacher might eſcape by ſome private paſſage, with as many of the congregation as could avoid the *informers*. But notwithſtanding all their precautions, *ſpies* and *falſe brethren* crept in among them in diſguiſe, their aſſemblies were frequently interrupted, and great ſums of money raiſed by fines or compoſitions, to the diſcouragement of trade and induſtry, and inriching the officers of the *ſpiritual courts*.

Progreſs of popery.

Thus were the non-conformiſts ground between the *papiſts* on the one hand, and the *high church clergy* on the other, while the former made their advantage of the latter, concluding, that when the *diſſenters* were deſtroyed, or thoroughly exaſperated, and the clergy divided among themſelves, they ſhould be a match for the hierarchy, and capable of eſtabliſhing that religion, they had ſo long been aiming to introduce. With this view, ſwarms of *jeſuits* and *regular prieſts* were ſent for from abroad; *jeſuits ſchools*, and other ſeminaries, were opened in *London* and the country; *maſs houſes* were erected in the moſt conſiderable towns; four *roman catholic* biſhops were conſecrated in the royal chapel, and exerciſed their functions under the character of *vicars apoſtolical*; their regular clergy appeared at *Whitehall* and St. *James*'s in their habits, and were unwearied in their attempts to ſeduce the common people. The way to preferment was to be a *catholic*, or to *declare for the prerogative*; all ſtate affairs being managed by ſuch men. An open correſreſpondence was held with *Rome*, and many pamphlets were diſperſed, to make proſelytes to the romiſh faith, or at leaſt to effect a coalition. Multitudes of the king's ſubjects frequented the popiſh chapels, ſome changed their *profeſſion*; and all men were forbid to ſpeak diſreſpectfully of the king's religion.

Clergy forbid to preach againſt popery.

At length the eyes of many of the clergy began to be opened, and they judged it neceſſary to preach *againſt the popiſh doctrines*, that they might recover the people who were deſerting in numbers, and reſcue the proteſtant religion, from the danger into which their own follies had brought it. The king being acquainted with this, by the advice of his prieſts, ſent circular letters to the biſhops, with an order, *prohibiting the inferior clergy from preaching on the controverted points of religion*; which many complained of, though it was no more than king *James* and *Charles* I. had done before. However, when their mouths were ſtopt in the pulpit, ſome of the moſt learned and zealous, agreed to fight the *catholics* with their own weapons, and to publiſh ſmall pamphlets for the benefit of the *vulgar*, in defence of the proteſtant doctrines. When a popiſh pamphlet was in the preſs, they made intereſt with the workmen, and got the ſheets as they were wrought off, ſo that an anſwer was ready, as ſoon as the pamphlet was publiſhed. There was hardly a week, in which ſome ſermon or ſmall treatiſe againſt popery, was not printed and diſperſed among

Burnet, p. 674.

But they write againſt it.

mong the common people, which in the compaſs of a year or two, produced a valuable ſet of controverſial writings, againſt the errors of that church. The chief writers were Dr. *Tillotſon*, *Stillingfleet*, *Teniſon*, *Patrick*, *Wake*, *Whitby*, *Sharp*, *Atterbury*, *Williams*, *Aldrich*, *Burnet*, *Fowler*, &c. men of great name and renown, who gained immortal honour, and were afterwards advanced to the higheſt dignities in the church. Never was a bad cauſe more weakly managed by the papiſts, nor a more compleat victory obtained by the proteſtants. *King* James II. 1686.

But the church party not content with their triumph, *have of late cenſured the non-conformiſts, for appearing only as ſpectators, and not joining them in the combat.* But how could the clergy expect this from a ſet of men, whom they had been perſecuting for above twenty years, and who had the yoke of oppreſſion ſtill lying on their necks? Had not the non-conformiſts been before-hand with them, in their *morning exerciſes againſt popery?* And did not Dr. *Owen*, Mr. *Pool*, *Baxter*, *Clarkſon*, and others, write againſt the errors of the church of *Rome*, throughout the whole reign of king *Charles* II? Had not the non-conformiſts ſtood in the gap, and expoſed themſelves ſufficiently to the reſentments of the papiſts, for refuſing to come into their meaſures for an *univerſal toleration*, in which they might have been included? Beſides, the *poor miniſters* were hardly crept out of corners, their papers had been rifled, and their books ſold or ſecreted, to avoid ſeizure; they had little time to ſtudy, and therefore might not be ſo well prepared for the argument, as thoſe who had lived in eaſe and ſecurity. Farther, the *church party* was moſt nearly concerned, the non-conformiſts having nothing to loſe, whereas all the emoluments of the church were at ſtake; and after all, ſome of the diſſenters did write; and if we may believe Dr. *Calamy*, Mr. *Baxter*, and others, their tracts being thought too warm, were refuſed to be licenſed. Upon the whole, biſhop *Burnet* wiſely obſerves, that as the *diſſenters* would not engage on the ſide of popery and the prerogative, nor appear for taking off the teſts in the preſent circumſtances; ſo on the other hand, they were unwilling to provoke the king, who had lately given them hopes of liberty, leſt he ſhould make up matters upon any terms with the church party, at their expence; nor would they provoke the *church party*, or by any ill behaviour drive them into a reconciliation with the court; therefore they reſolved to let the *points of controverſy* alone, and leave them to the management of the clergy, who had a legal bottom to ſupport them. *Reaſons of the diſſenters not writing.* Calamy, p. 373. p. 702.

The clergy's writing begins an open war between the king and church. Burnet, p. 715.

The clergy's writing thus warmly againſt popery, broke all meaſures between the king and the church of *England*, and made each party court that *body of men* for their *auxiliaries*, whom they had been perſecuting and deſtroying for ſo many years. His majeſty now reſolved to introduce an *uni-*

King James II. 1686.

And brings liberty to the diſſenters.

universal toleration in deſpite of the church, and at their expence. The *cruelty* of the church of *England* was his common ſubject of diſcourſe; he reproached them for their violent perſecutions of the diſſenters, and ſaid, he had intended to ſet on foot a *toleration* ſooner, but *that he was reſtrained by* SOME OF THEM *who had treated with him, and had undertaken to ſhew favour to the papiſts, provided they might be ſtill ſuffered to vex the diſſenters*; and he named the very men, though they thought fit afterwards to deny it: How far the fact is probable muſt be left with the reader.

By virtue of the diſpenſing power.

Burnet, p. 669.

It being thought impracticable to obtain a *legal toleration* in the preſent circumſtances of the nation, his majeſty determined to attempt it by the *diſpenſing power*; for this purpoſe Sir *Edward Hales* a popiſh gentleman of *Kent*, was brought to trial for breaking through the *teſt act*, when Sir *Edward Herbert* lord chief juſtice, gave judgment in his favour, and declared *the powers of the crown to be abſolute*. The other judges were cloſeted, and ſuch diſplaced as were of a different ſentiment; and the king being reſolved to have twelve judges of his own opinion, four had their *quietus*, and as many new ones advanced, from whom the king exacted a promiſe, to ſupport the prerogative in all its branches. There was a *new call of ſerjeants*, who gave rings with this motto, DEUS, REX, LEX, *God*, the *king*, and the *law*; the king being placed before the law. The privy council was new modelled, and ſeveral declared papiſts admitted into it; two *confiding clergymen* were promoted to biſhoprics. *Parker* to *Oxford*, and *Cartwright* to *Cheſter*. Many pamphlets were writ and diſperſed in favour of *liberty of conſcience*; and Sir *Roger L'Eſtrange*, with other mercenary writers, were employed to maintain, that *a power in the king to diſpenſe with the laws, is law*. But the opinion of private writers not being thought ſufficient, it was reſolved to have the determination of the *judges*, who all (except one) gave it as their opinion; 1. *That the laws of* England *were the king's laws*. 2. *That it is an inſeparable branch of the prerogative of the kings of* England, *as of all other ſovereign princes, to diſpenſe with all penal laws in particular caſes, and on particular occaſions*. 3. *That of theſe reaſons and neceſſity the king is ſole judge*. 4. *That this is not a truſt now inveſted in, and granted to the preſent king, but the antient remains of the ſovereign power of the kings of* England, *which was never yet taken from them, nor can be*. Thus the laws of *England* were given up at once into the hands of the king, by a ſolemn determination of the *judges*.

Welw. Mem. p. 194.

Which is declared legal by the judges.

Non-conf. *careſſed by the court.* p. 672.

This point being ſecured, his majeſty began to careſs the *non-conformiſts*; "All on a ſudden (ſays biſhop *Burnet*), the churchmen were diſgraced, "and the diſſenters in high favour. Lord chief juſtice *Herbert* went "the weſtern circuit after *Jefferies*, who was now made lord chancellor, "and

" and all was grace and favour to them; their former ſufferings were " much reflected upon and pitied; every thing was offered that might " alleviate them; *their miniſters* were encouraged to ſet up their conven- " ticles, which had been diſcontinued, or held very ſecretly for four or " five years; intimations were given every where, that the king would " not have them nor their meetings diſturbed." A *diſpenſation*, or *licenſe office* was ſet up, where all who applied might have an indulgence, paying only fifty ſhillings, for themſelves and their families. Many who had been proſecuted for *conventicles*, took out thoſe licenſes, which not only ſtopt all proceſſes that were commenced, but gave them liberty to go publicly to meetings for the future. " Upon this (ſays the ſame reverend pre- " late), ſome of the diſſenters gvew inſolent, but wiſer men among them, " perceived the deſign of the papiſts was now to ſet on the *diſſenters* a- " gainſt the *church*, and therefore though they returned to their *con-* " *venticles*, yet they had a juſt jealouſy of the ill deſigns that lay hid, " under all this ſudden, and unexpected ſhew of grace and kindneſs, and " *they took care not to provoke the church party.*" But where then were the underſtandings of the high church clergy, during the whole reign of king *Charles* II. while they were purſuing the non-conformiſts and their families to deſtruction, for a long courſe of years? Did they not perceive the deſign of the papiſts? Or were they not willing rather to court them, at the expence of the whole body of *diſſenting proteſtants?* Biſhop *Laud*'s ſcheme of uniting with the papiſts, and meeting them half way, was never out of their ſight; however, when the reader calls to mind the oppreſſion and cruelties, that the conſcientious non-conformiſts underwent from the *high church party* for twenty-five years, he will be ready to conclude, *they* deſerved no regard, if the *proteſtant religion itſelf* had not been at ſtake.

King James II. 1686.

Thus the allwiſe providence of God, put a period to the proſecution of the *proteſtant diſſenters* from the penal laws, though the laws themſelves were not legally repealed, or ſuſpended, till after the revolution of king *William* and queen *Mary*. It may not therefore be improper to give the reader, a ſummary view of their uſage in this and the laſt reign, and of the damages they ſuſtained in their perſons, families, and fortunes.

The end of the proſecution of the diſſenters by the penal laws.

The QUAKERS in their petition to king JAMES the laſt year, inform his majeſty, that of late above *one thouſand five hundred* of their friends were in priſon, both men and women; and that now there remain one thouſand three hundred eighty-three, of which two hundred are women; many under ſentence of *præmunire*; and more than three hundred near it, for refuſing the oath of allegiance *becauſe they could not ſwear.* —— above three hundred and fifty have died in priſon ſince the year 1660, near one

Account of the quakers. Sewel, p. 588, 593.

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one hundred of which ſince the year 1680. —— In *London*, the gaol of *Newgate* has been crouded within theſe two years, ſometimes with near twenty in a room, whereby ſeveral have been ſuffocated, and others, who have been taken out ſick, have died of malignant fevers within a few days —— great violences, outragious diſtreſſes, and woful havoc and ſpoil have been made, on peoples goods and eſtates, by a company of idle, extravagant, and mercileſs *informers*, by proſecutions on the conventicle act, and others, as may be ſeen in the margin *. Alſo on *qui tam* writs, and on other proceſſes, for twenty pounds a month; and two thirds of their eſtates ſeized for the king —— ſome had not a bed left to reſt upon; others had no cattle to till the ground, nor corn for ſeed or bread, nor tools to work with: The ſaid informers and bailiffs in ſome places breaking into houſes, and making great waſte and ſpoil, under pretence of ſerving the king and the church. —— Our religious aſſemblies have been charged at common law with being *riotous routs, and diſturbances of the peace*, whereby great numbers have been confined in priſons, without regard to age or ſex; and many in holes and dungeons —— the ſeizures for twenty pounds a month have amounted to ſeveral thouſand pounds; ſometimes they have ſeized for eleven months at once, and made ſale of all goods and chattels both within doors and without for payment —— ſeveral who have employed ſome hundreds of poor families in manufacture, are by thoſe writs and ſeizures diſabled, as well as by long impriſonment; one in particular, who employed two hundred people in the woollen manufacture —— Many *informers*, and eſpecially *impudent women*, whoſe huſbands are in priſon, ſwear for their ſhare of the profit of the ſeizures — the fines upon one juſtice's warrant have amounted to many hundred pounds; frequently ten pounds a warrant, and five warrants together for fifty pounds to one man; and for non-payment, all his goods carried away in about ten cart loads. They ſpare neither widows nor fatherleſs, nor poor families; nor

* The acts or penal laws on which they ſuffered were theſe:
Some few ſuffered on the 27 *Henry* VIII. cap. 20.
Others on 1 *Eliz.* cap. 2. for twelve pence a *Sunday*.
5 *Eliz.* cap. 23. *de excommu. capiendo.*
23 *Eliz.* cap. 1. for 20*l.* a month.
29 *Eliz.* cap. 6. *for more ſpeedy and due execution of laſt ſtatute.*
35 *Eliz.* cap. 1. *for abjuring the realm, on pain of death.*
3 King *James* I. cap. 4. *for better diſcovering and repreſſing popiſh recuſants.*
13th and 14th of king *Charles* II. againſt *quakers*, &c. tranſportation.
17 *Charles* II. cap. 2. *againſt non-conformiſts.*
22 King *Charles* II. cap. 1. *againſt ſeditious conventicles.*
N. B. The *quakers* were not much affected with the *corporation and teſt acts*, becauſe they would not take an *oath*.
Nor with the *Oxford five mile act*, which cut the others to pieces.

nor leave them ſo much as a bed to lie upon —— thus the *informers* are both witneſſes and parties, to the ruin of great numbers of ſober families; and juſtices of peace have been threatened with the forfeiture of one hundred pounds, if they do not iſſue out warrants upon their informations—— with this petition, they preſented to the king and parliament a liſt of their *friends* in priſon in the ſeveral counties, amounting to one thouſand four hundred and ſixty. *King* James II. 1686.

But 'tis impoſſible to make an exact computation of the number of ſufferers, or eſtimate of the damages his majeſty's *diſſenting ſubjects* of the ſeveral denominations ſuſtained, by the proſecutions of this and the laſt reign; how many families were impoveriſhed, and reduced to beggary; how many lives were loſt in priſons and noiſome gaols; how many *miniſters* were divorced from their people, and forced to live as they could, *five miles from a corporation*; how many induſtrious and laborious *tradeſmen* were cut off from their trades; and their ſubſtance and houſhold goods plundered by ſoldiers, or divided among idle and infamous informers. The vexatious ſuits of the *commons*, and the expences of *thoſe courts* were immenſe. *Computation of the number of ſufferers, and eſtimate of the damages ſuſtained by* non-conformiſts *in the two laſt reigns.*

The writer of the *preface* of Mr. *Delaune's plea for the non-conformiſts*, ſays, that *Delaune* was one of near eight thouſand *proteſtant diſſenters*, who had periſhed in priſon in the reign of king *Charles* II. and that *meerly for diſſenting from the church in ſome points, which they were able to give good reaſon for*; and yet for no other cauſe (ſays he), were they ſtifled, I had almoſt ſaid, murdered in gaols —— As for the ſevere penalties inflicted on them, for ſeditious and riotous aſſemblies, deſigned only for the worſhip of God, he adds, that they ſuffered in their trades and eſtates, within the compaſs of three years, at leaſt two millions; and doubts, whether in all the times ſince the reformation, including the reign of queen MARY, there can be produced any thing like ſuch a number of chriſtians who have ſuffered death; and ſuch numbers who have loſt their ſubſtance for religion. Another writer adds, that Mr. *Jeremy White*, had carefully collected *a liſt of the diſſenting ſufferers, and of their ſufferings*; and had the names of ſixty thouſand perſons who had ſuffered on a religious account, between the reſtoration of king *Charles* II. and the revolution of king *William*; five thouſand of whom died in priſon. That Mr. *White* told lord *Dorſet*, that king *James* had offered him a thouſand guineas for the manuſcript, but that he refuſed all invitations and rewards, and concealed the black record, that it might not appear to the diſreputation of the church of *England*, for which ſome of the clergy ſent him their thanks, and offered him an acknowledgement, which he generouſly refuſed. The reader will form his own judgment of the truth of theſe facts. 'Tis certain, that beſides thoſe who ſuf- Preface *to* Delaune's plea, p. 5. Hiſt. Stuarts, p. 715.

fered

King James II 1686.

fered in their own country, great numbers retired to the plantations of *New England*, *Penſilvania*, and other parts of *America*. Many tranſported themſelves and their effects into *Holland*, and filled the *engliſh* churches of *Amſterdam*, the *Hague*, *Utrecht*, *Leyden*, *Rotterdam*, and other parts. If we admit the diſſenting families of the ſeveral denominations in *England*, to be one hundred and fifty thouſand, and that each family ſuffered no more, than the loſs of three or four pounds *per annum*, from the *act of uniformity*, the whole will amount to twelve or fourteen millions; a prodigious ſum for thoſe times! But theſe are only conjectures; the damage to the trade and property of the nation was undoubtedly immenſe; and the wounds that were made in the eſtates of private families were deep and large, many of whom, to my certain knowledge, wear the ſcars of them to this day.

Reaſons of their numbers not decreaſing.

When the *proteſtant diſſenters* roſe up into public view as a diſtinct body, their long ſufferings had not very much diminiſhed their numbers, which though not to be compared with thoſe of the eſtabliſhment, or the *tories* and *roman catholics*, were yet ſo conſiderable, as to be capable of turning the ſcale on either ſide, according as they ſhould throw in their weight, which might poſſibly be owing, amongſt others, to the following reaſons:

1. To *their firmneſs and conſtancy in a long courſe of ſuffering*, which convinced the world, that they were not actuated by humour, but conſcience.

2. To *their doctrine and manner of preaching*, which was plain and practical, accompanied with a warm and awakening addreſs to the conſcience. Their doctrines were thoſe of the *firſt reformers*, which were grown out of faſhion in the church; and their way of worſhip was ſimple and plain; without the ornament of rites and ceremonies.

3. To *the ſeverity of their morals*, at a time when the nation was ſunk into all kinds of vice and luxury, from which they preſerved themſelves in a great meaſure untainted. Their converſation was ſober and virtuous. They obſerved the Lord's day with ſtrictneſs, and had an univerſal reputation for juſtice and integrity in their dealings.

4. To *the careful and ſtrict education of their children*, whom they impreſſed with an early ſenſe of ſcriptural religion, and educated in their own way, as they had opportunity, under private ſchool-maſters of their own principles.

5. To a concern for a *ſucceſſion of able and learned miniſters*, for which purpoſe they encouraged *private academies* in ſeveral parts of the kingdom; and 'tis remarkable that many gentlemen and ſubſtantial citizens, devoted their children to the miniſtry, at a time when they had nothing in view, but worldly diſcouragements.

6. To

6. To *the perſecuting zeal of the high church party*, attended with an uncommon licentiouſneſs of manners. If their zeal againſt the nonconformiſts, had produced a greater ſanctity of life, and ſeverity of morals amongſt themſelves, it had been leſs offenſive; but to ſee men deſtitute of common virtue, ſigning warrants of diſtreſs upon their neighbours, only for worſhipping God peaceably at a *ſeparate meeting*, when themſelves hardly worſhipped God at all; made ſome apprehend there was nothing at all in religion, and others reſolve to take their lot with a more ſober people. *King James II. 1686.*

Finally, To *the ſpirit and principles of toriſm, which began to appear ruinous to the nation.* The old *engliſh* conſtitution was in a manner loſt, while the *church* and *prerogative* had been trampling on the *diſſenters*, who had ſtood firm to it for twenty years, in the midſt of reproaches and ſufferings. This was the conſequence of *tory* meaſures, and *popery* being now coming in at the gap they had made, the moſt reſolved proteſtants ſaw their error, entertained a favourable opinion of the *diſſenters*, and many of them joined their congregations.

To return to the hiſtory; the *diſſenters* being now eaſy, it was reſolved to turn the artillery of the *prerogative* againſt the church, and make them feel a little of the ſmart they had given others; the king and his prieſts were thoroughly inraged with their oppoſition to the court, and therefore appointed commiſſioners throughout *England* to enquire, *what money had been raiſed? Or what goods had been ſeized by diſtreſs on diſſenters, on proſecutions for recuſancy*, and not brought to account in the *Exchequer?* In the *Gazette* of *March* 5, 1687, it is advertiſed, that the *commiſſioners* appointed to examine into the loſſes of the diſſenters and recuſants, within the ſeveral counties of *Glouceſter*, *Woreeſter*, and *Monmouth*, were to hold their ſeſſions for the ſaid counties, at the places therein mentioned. Others were appointed for the counties of *Middleſex*, *Eſſex*, &c. to enquire what money or goods had been taken or received, for any matters relating to religion, ſince *September* 29, 1677, in any of the counties for which they were named. They were to return the names of all perſons who had ſeized goods, or received money. The parties themſelves, if alive, were obliged to appear, and give an account; and if dead, their repreſentatives were to appear before the commiſſioners for them. This ſtruck terror into the whole tribe of *informers*, the *confiding juſtices*, and others, who expected now to be ruined; but (ſays Dr. *Calamy*), the *proteſtant diſſenters* generouſly refuſed to appear againſt their enemies, upon aſſurances given by leading perſons, both clergy and laity, that no ſuch methods ſhould be uſed for the future. Had *this enquiry* proceeded, and the diſſenters univerſally come into it, a black and fraudulent ſcene would have been opened, which now will be *A commiſſion of enquiry into the loſſes the* diſſenters *had ſuſtained by the church party.*

King James II. 1686.

concealed. Biſhop *Burnet* ſays, "the king ordered them to enquire into "all *vexatious ſuits*, into which the diſſenters had been brought in the "*ſpiritual courts*, and into all the *compoſitions* they had been forced to "make, to redeem themſelves from further trouble, *which, as was ſaid, "would have brought to light a ſcandalous diſcovery of all the ill practi-"ſes of thoſe courts*; for the uſe that many who belong to thoſe courts, "had made of the laws with relation to diſſenters, was, *to draw pre-"ſents from ſuch as could make them*, threatening them with a proceſs in "in caſe they failed to do that, and upon doing it, leaving them at full "liberty to neglect the laws as much as they pleaſed. The *commiſſion* "ſubſiſted till the *revolution*, and it was hoped (ſays his lordſhip), that "this would have animated the *diſſenters* to turn upon the clergy with "ſome of that fierceneſs, with which they themſelves had been lately "treated." But they took no advantage of the diſpoſition of the court, nor of the opportunity that was put into their hands of making repriſals on their adverſaries; which ſhews the truly generous, and chriſtian ſpirit of thoſe *confeſſors for religion*; and deſerved a more grateful acknowledgment.

p. 715.

An eccleſiaſtical commiſſion erected.

To humble the clergy yet further, his majeſty, by the advice of *Jefferies*, erected a *new eccleſiaſtical commiſſion*, though the act which took away the *high commiſſion* in 1641, had provided, that no court of that nature ſhould be erected for the future; but the king, though a papiſt, aſſumed the *ſupremacy*, and directed a commiſſion to the archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, *Jefferies* the chancellor, the biſhops of *Durham* and *Rocheſter*; to the earl of *Sunderland* preſident of the council; *Herbert* and *Wright*, lord chief juſtices, and *Jenner* recorder of *London*, or any three of them, provided the *chancellor* was one, "to exerciſe all manner of ju-"riſdiction and pre-eminence, touching any ſpiritual or eccleſiaſtical ju-"riſdictions, to viſit, reform, redreſs, and amend all abuſes, offences, "contempts, and enormities, which by the ſpiritual or eccleſiaſtical laws "might be corrected. They were alſo to enquire into all miſdemeanors "and contempts which might be puniſhed by the cenſures of the church, "and to call before them all eccleſiaſtical perſons, of what degree and dig-"nity ſoever, and puniſh the offenders by excommunications, ſuſpen-"ſions, deprivations, or other eccleſiaſtical cenſures, *&c.*" This was a terrible rod held out to the clergy, and if the *commiſſioners* had had time to proceed in their *enquiries*, according to the mandates ſent to the chancellors and archdeacons of the ſeveral dioceſes, they would have felt more of the effects of that arbitrary power, which their indiſcreet conduct had brought on the nation; but providence was kinder to them, than they had been to their brethren. The commiſſion was granted the beginning of *April*, but was not opened till the beginning of *Auguſt*; the archbiſhop

Burnet, p. 675.

Wel. Mem. p. 198.

biſhop of *Canterbury* was afraid to act in it; *Durham* was ſo lifted up (ſays *Burnet*), that he ſaid his name would now be recorded in hiſtory; and *Sprat* biſhop of *Rocheſter*, in hopes of further preferment, ſwam with the ſtream. Some *roman catholics* were in the commiſſion, and conſequently the enemies of the proteſtant religion were to be its judges. *King* James II. 1686.

But his majeſty not being willing to rely altogether on the *Oxford decree*, nor on the faſhionable doctrines of *paſſive obedience* and *non-reſiſtance*, which had been preached up for above twenty years, as the unalterable doctrines of the church of *England*; in order to ſupport his extraordinary proceedings, reſolved to augment his ſtanding forces to fifteen thouſand men. He was apprehenſive of a *ſnake in the graſs*, or a *ſecret reſerve*, that might break out when the church itſelf came to be pinched; he therefore ordered his army to encamp on *Hounſlow-Heath*, under the command of the earl of *Feverſham*, to awe the city, and be at hand upon any emergency; the officers and many of the ſoldiers were *iriſh papiſts*, and they had a public chapel in which maſs was ſaid every day, ſo that it was believed the king might introduce what religion he pleaſed. It was dangerous to ſpeak or write againſt his majeſty's proceedings; for when the reverend Mr. *Johnſon*, a clergyman, ventered to publiſh a writing, directed to the proteſtant officers of the army, to diſſuade them from being tools of the court, to ſubvert the conſtitution and proteſtant religion; diligent ſearch was made for him, and being apprehended, he was ſentenced to ſtand three times in the pillory, to be degraded of his orders, to be whipt from *Newgate* to *Tyburn*, and to be fined five hundred marks; all which was executed with great ſeverity. *A ſtanding army to ſupport it.* Gazette, Numb. 2192

Affairs in *Scotland* were in equal forwardneſs with thoſe of *England*; the parliament which met at *Edinburgh* in *May* 1685, while the perſecution continued, declared their abhorrence of all principles derogatory to the king's *abſolute power*, and offered their lives and fortunes to defend it againſt all oppoſers. They paſſed an act, making it death to reſort to any conventicles in houſes or fields; and declared it high treaſon to give or take the *national covenant*, or to write in defence of it. They alſo obliged the ſubjects of *Scotland* to take an oath, when required, to maintain the *king's abſolute power*, on pain of baniſhment. Popery made very conſiderable advances in that kingdom, and ſeveral perſons of character changed their religion with the times. But the populace were in the other extream; the earl of *Perth* having ſet up a private chapel for maſs, the mob broke into it with ſuch fury, that they defaced and deſtroyed the whole furniture, for which one of them was apprehended and hanged. When the *engliſh* court changed meaſures, the *ſcots* parliament agreed to a ſuſpenſion of the penal laws, during the king's life; but his majeſty inſiſting *Affairs of* Scotland. Burnet. p. 678.

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ſiſting upon an entire repeal, which they declined, he diſſolved them. The epiſcopal clergy were obſequious to the court, and in many places ſo ſunk into ſloth and ignorance, that the lower people were grown quite indifferent in matters of religion; but the *preſbyterians*, though now freed from the ſeverities, they had ſmarted under for many years, expreſſed upon all occaſions, an unconquerable averſion to popery, and by degrees rouſed the whole nation out of their lethargy.

Of Ireland.

In *Ireland* things had ſtill a more favourable aſpect for the court: The king had a greater dependance on the *iriſh catholics*, than upon any other of his ſubjects. Colonel *Talbot* earl of *Tyrconnel*, was made lord lieutenant of that country, a vile and profligate officer, who ſcrupled no kind of barbarity and wickedneſs to ſerve his cauſe; he broke ſeveral proteſtant officers in the army, and by degrees turned them all out, to make room for *papiſts*. All offices both civil and military were put into the hands of the vileſt miſcreants; there was not a proteſtant ſheriff left in that kingdom; the *charters* were taken away, and new modelled in favour of papiſts. The corporations were diſſolved, and all things managed with an arbitrary hand, ſo that many imagining the maſſacring knife to be at their throats, left the kingdom; ſome tranſporting themſelves into *England*, and others into more remote and diſtant countries. Thus far the prerogative prevailed without any repulſe.

Biſhop of London *ſuſpended.*

Matters being now ripe for attacking the church of *England* in form, it was reſolved to begin, with making an example of ſome of their leading divines: Dr. *Sharp* rector of St. *Giles*'s, having diſobeyed the king's order, of *not preaching on the controverted points*, and ſpoken diſreſpectfully of the king's religion, in one of his ſermons, the biſhop of *London* was ordered to ſuſpend him; but the biſhop, with all reſpect and duty to his majeſty, ſent word, that he could not proceed in ſuch a ſummary way, but that when the cauſe was heard in the *commons*, he would pronounce ſuch ſentence, as the *canons* ſhould warrant; and in the mean time, would deſire the doctor to forbear preaching. The court reſenting the biſhop's denial, cited him before the *eccleſiaſtical commiſſion Aug.* 4, where he was treated by *Jefferies*, in a manner unbecoming his character. The biſhop excepted to the authority of the court, as contrary to law, and added, that he had complied in the doctor's caſe, as far as the *eccleſiaſtical laws* would permit. However, notwithſtanding all that his lordſhip could ſay in his defence, he was ſuſpended *ab officio*, and the biſhops of *Durham*, *Rocheſter*, and *Peterborough*, were appointed commiſſioners, to exerciſe juriſdiction during his ſuſpenſion. Dr. *Sharp*, after having expreſſed his ſorrow in a petition, for falling under the king's diſpleaſure, was diſmiſſed with a gentle reprimand, and ſuffered to return to the exerciſe of his function.

Burnet, p. 676.

Ib. p. 677.

The

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The king's next attempt was upon the *univerſities:* He began with *Cambridge*, and commanded Dr. *Peachel* the vicechancellor, to admit one *Alban Francis*, a benedictine monk, to the degree of *M. A.* without adminiſtring to him any oath or oaths whatſoever; all which his majeſty declared he would diſpenſe with. The *vicechancellor* having read the letter to the *congregation of regents*, it was agreed to petition the king, to revoke his *mandate*; but inſtead of complying with their petition, the king ſent for the vicechancellor before the *eccleſiaſtical commiſſion*, by whom he was ſuſpended *ab officio & beneficio*, for diſobedience and contempt of the king's commands; and Dr. *Balderſton*, maſter of *Emanuel College*, was choſen vicechancellor in his room.

Privileges of the univerſity of Camb. *invaded.* Burnet, p. 700.

And of Magd. Coll. Oxon.

Soon after, the king ſent a *mandamus* to the vice-preſident of *Magdalen College Oxford*, and to the fellows, to chooſe Mr. *Farmer*, a man of ill reputation, their preſident, in the room of Dr. *Clarke* deceaſed; but in defiance of the king's mandate, they choſe Dr. *Hough*; for which they were cited before the *eccleſiaſtical commiſſioners*, but having proved *Farmer* to be a man of bad character, the king relinquiſhed him, and ordered them by another mandate, to chooſe Dr. *Parker* biſhop of *Oxford*. The fellows having agreed to abide by their firſt choice, refuſed to elect the biſhop, as contrary to their ſtatutes. Upon which the *commiſſioners* were ſent to viſit them, who after ſundry enquiries and examinations, deprived Dr. *Hough*, and inſtalled the biſhop of *Oxford* by proxy; and the *fellows* refuſing to ſign a ſubmiſſion to their new *preſident*, twenty five of them were deprived, and made incapable of any benefice. *Parker* died ſoon after, and one of the popiſh biſhops was by *mandamus* choſen preſident in his place; which inflamed the church party ſo far, that they ſent preſſing meſſages to the prince of *Orange*, deſiring him to eſpouſe the cauſe of the church, and break with the king, if he would not redreſs their grievances. Thus the very firſt beginnings of reſiſtance to king *James*, came from that very univerſity, which but four years before, had pronounced this doctrine *damnable* by a *ſolemn decree*; and from thoſe very men, who were afterwards king *William*'s moſt bitter enemies.

Burnet, p. 701.

Both king and church court the diſſenters.

The more deſperate the war grew between the king and the church, the more neceſſary did both parties find it, to ſhew kindneſs to the *diſſenters*; for this purpoſe his majeſty ſent agents among them, offering them the royal favour, and all manner of encouragement, if they would concur with him, *in abrogating the penal laws and teſt*; he invited ſome of their miniſters to court, and pretended to conſult them in the preſent criſis. The clergy, at the ſame time, prayed and entreated the *diſſenters* to appear on their ſide, and ſtand by the eſtabliſhment, making

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ing large promiſes of favour and brotherly affection, if ever they came into power.

1687.

The king, notwithſtanding the ſtubbornneſs of the clergy, called a council, in which he declared his reſolution to iſſue out a declaration, for a *general liberty of conſcience, to all perſons of what perſuaſion ſoever*, " which he was moved to do, by having obſerved, that though an uni- " formity of worſhip had been endeavoured to be eſtabliſhed, within this " kingdom in the ſucceſſive reigns of four of his predeceſſors, aſſiſted " by their reſpective parliaments, yet it had proved altogether ineffectual. " That the reſtraint upon the conſciences of diſſenters, had been very " prejudicial to the nation, as was ſadly experienced by the horrid re- " bellion in the time of his majeſty's father. That the many penal laws " made againſt diſſenters, had rather encreaſed than leſſened the number " of them; and that nothing could more conduce to the peace and quiet " of this kingdom, and the increaſe of the number, as well as of the " trade of his ſubjects, than an entire liberty of conſcience, it having " always been his opinion, as moſt ſuitable to the principles of chriſti- " anity, *that no man ſhould be perſecuted for conſcience ſake*; for he " thought conſcience could not be forced, and that it could never be the " true intereſt of a king of *England*, to endeavour to do it."

King's ſpeech in council for liberty of conſcience. Gazette, N° 2226.

This ſpeech meeting with no oppoſition in the council, his majeſty on the 4th of *April*, cauſed his gracious declaration for liberty of conſcience, to be publiſhed. In the preamble to which, his majeſty does not ſcruple to ſay, " That he cannot but heartily wiſh (as it will eaſily be " believed), that all his ſubjects were members of the *catholic church*, yet " it is his opinion, that *conſcience ought not to be forced*, for the reaſons " mentioned in the foregoing ſpeech, which he rehearſes at large; and then adds. " By virtue of his royal prerogative, he thinks fit to iſſue " out his *declaration of indulgence*, making no doubt of the concurrence " of his two houſes of parliament, when he ſhall think it convenient " for them to meet. And, *firſt*, he declares, that he will protect and " maintain his archbiſhops, biſhops and clergy, and all other his ſubjects " of the church of *England*, in the free exerciſe of their religion, as by " law eſtabliſhed, and in the quiet and full enjoyment of their poſſeſ- " ſions. *Secondly*, that it is his royal will and pleaſure, that all penal " laws for non-conformity to the religion eſtabliſhed, or by reaſon of " the exerciſe of religion in any manner whatſoever, be immediately " ſuſpended. And to the end, that by the liberty hereby granted, the " peace and ſecurity of the government in the practice thereof, may not " be endangered, he ſtrictly charges and commands all his ſubjects, that " as he freely gives them leave to meet, and ſerve God after their own " way, be it in private houſes, or places purpoſely hired and built for " that

His majeſty's declaration of indulgence. Gazette, N° 2231.

" that uſe, ſo that they take ſpecial care, that nothing be preached or " taught among them, which may tend to alienate the hearts of his peo- " ple, from him or his government; and that their meetings or aſſem- " blies be peaceably, openly, and publicly held, and all perſons freely " admitted to them; and that they ſignify and make known, to ſome " one or more of the next juſtices of peace, what place or places they " ſet apart for ſuch uſes. And he is deſirous to have the benefit of the " ſervice of all his ſubjects, which by the law of nature is inſeparably " annexed and inherent to his royal perſon. And that none of his ſub- " jects, may be for the future under any diſcouragements or diſability, " who are otherwiſe well inclined, and fit to ſerve him, by reaſon of " ſome *oaths* or *teſts*, that have uſually been adminiſtred upon ſuch oc- " caſions, he hereby further declares, that it is his will and pleaſure, " that the *oaths of ſupremacy and allegiance, and the ſeveral teſts and de-* " *clarations mentioned in the acts of parliament made in the* 25*th and* 30*th* " *of his brother's reign, ſhall not hereafter be required to be taken, declar-* " *ed, or ſubſcribed by any perſons whatſoever, who are or ſhall be employed* " *in any office, or place of truſt, either civil or military under him, or in* " *his government.* And it is his intention from time to time hereafter, " to grant his royal *diſpenſation* to all his ſubjects, ſo to be employed, " who ſhall not take the ſaid oaths, or ſubſcribe or declare the ſaid teſts " or declarations. And he does hereby give his free and ample pardon, to " all *non-conformiſt recuſants*, and other his ſubjects, for all crimes and " things by them committed, or done contrary to the penal laws, for- " merly made relating to religion, and the profeſſion or exerciſe thereof. " And although the freedom and aſſurance he has hereby given, in rela- " tion to liberty and property, might be ſufficient to remove from the " minds of his ſubjects, all fears and jealouſies in relation to either, yet " he thinks fit to declare, that he will maintain them in all their pro- " perties and poſſeſſions, as well of church and abbey lands, as in other " their eſtates and properties whatſoever."

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A declaration of the ſame nature was ſent to *Scotland*, in which the king, " *by virtue of his prerogative royal, abſolute authority and power* " *over all his ſubjects, who are bound to obey him without reſerve*, repeals " all the ſevere laws made by his grandfather king *James* I. and takes " off all diſabilities from his *roman catholic ſubjects*, which rendered them " incapable of employment and benefices. He alſo ſlackened the laws " againſt moderate preſbyterians, and promiſed never to force his ſub- " jects, by any *invincible neceſſity* to change their religion. He alſo " repealed all laws, impoſing teſts on thoſe who held any employ- " ments."

Another for Scotland. Eachard, p. 1083. Burnet. p. 713.

This

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Remarks.

This was ſtrange conduct (ſays biſhop *Burnet*), in a *roman catholic* monarch, at a time when his *brother* of *France*, had juſt broke the *edict of Nantz*, and was dragooning his proteſtant ſubjects out of his kingdom. But the biſhop ſuſpects the king's ſincerity in his declaration, from his promiſing to uſe no *invincible neceſſity to force his ſubjects* to change their religion, as if there was a *reſerve*, and that ſome degrees of compulſion might be proper one time or other; which ſeems to have been a parallel caſe to the *doctrine of the church*, concerning *non-reſiſtance*. However by another proclamation, the king granted full liberty to the *ſcots preſbyterians*, to ſet up conventicles in their own way, which they thankfully accepted; but when his majeſty preſſed them to diſpoſe their friends, to concur with him in taking off the teſt and penal laws, which they knew was only to ſerve the *papiſts*, they anſwered only in cold and general terms.

Diſſenters admitted to ſerve offices.

In purſuance of theſe *declarations*, the diſſenters of all ſorts were not only ſet at liberty, but admitted to ſerve *in all offices of profit and truſt*. *Nov.* 6, the king ſent an order to the lord mayor of *London*, to diſpenſe with the *quakers* taking oaths, or at leaſt not to fine them if they refuſed to ſerve, by which means a door was open to the *roman catholics*, and to all others to bear offices in the ſtate, without a legal qualification.

Sewel, p. 609.

Several addreſſes were preſented to the king upon this occaſion, from the *companies in the city of* London, *from the corporations in the country*, and even from the clergy themſelves, thanking his majeſty for his *declaration for liberty of conſcience*; *and his promiſe to ſupport the church of* England *as by law eſtabliſhed*; aſſuring him of their endeavours, to chooſe ſuch members for the next parliament, as ſhould give it a more legal ſanction.

But will not acknowledge the diſpenſing power. p. 718.

The ſeveral denominations of *diſſenters* alſo, were no leſs thankful for their liberty, and addreſſed his majeſty in higher ſtrains, than ſome of their elder and more cautious miniſters approved. Mr. *Baxter*, Mr. *Stretton*, and a great many others, refuſed to join in them; and biſhop *Burnet* admits, that few concurred in thoſe addreſſes, and that the perſons who preſented them, were mean and inconſiderable. When there was a general meeting of the miniſters, to conſider of their behaviour in this criſis, and two meſſengers from court waited to carry back the reſult of the debate, Mr. *Howe* delivered his opinion againſt the *diſpenſing power*, and againſt every thing that might contribute aſſiſtance to the papiſts, to enable them to ſubvert the proteſtant religion. Another miniſter ſtood up and declared, that he apprehended their late ſufferings, had been occaſioned more by their firm adherence to the *conſtitution*, than their differing from the *eſtabliſhment*, and therefore if the king expected they ſhould give up the conſtitution, and declare for the *diſpenſing*

Gazette, N° 2234.

power,

power, he had rather, for his part, loſe his liberty, and return to his former bondage. In concluſion, Mr. *Howe* in ſumming up the whole debate, ſignified to the *courtiers, that they were in general of the ſame opinion.* Mr. *Coke* adds, that to his knowledge the diſſenters did both dread and deteſt the *diſpenſing power*; and their ſteadineſs in this criſis, was a noble ſtand by a number of men who ſubſiſted only by the royal favour, which ought not to have been ſo ſoon forgotten. *King* James II. 1687. Howe's *Life*, p. 134.

Though the court were a little diſappointed in their expectations from the diſſenters, they put the beſt face they could on the affair, and received ſuch addreſſes as were preſented with high commendation. The firſt who went up were the *London anabaptiſts*, who ſay, that "the ſenſe of this invaluable favour and benefit derived to us from your royal clemency, compel us to proſtrate ourſelves at your majeſty's feet, with the tender of our moſt humble thanks, for that peace and liberty which both we, and all other *diſſenters* from the national church, now enjoy —" Next came the *preſbyterians*, "who acknowledge his majeſty's princely compaſſion, in reſcuing them from their long ſufferings, in reſtoring to God the empire over conſcience, and publiſhing to the world his royal chriſtian judgment, *that conſcience may not be forced*; and his reſolution that ſuch force ſhould not be attempted in his reign, which they pray may be long ——" Then followed the *independents*: "Sir, the great calamity we have been a long time under, through the ſevere execution of the penal laws in matters of religion, has made us deeply ſenſible of your majeſty's princely clemency towards us your diſſenting ſubjects, eſpecially ſince in the indulgence vouchſafed, there are no limitations hindring the enjoyment of it with a good conſcience, and that your majeſty publiſheth to the world, that it has been your conſtant ſenſe and opinion, that *conſcience ought not to conſtrained, nor people forced in matters of meer religion* ——" About the ſame time was publiſhed the humble and thankful addreſs of the *London quakers*, to this purpoſe, "May it pleaſe the king! Though we are not the firſt in this way, yet we hope we are not the leaſt ſenſible of the great favours, we are come to preſent the king our humble, open, and hearty thanks for —— we rejoice to ſee the day, that a king of *England* ſhould from his royal ſeat, ſo univerſally aſſert this royal principle, that *conſcience ought not to be reſtrained, nor people forced for matters of religion* ——" The ſeveral addreſſes above-mentioned, expreſs their humble dependance on his majeſty's royal promiſe, *to ſecure their rights and properties*, and that he will endeavour to engage his two houſes of parliament, to concur with him in this good work. Here are no flights of expreſſion, nor promiſes of *obedience without reſerve*, but purely a ſenſe of gratitude for the reſtoration of liberty. *Their addreſs of thanks.* Gazette, No. 2234. Ib. 2238.

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And though it muſt be allowed that ſome *few diſſenters*, from an exceſs of joy, or it may be, from a ſtrong reſentment againſt their late *perſecutors*, publiſhed ſome ſevere pamphlets, and gave too much countenance to the meaſures of the court, as Mr. *Lobb*, *Alſop*, and *Pen* the *quaker*, yet the body of them kept at a diſtance, and "as thankful as "they were for their liberty (ſays lord *Halifax*), they were fearful of the "iſſue; neither can any number of conſideration among them, be charged "with hazarding the public ſafety, by falling in with the meaſures of the "court, of which they had as great a dread as their neighbours." And the lords, in a conference with the houſe of commons upon the *occaſional bill*, in the firſt year of queen *Anne*, ſay, "that in the laſt and greateſt "danger the church was expoſed to, the *diſſenters* joined with her, with "all imaginable zeal and ſincerity, againſt the papiſts their common ene-"mies, ſhewing no prejudice to the church, but the utmoſt reſpect to "the biſhops when ſent to the *Tower*."

They are nevertheleſs jealous of the king's conduct.

The church in diſtreſs apply to the diſſenters for aſſiſtance. Burnet, p. 708, 709.

But as the king and miniſtry carried all before them, the church party were in deſpair, and almoſt at their wits end; they ſaw themſelves on the brink of ruin, imagining that they ſhould be turned out of their freeholds, for not reading the king's declaration, and that the *non-conformiſts* would be admitted into their pulpits; as Dr. *Sherlock*, maſter of the *Temple*, acknowledged in converſation to Mr. *Howe*; and that, as the papiſts had already invaded the *univerſities*, they would in a little time overſet the *whole hierarchy*. In this diſtreſs they turned their eyes all around them for relief: They applied to the *diſſenters*, giving them the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of a *comprehenſion*, and *toleration*, in better times, if they would but aſſiſt in delivering them out of their preſent troubles.

With ſtrong promiſes of favour in better times.

Biſhop *Burnet* ſays, that the clergy here in *England* writ to the prince of *Orange*, and deſired him to ſend over ſome of the *diſſenting preachers*, whom the violence of the former times had driven into *Holland*, and to prevail effectually with them, to oppoſe any *falſe brethren*, whom the court might have gained over; and that they ſent over very ſolemn aſſurances, which paſſed through his own hands, that *in caſe they ſtood firm now to the common intereſt, they would in a better time, come into a comprehenſion of ſuch as could be brought into a conjunction with the church, and to a toleration of the reſt.*

By the intereſt of the prince of Orange.

Agreeably to theſe aſſurances, when the reverend Mr. *Howe*, Mr. *Mead*, and other refugee miniſters, waited on the prince of *Orange*, to return him thanks for the protection of the country, and to take their leave, his highneſs made them ſomepreſents to pay their debts, and defray their charges home; and having wiſhed them a good voyage, he adviſed them to be very cautious in their addreſſes; and not to ſuffer themſelves to be drawn in to the meaſures of the court, ſo far as to open a door for the introducing of popery, by deſiring the taking off

off the *penal laws and teſt*, as was intended. He requeſted them alſo to uſe their influence with their brethren, to lay them under the ſame reſtraints. His *highneſs* ſent orders likewiſe to monſieur *Dykvelt* his reſident, to preſs the *diſſenters* to ſtand off from the court; and *to aſſure them, of a full toleration, and comprehenſion if poſſible, when the crown ſhould devolve on the princeſs of* Orange. Agents wete ſent among the *diſſenters*, to ſoften their reſentments againſt the church, and to aſſure them, that for the future they would treat them as *brethren*, as will be ſeen in the next chapter. *King* James II. 1687.

The diſſenters had it now in their power to diſtreſs the *church party*, and it may be, to have made repriſals, if they would have given way to revenge, and fallen heartily in with the king's meaſures. They were ſtrongly ſollicited on both ſides; the *king* preferred them to places of profit and truſt, and gave them all manner of countenance and encouragement; and the *churchmen* loaded them with promiſes and aſſurances, what great things they would do for them, as ſoon as it ſhould be in their power. But alas! no ſooner was the danger over, than the majority of them forgot their vows in diſtreſs; for when the convocation met the firſt time after the revolution, they would not hear of a *comprehenſion*, nor ſo much as acknowledge the foreign churches for *their brethren*, ſeeming rather inclined to return to their old methods of perſecution; ſo little dependance ought to be placed on *high church* promiſes! *Remarks.*

But in their preſent circumſtances, it was neceſſary to flatter the *non-conformiſts*, and weaken the king's hands, by diſſuading the *diſſenters* from placing any confidence in their *new friends*; for this purpoſe a pamphlet writ by the marquis of *Halliſax*, and publiſhed by advice of ſome of the moſt eminent dignitaries of the church, was diſperſed, entitled, *a letter to a diſſenter, upon occaſion of his majeſty's late gracious declaration of indulgence*. It begins with ſaying, " that *churchmen* are not ſurprized " nor provoked, at the *diſſenters* accepting the offers of eaſe, from the late " hardſhips they lay under, but deſire them to conſider, 1. The cauſe " they have to ſuſpect their new friends. And 2. Their duty in " chriſtianity and prudence, not to hazard the public ſafety by a deſire of " eaſe or revenge. *Letter to the diſſenters.*

" With regard to the firſt, the church of *Rome* (ſays the author), " does not only diſlike your liberty, but by its principles cannot allow " it; they are not able to make good their vows; nay, it would be a " habit of ſin that requires abſolution; you are therefore hugged now, " only that you may be the better ſqueezed another time. To come " ſo quick from one extream to another, is ſuch an unnatural motion, " that you ought to be on your guard: The other day you were ſons

King James II. 1687.

" of *Belial*, now you are angels of light —— popery is now the " only friend of liberty, and the known enemy of perſecution. We " have been under ſhameful miſtakes, if this can be either true or laſt- " ing."

The letter goes on to inſinuate, " that ſome *miniſters* had been bribed " into the meaſures of the court; that they were under engagements, " and impowered to give rewards to others, where they could not per- " ſuade. Now if theſe or others ſhould preach up anger and vengeance " againſt the church of *England*, ought they not rather to be ſuſpected " of corruption, than to act according to judgment; —— if they who " thank the king for his declaration, ſhould be engaged to juſtify it in " point of law, I am perſuaded 'tis more than the addreſſers are capa- " ble of doing —— there is a great difference between enjoying quietly " the advantage of an act irregularly done by others, and becoming ad- " vocates for it; but frailties are to be excuſed —— *take warning by the* " *miſtake of the church of* England, *when after the reſtoration they pre-* " *ſerved ſo long the bitter taſte of your rough uſage to them, that it made* " *them forget their intereſt, and ſacrifice it to their revenge* —— if you " had now to do with *rigid prelates*, the argument might be fair on your " ſide, but ſince the common danger has ſo laid open the miſtake, that " all former *haughtineſs* towards the diſſenters is for ever extinguiſhed, " and the ſpirit of perſecution is turned into a ſpirit of peace, charity, " and condeſcenſion, will you not be moved by ſuch an example? — If " it be ſaid, the church is only humble when 'tis out of power; the an- " ſwer is, that is uncharitable, and an unſeaſonable triumph; beſides, " it is not ſo in fact, for if ſhe would comply with the court, ſhe could " turn all the thunder upon yourſelves, and blow you off the ſtage with " a breath; but ſhe will not be reſcued by ſuch unjuſtifiable means — " you have formerly very juſtly blamed the church of *England*, for going " too far in her compliance with the court; conclude therefore that you " muſt break off your friendſhip, or ſet no bounds to it — the church " is now convinced of its error, in being too ſevere to you; the next " parliament will be gentle to you; the next heir is bred in a country " famous for indulgence; there is a general agreement of thinking men, " that we muſt no more cut ourſelves off from foreign proteſtants, but " enlarge our foundations; ſo that all things conſpire to give you eaſe " and ſatisfaction, if you do not too much anticipate it. To conclude, " the ſhort queſtion is, whether or no you will join with thoſe, who " muſt in the end run the ſame fate with you? If the proteſtants of all " ſorts, have been to blame in their behaviour to each other, they are up- " on equal terms, and for that very reaſon ought now to be reconcil- " ed, ——" How juſt ſoever the reaſoning of this letter may be, either

either the author did not know the ſpirit of the *church party* (as they were called), or he muſt bluſh when he compared it with the facts that followed the revolution. Twenty thouſand copies were diſperſed about the city and country, and had the deſired effect, the honeſt well-meaning diſſenters making no advantage of the favourable juncture; they entered into no alliance with the papiſts, nor complied with the court meaſures, any further than to accept their own liberty, which they had a natural right to, and of which they ought never to have been deprived. *King* James II. 1687.

The war between the king and the church being now declared, each party prepared for their defence; the points in debate were, a GENERAL TOLERATION, and the DISPENSING POWER; the latter of which, the *high church party* had connived at during the late reign; but when the edge of it was turned againſt themſelves, (the king having uſed it to break down the fences of the church, by *abrogating the penal laws and teſts, and making an inroad upon the two univerſities*), they exclaimed againſt it, as ſubverſive of the whole conſtitution; and forgetting their *late addreſſes*, conteſted this branch of the prerogative. The king had ſecured the opinion of the *judges* in favour of it, but this not giving ſatisfaction, he determined to obtain a parliamentary ſanction. For this purpoſe, he publiſhed the following order in the *Gazette*, "that whereas N° 2302, "his majeſty was reſolved to uſe his utmoſt endeavours, that his *decla-* "*ration of indulgence* might paſs into a law, he therefore thought fit "to review the liſts of deputy-lieutenants, and juſtices of peace in the "ſeveral counties, that thoſe may be continued, who would be ready "to contribute what in them lies, towards the accompliſhment of ſo "good and neceſſary a work, and ſuch others, added to them, from "whom his majeſty might reaſonably expect the like concurrence and "aſſiſtance." Purſuant to this reſolution, the king's firſt parliament was diſſolved, and agents were employed to diſpoſe the people to the choice of ſuch new members, as might facilitate the court meaſures. The king himſelf went a progreſs, to ingratiate himſelf with the people; and it can hardly be expreſſed (ſays *Eachard*), with what joyful acclamations his majeſty was received, and what loyal acknowledgments were paid him in all places; but in the affair of the teſts (ſays *Burnet*), there was a viſible coldneſs among the nobility and gentry, though the king behaved in a moſt obliging manner. *Meaſures of the court to obtain a legal toleration.* *The king goes a progreſs,* p. 717.

When the king returned from his progreſs, he began to change the magiſtracy, in the ſeveral corporations in *England*, according to the powers reſerved to the crown in the *new charters*; he turned out ſeveral of the *aldermen* of the city of *London*, and placed new ones in their room. He cauſed the liſts of lord-lieutenants, and deputy-lieutenants, to be reviewed, *Changes the magiſtracy in corporations.*

King James II. 1687.

viewed, and ſuch as would not promiſe to employ their intereſts in the repeal of the penal laws, were diſcarded. Many *proteſtant diſſenters* were put into commiſſion on this occaſion, in hopes that they would procure ſuch members for the next parliament, as ſhould give them a legal right, to what they now enjoyed only by the royal favour; but when the king preſſed it upon the lord mayor of *London*, and the new aldermen, who were chiefly *diſſenters*, they made no reply.

Reaſons of the diſſenters not being for abrogating the penal laws at this time.

The reaſon of the *diſſenters* backwardneſs in an affair that ſo nearly concerned them, and in which they have ſince expreſſed ſo ſtrong a deſire, was *their concern for the proteſtant religion, and their averſion to popery*. The king was not only a *roman catholic* but a *bigot*; and it was evident, that the plucking up the fences at this time, muſt have made a breach at which popery would enter. If the king had been a proteſtant, the caſe had been different, becauſe *papiſts* could not take the oaths of *allegiance* and *ſupremacy*, to a prince who ſtood excommunicated by the church of *Rome*; but now there would be no obſtacle, or if there was, the king would diſpenſe with the law in their favour; the *diſſenters* therefore were afraid, that if they ſhould give into his majeſty's meaſures, though they might ſecure their liberty for the preſent, it would ſtand on a precarious foundation; for if popery came in triumphant, it would not only ſwallow up the church of *England*, but the whole proteſtant intereſt. They choſe therefore to truſt their liberty to the mercy of their proteſtant brethren, rather than receive a legal ſecurity for it under a popiſh government.

Behaviour of Sir John Shorter *the diſſenting lord mayor.* Burnet, p. 718.

According to this reſolution, biſhop *Burnet* obſerves, that Sir *John Shorter*, the new lord mayor, and a *proteſtant diſſenter*, thought fit to qualify himſelf for his office according to law, though the *teſt* was ſuſpended, and the king had ſignified to the mayor, that he was at liberty, and might uſe what form of worſhip he thought beſt in *Guildhall*, which was deſigned as an experiment, to engage the preſbyterians to make the firſt change from the eſtabliſhed worſhip, concluding, that if a *preſbyterian mayor* did this one year, it would be eaſy for a *popiſh mayor* to do it the next; but his lordſhip referred the caſe to thoſe clergymen, who had the government of the dioceſe of *London*, during the biſhop's ſuſpenſion, who aſſured his lordſhip it was contrary to law; ſo that though the lord mayor went ſometimes to the meetings of diſſenters, he went frequently to church, and behaved with more decency (ſays his lordſhip), than could have been expected. This diſobliged the king to a very high degree, inſomuch that he ſaid, *the diſſenters were an ill-natured ſort of people that could not be gained.*

The king goes into raſh and violent meaſuees by advice of his prieſts.

This oppoſition to the king, heightened his reſentments, and puſhed him on to raſh and violent meaſures; if he had proceeded by ſlow degrees, and

and ſecured one conqueſt before he had attempted another, he might have ſucceeded, but he gave himſelf up to the fury of his prieſts, who adviſed him to make haſte with what he intended. This was diſcovered by a letter from the *jeſuits* from *Liege* to thoſe of *Friburgh*, which ſays, the king wiſhed they could furniſh him with *more prieſts*, to aſſiſt him in the converſion of the nation, which his majeſty was reſolved to bring about, or die a martyr in the attempt. He ſaid, *he muſt make haſte that he might accompliſh it in his life-time*; and when one of them was lamenting that his next heir was an *heretic*, he anſwered, *God will provide an heir*; which argued, either a ſtrong faith, or a formed deſign of impoſing *one* on the nation. Father *Petre* was the king's chief miniſter, and one of his majeſty's privy council, a bold and forward man, who ſtuck at nothing to ruin the church. The king deſigned him for the archbiſhopric of *York*, now vacant, and for a *cardinal's cap*, if he could prevail with the pope; for this purpoſe the earl of *Caſtlemain* was ſent ambaſſador to *Rome*; and a *nuncio* was ſent from thence into *England*, to whom his majeſty paid all poſſible reſpect, and gave an audience at *Windſor*, tho' it was contrary to law; all commerce with the court of *Rome* having been declared high treaſon by the ſtatute of king *Henry* VIII. But the king ſaid *he was above law*; and becauſe the duke of *Somerſet* would not officiate in his place at the ceremony, he was diſmiſſed from all his employments.

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Burnet, p. 711, 712.

Ib. p. 733.

It was ſtrange infatuation in king *James*, to put a ſlight on the ancient nobility, and turn moſt of his ſervants out of their places, becauſe they were *proteſtants:* This weakened his intereſt, and threw a vaſt weight into the oppoſite ſcale. Indeed it was impoſſible to diſguiſe his majeſty's deſign of introducing popery, and therefore *Parker* biſhop of *Oxford*, was employed to juſtify it, who publiſhed a book, entituled, *reaſons for abrogating the teſt impoſed on all members of parliament*; which muſt refer to the renouncing *tranſubſtantiation, and the idolatry of the church of* Rome; becauſe the members of parliament had no other qualification impoſed upon them, beſides the oaths of *allegiance* and *ſupremacy*. The biſhop ſaid much to excuſe the doctrine of tranſubſtantiation, and to free the church of *Rome* from the charge of idolatry. *His reaſons* were licenſed by the earl of *Sunderland*, and the ſtationer was commanded not to print any anſwer to them; but Dr. *Burnet*, then in *Holland*, gave them a very ſmart and ſatyrical reply, which quite ruined the biſhop's reputation.

Biſhop Parker *writes for the court.* Burn. p. 740.

But his majeſty's chief dependance was upon his *army*, which he was caſting into a popiſh mould; *proteſtant officers* were caſhiered; *Portſmouth* and *Hull*, the two principal ſea-ports of *England*, were in popiſh hands; and the majority of the garriſons were of the ſame religion. *Ireland*

Proteſtants diſplaced and roman catholics put into their places.

King James II. 1687.

land was an inexhauſtible ſeminary, from whence *England* was to be ſupplied with a catholic army; an *iriſh roman catholic* (ſays *Welwood*), was a moſt welcome gueſt at *Whitehall*; and they came over in ſhoals. Over and above compleat regiments of papiſts, there was ſcarce a troop or company in the army, wherein ſome of that religion were not inſerted, by expreſs orders from court. Upon the whole, the affairs of the nation were drawing to a criſis; and it was believed, that what the king could not accompliſh, by the gentler method sof intereſt and perſuaſion, he would eſtabliſh by his ſovereign power. The *army* at *Hounſlow* was to awe the city and parliament; and if they proved refractory, an *iriſh* maſſacre, or ſome other deſperate attempt, might poſſibly decide the fate of the nation.

Death of Mr. Clarkſon.

About this time died the reverend Mr. *David Clarkſon* B. D. born at *Bradford* in *Yorkſhire Feb.* 1621-2, and fellow of *Clare Hall Cambridge*, where he was tutor to Dr. *Tillotſon*, afterwards archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. Dr. *Bates* in his funeral ſermon, gives him the character of a man of ſincere godlineſs and true holineſs: Humility and modeſty were his diſtinctive characters; and his learning was ſuperior to moſt of his time; as appears by his *treatiſe of liturgies, his primitive epiſcopacy, his practical divinity of papiſts deſtructive to men's ſouls; and his volume of ſermons*, printed after his death. He was ſometime miniſter of *Mortlack* in *Surrey*, but after his ejectment, he gave himſelf up to reading and meditation, ſhifting from one place of obſcurity to another, till the times ſuffered him to appear openly; he was then choſen ſucceſſor to the reverend Dr. *John Owen*, in the paſtoral office to his congregation. Mr. *Baxter* ſays, he was a divine of ſolid judgment, of healing, moderate principles, of great acquaintance with the fathers, of great miniſterial abilities, and of a godly, upright life. Great was his ſolemnity and reverence in prayer; and the method of his ſermons was clear, deep, and inſtructive. His death was unexpected, though (as he declared), it was no ſurprize to him, for he was entirely reſigned to the will of God, and deſired not to out-live his uſefulneſs. This good man (ſays Dr. *Bates*), like holy *Simeon*, had *Chriſt* in his arms, and departed in peace, to ſee the ſalvation of God above, in the ſixty-ſixth year of his age.

Of Dr. Jacomb.

Dr. *Thomas Jacomb* was born in *Leiceſterſhire*, and educated firſt in *Magdalen Hall Oxon*, and after in *Emanuel College Cambridge*, from whence he removed to *Trinity College*, of which he was fellow. He came to *London* in 1647, and was ſoon after miniſter of *Ludgate* pariſh, where he continued till he was turned out in 1662. He met with ſome trouble after his ejectment, but being received into the family of the *counteſs dowager of Exeter*, daughter of the earl of *Bridgwater*, he was covered from his enemies. This honourable and virtuous lady, was a comfort and ſupport

to

to the non-conformiſt miniſters throughout the reign of king *Charles* II. Her reſpects to the doctor were peculiar, and her favours extraordinary, for which he made the beſt returns he was able. The *doctor* was a learned man, an able divine, a ſerious affectionate preacher, of unſpotted morals, and a non-conformiſt upon moderate principles. He died of a cancerous humour, that put him to the moſt acute pain, which he bore with invincible patience and reſignation till the 27th of *March*, 1687, when he died in the counteſs of *Exeter*'s houſe, in the ſixty-ſixth year of his age. *King* James II. 1687.

Mr. *John Collins* was educated in *Cambridge New England*, and returning from thence in the times of the civil war, became a celebrated preacher in *London*, having a ſweet voice, and a moſt affectionate manner in the pulpit. He was chaplain to general *Monk*, when he marched out of *Scotland* into *England*, but was not an incumbent any where, when the act of uniformity took place. Being of the independent denomination he ſucceeded Mr. *Mallory*, as paſtor of a very conſiderable congregation of that perſuaſion, and was one of the merchants lecturers at *Pinners-Hall*. He wes a man mighty in the ſcriptures; of an excellent natural temper; very charitable to all good men without regard to parties; and died univerſally lamented, *December* 3, 1687. *Of Mr.* Collins.

CHAP. XII.

From king JAMES's *declaration for* liberty *of* conſcience, *to the act of* toleration *in the reign of king* WILLIAM *and queen* MARY.

THOUGH the projects of the *roman catholics* were ripe for execution, there was one circumſtance which ſpread a black cloud over all their attempts, which was the near proſpect of a *proteſtant ſucceſſor* to the crown: This was the only hope of the proteſtant cauſe, and the terror of the papiſts. To remove this impediment, his majeſty firſt attempted to convert his eldeſt daughter MARY, princeſs of *Orange*, to the *roman catholic* religion, or at leaſt to conſent to the making way for it, by taking off the penal laws. To accompliſh this, his majeſty writ an obliging letter to his daughter, reciting the motives of 1688. *King attempts to convert the princeſs of* Orange *to popery.* Burnet. p. 720, 721.

King James II. 168.

his own converſion; which were, the "*great devotion of the church of* "Rome; *the adorning their churches; their acts of charity, which were* "*greater than the proteſtants could boaſt of; the numbers who retired from* "*the world, and devoted themſelves to a religious life.* He was convinced "that Chriſt had left an *infallibility* in the church, which the apoſtles ac- "knowledged to be in St. *Peter*, *Acts* xv. It was the authority of the "church (ſays he), that declared the ſcriptures to be *canonical*; and cer- "tainly, they who declared them could only interpret them, and where- "ever this *infallibility* was, there muſt be a clear ſucceſſion, which could "be no where but in the church of *Rome*, the church of *England* not "pretending to *infallibility*, though ſhe acted as if ſhe did, by perſecut- "ing thoſe who differed from her, as well proteſtant diſſenters as papiſts; "but he could ſee no reaſon, why *diſſenters* might not ſeparate from the "church of *England*, as well as the church of *England* had done from "that of *Rome.* ——"

The princeſs's reply.

The PRINCESS anſwered the king's letter with great reſpect; "ſhe "affirmed the *right of private judgment*, according to the apoſtle's rule, "of *proving all things, and holding faſt that which is good.* She ſaw clear- "ly from the ſcriptures, that *ſhe muſt not believe by the faith of another,* "*but according as things appeared to herſelf.* She confeſſed, if there was "an *infallibility* in the church, all other controverſies muſt fall before it, "but that it was not yet agreed where it was lodged, whether in a *pope* or "a *general council*, or *both*; and ſhe deſired to know in whom the *in-* "*fallibility* reſted, when there were two or three popes at a time, acting "one againſt another; for certainly the ſucceſſion muſt then be diſorder- "ed. She maintained the lawfulneſs and neceſſity of reading the holy "ſcriptures; for though *faith* was above reaſon, it propoſed nothing "contradictory to it. St. *Paul* ordered his epiſtles to be read in all the "churches; and he ſays in one place, *I write as to wiſe men,* JUDGE "YE WHAT I SAY; and if they might judge an apoſtle, much more "any other teacher. She excuſed the church of *England's* perſecuting "the diſſenters, in the beſt manner ſhe could, and ſaid the reformers had "brought things to as great perfection, as thoſe corrupt ages were capable "of; and ſhe did not ſee how the *church* was to blame, becauſe the laws "were made by the *ſtate*, and for civil crimes, and that the grounds of "the diſſenters leaving the church, were different from thoſe for which "they had ſeparated from the church of *Rome* ——" It was impoſſi-

p. 725.

ble for the *princeſs* to clear up this objection. But biſhop *Burnet* adds very juſtly, that the ſeverities of the church againſt the diſſenters, were urged with a very ill grace, *by one of the church of* Rome, that has delighted herſelf ſo often, by being as it were bathed with the blood of thoſe they call heretics. Upon the whole it appeared, that her highneſs was immoveably

ably fixed in her religion, and that there was not the leaſt proſpect of her departing from it. *King* James II. 1688.

At the ſame time, his majeſty attempted the prince of *Orange*, for which purpoſe he employed one Mr. *James Steward*, a *ſcots* lawyer, who writ ſeveral letters upon this argument to penſionary *Fagel*, in whom the prince placed an entire confidence. The *penſionary* neglected his letters for ſome time, but at length it being induſtriouſly reported, that the ſilence of the *prince* was a tacit conſent, the *penſionary* laid all his letters before his highneſs, who commiſſioned the penſionary to draw up ſuch an anſwer, as might diſcover his true intentions and ſenſe of things. *He attempts the prince.* Burnet, p 731, 732.

The anſwer was dated from the *Hague*, *Nov.* 4, 1687, and begins with aſſurances of the prince and princeſs's duty to the king; and ſince Mr. *Steward* had given him to underſtand, that his letters were written with the king's knowledge and allowance, the penſionary aſſures him in the name of their HIGHNESSES, that it was their opinion, that "*no chriſtian ought to be perſecuted for his conſcience, or be ill uſed becauſe* "*he differs from the eſtabliſhed religion*; and therefore they agreed that "the papiſts in *Scotland* and *Ireland*, ſhould have the free exerciſe of "their religion in private, as they had in *Holland*; and *as to proteſtant* "*diſſenters, they heartily approved of their having an entire liberty of* "*their religion, without any trouble or hindrance*; and their *highneſſes* "were ready to concur to the ſettling it, and giving their guarentee to "protect and defend it. *If his majeſty deſired their concurrence in re-* "*pealing the penal laws, they were ready to give it*, provided the laws "by which *roman catholics* were excluded, from ſetting in both houſes "of parliament, and from all employments eccleſiaſtical, civil and mi-"litary, remained in force; and likewiſe thoſe other laws, which ſecure "the proteſtant religion againſt all attempts of the *roman catholics*; but "they could not conſent to the repeal of thoſe laws, which tended only to "ſecure the proteſtant religion, ſuch as the *teſts*, becauſe they import-"ed no more than a deprivation from public employments, which "could do them no great harm. If the number of the papiſts were "inconſiderable, it was not reaſonable to inſiſt upon it; and if thoſe "few who pretend to public employments would do their party ſo much "injury, as not to be content with the repeal of the *penal laws*, unleſs "they could get into offices of truſt, their ambition only was to be "blamed ——". This letter was carried by Mr. *Steward* to the king, and read in the cabinet council, but it had no effect, only the king ordered Mr. *Steward* to write back, that *he would have all or nothing*. However, the *church party* were ſatisfied with the prince's reſolution to maintain the teſts; the *proteſtant diſſenters* were pleaſed with their *high-* *His highneſs's reply by penſionary Fagel.* Wel. Mem. p. 218. Burnet, p. 733.

King James II. 1688.

neſſes declaration for the repeal of the penal laws, *ſo far as concerned themſelves*, and they placed an entire confidence in their word. The *lay-papiſts* and *ſeculars*, preſſed the king to accept of the repeal of ſo much of the penal laws as was offered, and blamed the ambition of the jeſuits and courtiers, who rather than abate any thing, would leave them expoſed to the ſeverity of the law, when a freedom was offered. At length the penſionary's letter was printed, by allowance of the *prince*, and diſperſed over *England*, which provoked the king to ſuch a degree, that he ſpoke indecently of his *highneſs* to all the foreign miniſters, and reſolved to ſhew him the ſevereſt marks of his diſpleaſure.

The queen declared to be with child.

The firſt project of gaining the *prince* having failed, his majeſty went upon another, which had it ſucceeded, muſt effectually have defeated the *proteſtant ſucceſſion*; and that was, *providing the nation with an heir of his own body by the preſent queen*, though for many years ſhe had been reckoned incapable of having children. This was firſt whiſpered among the courtiers, but was ſoon after confirmed by proclamation in the *Gazette* of *Jan.* 2d. and 26th. 1687-8, in words to this effect, "that it had pleaſed almighty God to give his majeſty apparent hopes, and good aſſurance of having iſſue by his royal conſort the queen, who through God's great goodneſs, was now with child;" wherefore his majeſty appoints, that on the 15th of *January* in the cities of *London* and *Weſtminſter*; and on the 29th in all other places of *England*; and on the 29th of *January* and 19th of *February*, in all places in *Scotland*, public thankſgiving and ſolemn prayer be offered up to God on this occaſion, and a form of prayer was drawn up accordingly, by the biſhops of *Durham*, *Rocheſter*, and *Peterborough*; in which were theſe expreſſions, "Bleſſed be that good providence, that has vouchſafed us freſh hopes of royal iſſue by our gracious queen *Mary*; ſtrengthen her, we beſeech thee, and perfect what thou haſt begun. Command thy holy angels to watch over her continually, and defend her from all dangers and evil accidents, that what ſhe hath conceived may be happily brought forth, to the joy of our ſovereign lord the king, the further eſtabliſhment of his crown, the happineſs and welfare of the whole kingdom, and the glory of thy great name, *&c.*" This ſtruck all the proteſtant part of the nation with conſternation, except a few *ranting tories*, whoſe religion was at the ſervice of the king, whenſoever he ſhould call for it. The *conception* was looked upon by the jeſuits as miraculous, and as the effect of a vow the queen had made to the lady of *Loretto:* They propheſied it would certainly be a *prince*; while the proteſtants ſighed in ſecret, and ſuſpected a fraud; the grounds of which ſuſpicion, the hiſtorians of theſe times have related at large.

Gazette, N° 2309, 2316.

A public form of prayer for her majeſty. Cal. p. 382.

The

The king, emboldened with the proſpect of a *popiſh ſucceſſor*, inſtead of venturing firſt upon a parliament, publiſhed another declaration for liberty of conſcience, *April* 27, in higher ſtrains, and more advantageous to the papiſts than the former, the ſubſtance of it was as follows; *King James II. 1688.*

JAMES REX.

A ſecond declaration for liberty of conſcience. Gazette, N° 2342.

" OUR conduct has been ſuch in all times, as ought to have perſuaded the world, that we are firm and conſtant to our reſolutions; yet that eaſy people may not be abuſed by the malice of crafty wicked men, we think fit to declare, that our intentions are not changed ſince the 4th of *April*, 1687, when we iſſued our *declaration for liberty of conſcience in the following terms*" [here the declaration is recited at large, and then it follows] " Ever ſince we granted the indulgence, we have made it our care to ſee it preſerved without diſtinction, as we are encouraged to do daily by multitudes of addreſſes, and many other aſſurances we receive from our ſubjects of all perſuaſions, as teſtimonies of their ſatisfaction and duty; the effects of which, we doubt not but the next parliament will ſhew, and that it will not be in vain, that we have reſolved to uſe our utmoſt endeavours, to eſtabliſh liberty of conſcience on ſuch juſt and equal foundations, as will render it unalterable, and ſecure to all people the free exerciſe of their religion for ever, by which future ages may reap the benefit, of what is ſo undoubtedly for the general good of the whole kingdom. It is ſuch a ſecurity we deſire, without the burthen of conſtraint and oaths and teſts, which unhappily have been made by ſome governments, but could never ſupport any. Nor could men be advanced by ſuch means to offices and employments, which ought to be the reward of ſervices, fidelity, and merit. We muſt conclude, that not only good chriſtians will join in this, but whoever is concerned for the wealth and power of the nation. It would, perhaps, prejudice ſome of our neighbours, who might loſe part of thoſe vaſt advantages they now enjoy, if liberty of conſcience were ſettled in theſe kingdoms, which are above all others moſt capable of improvements, and of commanding the trade of the world. In purſuance of this great work, *we have been forced to make many changes, both of civil and military officers throughout our dominions*, not thinking any ought to be employed in our ſervice, who will not contribute towards the eſtabliſhing the peace and greatneſs of their country, which we moſt earneſtly deſire, as unbiaſſed men may ſee by the whole conduct of our government, and by the condition of

" our

King James II. 1688.

" our fleet and of our armies, which with good management ſhall con-
" ſtantly be the ſame, and greater, if the ſafety or honour of the nation
" require it. We recommend theſe conſiderations to all our ſubjects,
" and that they will reflect on their eaſe and happineſs, now that above
" three years, it has pleaſed God to permit us to reign over theſe king-
" doms, we have not appeared to be that prince our enemies would make
" the world afraid of; our chief aim having been not to be the oppreſ-
" ſor, but father of our people, of which we can give no better evi-
" dence, than by conjuring them to lay aſide private animoſities, as well
" as groundleſs jealouſies, and to chooſe ſuch members of parliament, as
" may do their parts, to finiſh what we have begun, for the advantage
" of the monarchy, over which almighty God has placed us, being
" reſolved to call a parliament that ſhall meet in *November* next at
" fartheſt."

Appointed to be read in all churches. Gazette, N° 2344.

This declaration was publiſhed in the uſual manner, and ordered to be read in time of divine ſervice, in all churches and chapels in and about *London*, *May* 20th and 27th; and in all the reſt of *England* and *Wales* on the 3d and 10th of *June* following, upon penalty of being proſecuted in the eccleſiaſtical commiſſion. For this purpoſe, the biſhops were required to cauſe it to be diſtributed throughout their reſpective dioceſes; ſome of them (ſays *Burnet*), carried their compliance to a ſhameful pitch, offering up their allegiance to the king without limitation or reſerve. Dr. *Crew* biſhop of *Durham*, *Barlow* of *Lincoln*, *Cartwright* of *Cheſter*, *Wood* of *Litchfield* and *Coventry*, *Watſon* of St. *David's*, *Sprat* of *Rocheſter*, and *Parker* of *Oxford*, went all the lengths of the court, and promoted addreſſes of thanks to his majeſty, in the moſt exalted language, for the promiſe he had made in his late declaration, *to maintain the church of* England, *as by law eſtabliſhed*; though nothing was more evident than his deſign to ſubvert it. An addreſs came from the clergy of *Cheſter*, juſtifying the declaration, as iſſuing from the prerogative of the *king's ſupremacy*, and inſiſting, that the clergy were obliged by what is called *ſtatute law*, *the rubric of their liberty*, to publiſh what was required by the king, or their biſhop, and therefore they were troubled to hear of the diſobedience of ſome of that bench, who tho' they tenderly promiſed the *diſſenters* ſomething, yet refuſed to do their part about the *declaration*, leſt they ſhould be parties to it; which reaſon we with due modeſty eſteem inſufficient. *Herbert Croft* biſhop of *Hereford*, publiſhed his reaſons for reading the *declaration*, from that paſſage of ſcripture, " *Submit yourſelves to every ordinance of man, for the* " *Lord's ſake, whether it be to the king as ſupream*, &c. ——" Now the

p. 715. *With which ſome of the biſhops comply.*

Ib. 2374.

" the king commanding it to be read, without requiring our aſſent, con- " ſent, or allowance, I can't ſee (ſays the biſhop), how it can be refuſ- " ed —— if it be ſaid this is to admit of a *diſpenſing power*, yet it is " not contrary to the word of God. If the king ſhould aver, his diſ- " penſing power to be inherent in the crown, and will uſe it as he plea- " ſes, I ſhould beſeech him not to exert it in ſo high a manner; but " after this, what have biſhops to do but ſubmit, ſince here is no doctrine " affirmed, but only a declaration of matter of fact." *King* James II. 1688.

However, the majority of the clergy were of different ſentiments; eighteen biſhops, and the chief of their clergy, refuſed to publiſh the *declaration*, ſo that it was read (ſays *Burnet*), only in ſeven churches in *London*; and in about two hundred all over *England*. The *commiſſioners for eccleſiaſtical affairs* ſent out citations by the king's order, requiring the chancellors and archdeacons, to ſend in liſts of all who had obeyed, and of thoſe who had not obeyed the order of council; together with the places where it had been neglected. Moſt of the biſhops diſobeyed, and generouſly undertook to ſtand in the gap, and ſcreen the inferior clergy from proſecution: Seven of them met at *Lambeth*, and after conſultation, ſigned an addreſs in behalf of themſelves, and ſeveral of their abſent brethren, ſetting forth, " that they were not averſe to the publiſh- " ing *his majeſty's declaration*, for want of duty to his majeſty, or due " tenderneſs towards *diſſenters*, in relation to whom (ſay they), we are " willing to come to ſuch a temper as ſhall be thought fit, when the " matter comes to be conſidered and ſettled in parliament; but the *de-* " *claration* being founded on ſuch a *diſpenſing power*, as may at preſent " ſet aſide all laws eccleſiaſtical and civil, appears to us illegal, and did " ſo to the parliament in the year 1672, and it is a point of ſuch great " conſequence, that we cannot make ourſelves party to it, ſo far as the " reading of it in the church, in time of divine ſervice will amount to, and " diſtributing it all over the kingdom." Signed by *Sancroft* archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, *Lloyde* biſhop of St. *Aſaph*, *Kenn* of *Bath* and *Wells*, *Turner* of *Ely*, *Lake* of *Chicheſter*, *White* of *Peterborough*, and *Trelawny* of *Briſtol*. *Different behaviour of others.* Welw. Mem. p. 209. Gazette, N° 2364. *Their addreſs.* Burnet, p. 636, 638.

The king was ſtartled at the addreſs, and anſwered in a very angry tone; " *I have heard of this before, but did not believe it; I did not ex-* " *pect this from the church of* England, *eſpecially from ſome of you; if* " *I change my mind you ſhall hear from me, if not, I expect my commands* " *ſhall be obeyed.*" And added, that *they ſhould be made to feel, what it was to diſobey him.* The ſix biſhops who brought the addreſs replied, *the will of God be done.* *King's anſwer.*

Let

King James II. 1688.

Let the reader now judge, whether the ſlaviſh doctrine of *non-reſiſtance*, and *unlimited obedience*, which the *high church party* had been preaching up for above twenty years, as the doctrine of the church of *England*, had not brought the nation to the very verge of ruin. A doctrine deſtructive of all law, and of the ſafety of ſociety, and which has been fatal to many *crowned heads*. If the king had not relied on the *flattering addreſſes* of theſe men, under which it ſeems there was a *reſerve*, he would have ſtopt ſhort, and taken other meaſures; but he did not perceive the *mine* till it was ſprung, and blew up his whole government at once. This was the *criſis* upon which the fate of the nation depended.

Remark.

Seven of them ſent to the Tower.

While the king was deliberating what to do with the biſhops, he was for ſome time in great perplexity; ſeveral of the popiſh nobility preſſed him to retreat; but at length, at the inſtigation of father *Petre*, Mr. *Lob*, and ſome others, he ordered the biſhops to be proſecuted; and they refuſing to enter into bonds, for their appearance at the *King's-Bench bar*, on account of their peerage, were ſent to the *Tower* by water, *June* 8, but were diſcharged within a week, upon entering into bonds for ſmall ſums, to anſwer to the *information* that day fortnight. On the 29th of *June* they were brought to the *King's-Bench bar* in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, attended by ſeveral of the nobility, and a vaſt croud of common people; and after a long trial of ten hours were acquitted: Upon which there was a general joy, and ſuch loud acclamations, as reſounded not only in the city, but even in the army at *Hounſlow*.

But acquitted.

The biſhops addreſs was printed by authority, with a ſatyrical paraphraſe, ſetting forth, that though the biſhops had, without any bowels of tenderneſs, exerciſed many inhuman cruelties upon the *diſſenters*, they promiſe now to come to a temper, but it is only ſuch an one, as they themſelves ſhould ſettle in *convocation*; and though they had all along vigorouſly endeavoured to advance above all law, that *arbitrary power* upon which, they ſuppoſe, his majeſty's declaration was founded, when it could be ſtrained to the oppreſſion of diſſenters, yet now they oppoſe it, and are deſirous in this juncture (as in the year 1672), that the laws for perſecution ſhould retain their force, and the *diſpenſing power* not be countenanced, though deſigned for a general good.

They court the diſſenters.

But this was too late, the controverſy between the court and the church was now no longer to be decided by the pen: and it was apparent beyond contradiction, that the hearts of the people were alienated from the king; even the *diſſenters* (ſays *Eachard*), ſhewed an unuſual readineſs to join the church againſt their common enemy; and whatever might be in the hearts of ſome, the *church party* continued to diſcover an equal willingneſs

neſs to coaleſce with the diſſenters. When Dr. *Lloyde* biſhop of St. *Aſaph*, paſſed through *Oſweſtry* in *Shropſhire*, he ſent for Mr. *James Owen* the diſſenting miniſter, and ventured to acquaint him with the ſecret, of the prince of *Orange*'s invitation by ſome great perſons, in which he had joined; and added, *he hoped the* proteſtant diſſenters *would concur in promoting the common intereſt*; *for you and we are brethren* (ſays he); *we have indeed been angry brethren, but we have ſeen our folly, and are reſolved, if ever we have it in our power, to ſhew that we will treat you as brethren.* *King* James II. 1688. Cal. Cont. *in* pref.

Even archbiſhop *Sancroft*, in the circular letter which he ſent to the clergy of his province, exhorted them to cultivate a good correſpondence with the diſſenters. The *eleventh article* of his letter, dated *July* 16, has theſe words, " that they (*viz.* the clergy), ſhould walk in wiſdom " towards them who are not of our communion; and if there be in " their pariſhes any ſuch, that they neglect not frequently to converſe " with them in the ſpirit of meekneſs, ſeeking by all good ways and " means, to gain and win them over to our communion; more eſpecially " that they have a tender regard *to our brethren the proteſtant diſſenters*; " that upon occaſion offered, they viſit them at their houſes, and receive " them kindly at their own, and treat them fairly wherever they meet " them, perſuading them (if it may be), to a full compliance with " our church; or at leaſt, that whereunto we have already attained, we " may all walk by the ſame rule, and mind the ſame things; and in " order thereunto, that they take opportunities of *aſſuring and convincing* " *them, that the biſhops of this church, are really and ſincerely irreconcile-* " *able enemies to the errors, ſuperſtitions, idolatries, and tyrannies of the* " *church of* Rome; and that the very unkind jealouſies which ſome have " had of us to the contrary, were altogether groundleſs. And in the laſt " place, that they warmly and affectionately join us in daily fervent " prayer to the God of peace, *for an univerſal bleſſed union of all reform-* " *ed churches at home and abroad, againſt our common enemy* ——" Such was the language of the *church in diſtreſs!* *Archbiſhop* Sancroft's *circular letter.* Calamy's Abridg. p. 385.

It was often ſaid, *that if ever God ſhould deliver them out of their preſent diſtreſs, they would keep up their domeſtic quarrels no more*; which were ſo viſibly, and yet artfully managed by our adverſaries, as to make us devour one another —— Again, " I do aſſure you, and I am certain I " have the beſt grounds in the world for my aſſurance (ſays one), that " the biſhops, when the happy opportunity ſhall offer itſelf, will let the " proteſtant diſſenters find that they will be better than their word given " in their famous *petition*." Remarkable are the words of another reverend divine on the ſame occaſion; " the biſhops have under their hands " declared their diſpoſitions to come to a temper, in matters of confor- *Other aſſurances.* Burnet, p. 716. Calamy, p. 386. *Apol. for church of* England. Calamy, p. 426.

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" mity, and there ſeems to be no doubt of their ſincerity —— if ever " God brings us into a ſettled ſtate, out of the ſtorms into which our paſ- " ſions and folly, as well as the treachery of others, have led us, it cannot " be imagined, that the biſhops will go off from thoſe moderate reſolu- " tions, which they have now declared; and they continuing firm, the " weak and indiſcreet paſſions of any of thoſe inferior clergy muſt needs " vaniſh —— and I will boldly ſay, that *if the church of* England, *af-* " *ter ſhe has got out of this ſtorm, will return to hearken to the peeviſh-* " *neſs of ſome four men, ſhe will be abandoned both of God and man, and* " *will ſet heaven and earth againſt her.* The nation ſees too clearly how " dear the diſpute about conformity has coſt us, to to ſtand upon ſuch punc- " tilio's; and thoſe in whom our deliverance is wrapt up, judge too right, " that ever they will be *prieſt-ridden* in this point —— and if any argu- " ment was wanting to conclude the certainty of this point, *the wiſe and* " *generous behaviour of the main body of the diſſenters in this preſent junc-* " *ture, has given them ſo juſt a title to our friendſhip, that we muſt reſolve* " *to ſet all the world againſt us if we can ever forget it; and if we do* " *not make them all the returns of eaſe and favour, when it is in our pow-* " *er to do it.*"

Remarks. The reader has now ſeen the various and ſtrong aſſurances of favour, given by the *church party in diſtreſs*, to the non-conformiſts, all which, in a few months, entirely evaporated. Nevertheleſs I am fully of opinion, that the *low church clergy* meant honeſtly, and deſigned to be as good as their word; for which purpoſe, a ſcheme was propoſed to review and amend the liturgy, by corrections, and additions, and leaving ſome few ceremonies indifferent; but there was *another party*, which lay behind the curtain, and meant no more by their proteſtations and promiſes, than to deliver themſelves out of trouble; who as they renounced the doctrine of *non-reſiſtance* only to ſerve their turn, when that was effected, they ſeemed willing to forget what they had done, and were deſirous of becoming as cruel perſecutors as ever; they were enemies to *revolution* principles; and when the prince of *Orange* had reſcued them, they would have ſent him back from whence he came: Theſe men were afterwards diſtinguiſhed by the names of *non jurors*, *jacobites*, and *high-fliers*, whoſe numbers were greater than the *low church clergy* imagined. They prevailed in convocation, intimidated the friends of liberty and moderation, and put an effectual ſtop to all further attempts of a general comprehenſion.

Calamy, p. 384.

Suſpected birth of the prince of Wales. While the biſhops were in the *Tower*, and the princeſs *Anne* at the *Bath*, the queen was declared to be delivered of a prince on *Sunday June* 10, between the hours of nine and ten in the morning. This myſterious birth, was conducted with great artifice or great imprudence; no care had been

been taken to ſatisfy the proteſtant part of the nation, that the queen was with child, though it was ridiculed in pamphlets diſperſed about *Whitehall.* None of the proteſtant ladies were admitted to be with her when ſhe changed her linnen; nor to ſee the milk in her breaſts, nor to feel the child move within her; but all about her were *italian women.* The place where her majeſty was to lie in, was unknown till a few days before her delivery; and it was oddly circumſtanced as to time, moſt of the *proteſtant ladies* being out of the way, and preparing for church; the *dutch* ambaſſador, then in town, was not called to be a witneſs, on behalf of the princeſs of *Orange*, the preſumptive heir; all being finiſhed in about two hours. The birth was attended with great rejoicings of the popiſh party; a day of public thankſgiving was appointed, on which occaſion a form of thankſgiving was prepared by the biſhop of *Rocheſter*; and a new ſet of *congratulations* ſent up from all parts of the kingdom. *King* James II. 1688.

Biſhop *Burnet*, Mr. *Eachard*, and others, have examined into the legitimacy of this birth with all poſſible exactneſs, but have left the matter under great uncertainties. Some have pronounced it ſuppoſititious, and no better than the laſt deſperate effort of the popiſh party to perpetuate their religion. Others, who credit the birth, have aſſigned very plauſible reaſons to ſuſpect, that the *preſent pretender* was not the queen's child, but *anothers*, clandeſtinely ſubſtituted. Biſhop *Burnet* is of opinion, that the proofs of its legitimacy were defective. However all the hopes of a proteſtant ſucceſſor ſeemed now at an end, and the joys of the papiſts conſummated; the *engliſh* reformation was expiring, and nothing ſhort of a total ſubverſion of the civil and eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhment to be expected.

Prince of Orange's *expedition.*

The princeſs of *Orange* being thus cut off from the ſucceſſion, his *highneſs* gave greater attention to the advices he received from *England*, of the *queen's having miſcarried ſome months before*, and that therefore the preſent child muſt be ſuppoſititious. The church party being drove by diſtreſs from their favourite doctrine of *non-reſiſtance*, fled with others to the prince of *Orange* as their laſt refuge, and prayed him to come over to their reſcue; with this view, admiral *Ruſſel* and ſeveral eminent perſons, repaired to the *Hague*, on various plauſible pretences, but in reality to invite the prince, and concert meaſures with him for his expedition to *England*, who received them favourably, and diſcovered a good diſpoſition to eſpouſe their cauſe, conſidering that his own right to the crown was now loſt, and that if popery was eſtabliſhed in *England*, *Holland* and the reſt of the reformed intereſt, muſt be expoſed to the utmoſt hazard. Little perſuaſion was wanting to prevail with the *ſtates general* to aſſiſt the *engliſh* proteſtants; but all the difficulty was to keep it ſecret, while they

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were preparing for ſo critical an undertaking. The *ſtates* made uſe of the differences about the election of an archbiſhop of *Cologn*, as a reaſon to form an army for the ſecurity of their own borders; and the *prince*, who had the adminiſtration in his hands, ſet himſelf under this cover, to prepare all neceſſaries for his intended imbarkation, while Mr. *Zuyleſtein* brought him, from time to time, the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of the diſpoſition of the body of the *engliſh* proteſtants, to appear for him at his landing, which fully fixed him in his purpoſe.

Of which the king has intelligence from Paris *and the* Hague. Burnet, p. 766.

But the *french* ambaſſador at the *Hague*, kept a watchful eye upon the prince's motions, and gave timely notice of the extraordinary preparations for war that were making in *Holland*, to his maſter *Lewis* XIV. from whom king *James* had the firſt intelligence. Mr. *Skelton* the *engliſh* envoy at *Paris*, alſo writ five or ſix letters to court, on the ſame head, but king *James* gave little heed to his advices, becauſe the prince of *Orange* carried it in a moſt courteous and reſpectful manner, complimenting his majeſty on the birth of the prince of *Wales*, and cauſing his name to be added to the reſt of the princes of the royal family, to be prayed for in his chapel. However, the *french* king continued to alarm the court of *England* with the intended invaſion, and offered to ſend over fifteen thouſand men, or as many more as ſhould be wanted to his aſſiſtance; but the earl of *Sunderland*, who had lately complimented the king with his religion, prevailed with his majeſty not to tranſport an army of *french* papiſts into his dominions, leſt it ſhould confirm the ſuſpicions of the proteſtants, that he deſigned the over-throw of their religion and liberties.

His majeſty's proceedings upon it. Gazette, No 2384.

The king being at length convinced of the prince of *Orange*'s deſign, ordered the fleet to be fitted out, and the army augmented; and diſpatched orders to *Tyrconnel*, to ſend hither ſeveral regiments from *Ireland*, which put the people under terrible apprehenſions of an *iriſh* maſſacre. *September* 21, his majeſty iſſued out his proclamation for the meeting of a new parliament, "intimating his royal purpoſe to endeavour a legal eſ-"tabliſhment of an *univerſal toleration, and inviolably to preſerve the church* "*of* England *in poſſeſſion of the ſeveral acts of uniformity, as far as they* "*were conſiſtent with ſuch a toleration.* And further to quiet the minds "of his proteſtant ſubjects, he was content that the *roman catholics*, ſhould "remain incapable of being members of the houſe of commons, that ſo "the legiſlature might continue in the hands of proteſtants." *September* 23, the king was further aſſured by letters from the marquis of *Abbeville* at the *Hague*, that penſionary *Fagel* had owned the deſign of the prince of *Orange* to invade *England*. Upon which the king turned pale and ſpeechleſs for a while, and like a diſtracted man looked round every way for relief, but was reſolute in nothing. He poſtponed the meeting of the parliament, and by advice of his council, applied to the biſhops then in

Gazette, No. 2386. *He applies to the biſhops, but wavers.*

town,

town, for advice what was neceſſary to be done to make the church eaſy. The biſhops moved him to annul the *eccleſiaſtical commiſſion, and the diſpenſing power*; *to recal all licenſes and faculties for papiſts to keep ſchools*; *to probibit the four pretended vicars apoſtolical invading the eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction*; *to fill the vacant biſhoprics*; *to reſtore the charters*; *and to call a free and regular parliament, by which the church of* England *might the ſecured according to the the act of uniformity, and proviſion made for a due liberty of conſcience.* Purſuant to this advice, the king and court began to tread backward, concluding, that if they could ſatisfy the biſhops, and recover the affection of the church, all would do well. The *biſhop of* London's *ſuſpenſion* was taken off, the *eccleſiaſtical commiſſion* diſſolved, the *city charter*, and the *fellows* of *Magdalen College* were reſtored, and other illegal practices renounced; but upon news of the prince of *Orange*'s fleet being diſperſed by a ſtorm, and that they would hardly be able to put to ſea again till next ſpring, his majeſty withdrew his hand from any further redreſs of grievances.

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Gazette, N° 2388, 2391.

But the prince having repaired the damages of the ſtorm, ſailed a ſecond time, *Nov.* 1, and after a remarkable paſſage, in which the wind chopt about almoſt miraculouſly in his favour, landed at *Torbay*, *Nov.* 5, with about fourteen thouſand men, without meeting the king's fleet, which was at ſea, in order to intercept them. The prince brought over with him a declaration, dated *October* 10, divided into twenty-ſix articles, but reducible to three principal heads, 1. An enumeration of the public grievances, with regard to religion and civil government. 2. The fruitleſs attempts which had been made to redreſs thoſe grievances; under which mention is made of the ſuſpicious birth of the pretended prince of *Wales*. 3. A proteſtation that the preſent expedition was intended for no other purpoſe, than to procure a free and lawful parliament; to which the prince would refer the redreſs of all the grievances complained of; and for the obtaining ſuch a parliament, his *highneſs* declares, he had been moſt earneſtly ſolicited by a great many lords both *ſpiritual* and *temporal*, and by many gentlemen, and other ſubjects of all ranks, to come over to *England*; and to encourage the *proteſtant diſſenters*, his *highneſs* adds, that he would recommend to the parliament the making ſuch new laws as might eſtabliſh a good agreement, between the church of *England* and all proteſtant non-conformiſts, and in the mean time would ſuffer ſuch as would live peaceably, to enjoy all due freedom in their conſciences.

Prince of Orange's *expedition and declaration.*

The king, who had relied too much on the clergy's profeſſions of *unlimited obedience*, being ſurprized at the expreſſion in the prince's declaration, that he had been invited by the *lords ſpiritual*, ſent for the biſhops then

The king's preparations to reſiſt him. Burnet, p. 784.

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then in town, and inſiſted not only upon their diſowning the fact, but upon their ſigning a paper, expreſſing their abhorrence of the intended invaſion; but they excuſed themſelves, only with a general profeſſion of their allegiance and duty. The *church party* (ſays *Burnet*), *now ſhewed their approbation of the prince's expedition in ſuch terms, that many were ſurprized at it, both then, and ſince that time*; they ſpoke openly in favour of it; they expreſſed their grief to ſee the wind ſo croſs, and wiſhed for a *proteſtant wind* that might bring the prince over. His majeſty therefore finding himſelf deceived in the *church party*, and that he had no other reliance but his army, uſed all imaginable diligence to ſtrengthen it; in obedience to the orders already given, two thouſand five hundred men, chiefly papiſts, were landed at *Cheſter* from *Ireland*. Commiſſions were given out for raiſing ten new regiments of horſe and foot. Three thouſand *ſcots* were ordered from that country. All the *militia* were commanded to be in readineſs to march on the firſt ſummons; and a proclamation was iſſued, requiring all horſes and cattel to be removed twenty miles from thoſe parts of the ſea coaſt, where it was apprehended the prince would land; but ſo great was the people's diſaffection, that they paid little regard to his majeſty's orders.

Confuſion at court and in the city.

Soon after his *highneſs*'s landing, the body of the nation diſcovered their inclinations ſo evidently, that the king loſt both head and heart at once. The city of *London* was in confuſion; reports were ſpread that the *iriſh* would cut the throats of the proteſtants throughout the nation, in one and the ſame night, which awakened the people's fears, and kept them all night on their guard. When this fright was allayed, the mob roſe and pulled down the *maſs houſes*, and burnt the materials in the ſtreets; father *Petre*, with the ſwarms of prieſts and jeſuits who had flocked about the court, diſappeared, and retired into foreign parts; and ſeveral of the king's arbitrary miniſters, who had brought him under theſe difficulties, forſook him and abſconded. *Jefferies* was taken in *Wapping* in a *ſailor's habit*, and would have been torn in pieces by the mob, if he had not been conducted by a ſtrong guard to the *Tower*, where he died before he came to his trial. The unhappy king being left in a manner alone, retired with a ſmall retinue to his army at *Saliſbury*.

Progreſs of the prince of Orange.

The prince of *Orange* having refreſhed his forces, marched from *Torbay* to *Exeter*, where the nobility and gentry ſigned an *aſſociation, to ſupport and aſſiſt his highneſs in purſuing the ends of his declaration, and that if any attempt was made on his perſon, it ſhould be revenged on all, by whom or from whom it ſhould be made.* Great numbers of common people came into the *prince* at *Exeter*; and as ſoon as he marched towards *London*, prince *George* of *Denmark*, the dukes of *Ormond*, *Grafton*, lord *Wharton*,

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ton, *Churchil*, and others of the firſt diſtinction, deſerted the army at *Saliſbury*, and joined the prince, with a great many proteſtant officers and ſoldiers; ſo that his majeſty perceived, even the army, which was his laſt refuge, was not to be relied upon; and to compleat his unhappineſs, princeſs ANNE, his younger daughter, withdrew privately from court with the biſhop of *London*, who put on his buff court and ſword, and commanded a little army for her *highneſs*'s defence.

Heads of Coll. in Oxford *ſent to the prince and ſign the aſſociation.* Burnet, p. 793, 798.

Dr. *Finch* ſon to the earl of *Winchelſea*, and *warden of All Souls College* in *Oxford*, was ſent to the prince from ſome of the heads of colleges, to invite him to *Oxford*, and to aſſure him they were ready to declare for him, and that their plate ſhould be at his ſervice. The prince intended to have accepted their invitation, but all things being in a ferment at *London*, he was adviſed to make all the haſte thither that he could. So he ſent to *Oxford* to excuſe his viſit, and to offer them the ASSOCIATION, *which was ſigned by almoſt all the heads, and the chief men of the univerſity; even by thoſe who being diſappointed in the preferments they aſpired to, became afterwards his moſt implacable enemies.* Archbiſhop *Sancroft* alſo ſent his compliments to the prince, and with ſeven or eight other biſhops, ſigned the *aſſociation*, having changed the word *revenge* into that of *puniſhment*. This was a ſudden turn (ſays the biſhop), from thoſe principles they had carried ſo high a few years before. The *diſſenters* went chearfully into all the prince's meaſures, and were ready to ſign the *aſſociation:* There were few or no *jacobites* or *non jurors* among them; and throughout the whole courſe of king *William*'s reign, they were among his moſt loyal and zealous ſubjects.

Eachard, p 1138.

King leaves the kingdom. Burnet, p. 795, 804.

In this critical juncture, the queen and the young prince of *Wales* were ſent to *France*, *December* 9, the king himſelf following the latter end of the month, having firſt cauſed the writs for calling a new parliament to be burnt, and the *great ſeal* to be thrown into the *Thames*. After his majeſty's firſt attempt to leave the kingdom, he was ſeized at *Feverſham*, and prevailed with to return to *London*; but when the prince reſolved to come to *Whitehall*, and ſent his majeſty a meſſage, that he thought it not conſiſtent with the peace of the city and of the kingdom, for both of them to be there together; his majeſty retired a ſecond time to *Rocheſter*, with the prince's conſent, and after a week's ſtay in that place, went away privately in a veſſel to *France*, leaving a paper behind him, in which he declared, that though he was going to ſeek for foreign aſſiſtance, he would not make uſe of it, to overthrow the eſtabliſhed religion or the laws of his country.—— Thus ended the ſhort and unhappy reign of *James* II. and with him the *male line* of the royal houſe of *Stuarts*, a race of princes, raiſed up by providence, to be the ſcourge of theſe nations; for they were all chargeable with tyranny and oppreſſion, favourers of popery, and

End of the male line of the Stuarts.

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and invaders of the legal conſtitution of their country, in church and ſtate. They enfeebled the nation by encouraging licentiouſneſs of manners, and ſunk a bold and brave people into contempt among foreign powers.

Inter-regnum. Burnet, p. 797.

Nothing could have been more fortunate for the prince of *Orange*, than the king's flight from *Rocheſter* to *France*, which furniſhed a plauſible occaſion for the convention parliament to paſs a vote, that the king had *abdicated the crown, and that the throne was vacant*; though it would have looked more like a *voluntary deſertion*, if his majeſty had gone off the firſt time from *Feverſham*, and had not declared in the paper he left behind him, that *he was going to ſeek for foreign aſſiſtance.* It is certain the king was frighted away by his *prieſts*, who poſſeſſed him with an apprehenſion that he was already a priſoner; and by his *queen*, who prevailed with him to conſult his own and family's ſafety, by leaving the kingdom for the preſent. Thus a great and powerful MONARCH was in a few weeks, reduced to a condition, little better than that of a wandring pilgrim.

Addreſs of the clergy to the prince. Calamy's Abridg. p. 387.

The prince of *Orange* arrived at St. *James's*, *December* 18, and on the 21ſt following, the biſhop of *London* with ſeveral of the *clergy*, and ſome *diſſenting miniſters*, waited upon his highneſs, to congratulate him upon the happy ſucceſs of his glorious expedition; when his lordſhip acquainted his highneſs in the name of the clergy, that there were ſome of their *diſſenting brethren* preſent, who were herein of the ſame ſentiments with themſelves. But on the 2d of *January*, about ninety of the *non-conformiſt miniſters* attended the prince at St. *James's*, in a diſtinct body, being introduced by the earl of *Devonſhire*, and the lords *Wharton* and *Wiltſhire*; when the reverend Mr. *Howe*, in the name of the reſt, aſſured his highneſs "of their grateful ſenſe of this hazardous and heroical "expedition, which the favour of heaven had made ſo ſurprizingly "proſperous. That they eſteemed it a common felicity, that the wor- "thy patriots of the nobility and gentry of this kingdom, had unani- "mouſly concurred with his highneſs's deſigns, by whoſe moſt prudent "advice, the adminiſtration of public affairs was devolved in this diffi- "cult conjuncture, into hands which the nation and the world knew, to "be apt for the greateſt undertakings, and ſo ſuitable to the preſent exi- "gency of our caſe. They promiſed their utmoſt endeavours, in their "ſeveral ſtations, to promote the excellent and moſt deſirable ends, for "which his highneſs had declared. They added their continual fer- "vent prayers to the Almighty, for the preſervation of his highneſs's "perſon, and the ſucceſs of his future endeavours, for the defence "and propagation of the proteſtant intereſt, throughout the chriſtian "world; that they ſhould all moſt willingly have choſen *that time* for "the

And of the non-conf. *miniſters.* Howe's *Life*, p. 142.

" the ſeaſon of paying their duty to his highneſs, when the lord biſhop, " and the clergy of *London*, attended his highneſs for the ſame purpoſe, " (which ſome of them did, and which his lordſhip was pleaſed conde- " ſcendingly to make mention of to his highneſs), had their notice of " that intended application been ſo early, as to make their more general " attendance poſſible at that time. Therefore though they did now ap- " pear in a diſtinct company, it was not on a diſtinct account, but " on that only which was common to them, and to all proteſtants; and " though there were ſome of their brethren of eminent note, whom " age or preſent infirmities hindered from coming with them, yet they " concurred in the ſame grateful ſenſe of their common deliverance." Inter-Regnum. 1688.

His highneſs received them very favourably, and returned them the following anſwer; *my great end was the preſervation of the* PROTESTANT RELIGION, *and with the Amighty's aſſiſtance and permiſſion, ſo to defend and ſupport the ſame, as may give it ſtrength and reputation throughout the world, ſufficient to preſerve it from the inſults and oppreſſion of its moſt implacable enemies; and that, more immediately in theſe kingdoms of* England, Scotland, *and* Ireland; *and I will uſe my utmoſt endeavours ſo to ſettle and cement all different perſuaſions of proteſtants, in ſuch a bond of love and community, as may contribute to the laſting ſecurity and enjoyment of* ſpirituals *and* temporals, *to all ſincere profeſſors of that holy religion.* *His highneſs's anſwer.* Eachard.

In order to ſettle the government, the prince publiſhed an order, deſiring all perſons who had ſerved as *knights, citizens*, or *burgeſſes*, in any of the parliaments in the reign of king *Charles* II, to meet him at St. *James*'s on *Wedneſday* the 26th of *December*, at ten in the morning; and that the lord mayor and court of aldermen of the city of *London* would be preſent, and fifty of the common-council. This aſſembly deſired the prince to take upon himſelf the adminiſtration of the government for the preſent; and a *convention parliament* was choſen with all expedition, in which various methods were propoſed of ſettling the government; ſome were for compromiſing matters with king *James*, and others for a *regency*; but after long and warm debates, the throne was declared *vacant*, *king* James *having abdicated the government, and broken the original contract with his people.* When the queſtion was put, whether to fill the throne with a *king*, or to appoint a *regent*, it was carried for the former only by *two* voices, *fifty-one* being for a king, and *forty-nine* for a regent, among which latter were twelve or thirteen biſhops, two only (*viz*) the biſhops of *London* and *Briſtol*, being for a king; the reaſon of which, was their reluctance to contradict the doctrine they had been ſo long preaching, (*viz*) that the *regal power* was *jure divino*, and his majeſty's character indelible. They had indeed concurred in inviting the prince of Gazette, No. 2414. *The throne declared vacant, and the crown offered to the prince and princeſs of* Orange. Burn. p. 809.

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Orange to come to the relief of their religion, but the ſtorm being appeaſed, they thought it not incumbent on them wholly to depart from their old principles, and therefore voted for a *regency*; but the queſtion being carried (ſays biſhop *Burnet*), *Nature was ſo ſtrong in them, that it was too hard for their doctrine.* And a declaration being prepared for aſſerting and vindicating the antient rights and liberties of the ſubject, the crown was offered to the PRINCE and PRINCESS of ORANGE, the latter of whom arrived from *Holland* the day before; and BOTH having declared their acceptance, were proclaimed KING and QUEEN of *England*, &c. *Feb.* 13, 1688-9, and crowned at *Weſtminſter*, *April* 11 following, amidſt the joyful acclamations of all the friends of the proteſtant religion and liberties of their country.

Remarks.

Thus a wonderful *revolution* was effected, with little or no effuſion of blood; and it is ſurprizing to reflect on the remarkable appearances of divine providence, in the riſe, progreſs, and conſummation of this important event; how the court of *England* and the *roman catholic* powers were all infatuated or aſleep, while the deſign was forming; and when it was carrying into execution, how the winds were ſubſervient, and the hearts of the people united, till it was brought to maturity: And it will amaze all poſterity, to read the inconſiſtent and diſhonourable part, which the *high church clergy and their friends* acted on this occaſion; for after they had preached their *hereditary* prince into a belief of their *unlimited loyalty*, and aſſured him in numberleſs addreſſes, that *their* lives and fortunes were *abſolutely* at his ſervice; and after the univerſity of *Oxford*, by a ſolemn decree, had declared all *manner of reſiſtance damnable, and infamous to the chriſtian religion*, they appeared among the firſt who *reſiſted him*; and by opening A RESERVE which lay hid under their unbounded profeſſions of *duty* and *allegiance*, let him fall into that pit, out of which he could never eſcape. As ſoon as the *jure divino* king, invaded the properties of the univerſities, and threatened to take down the fences of their *eccleſiaſtical* preferments, they invited the prince of *Orange* with an armed force to their reſcue; they ſigned an *aſſociation* to ſupport and aſſiſt him; they offered him their *plate*, and declared for him in a body, even while their ſovereign was on the throne. Nevertheleſs the moment they thought their power and preferments ſecure, they would have retracted, and made up matters again with king *James*; they oppoſed the motion in the convention parliament for *declaring the throne vacant*; and when the government came to be ſettled upon king WILLIAM and queen MARY, great numbers of them would not ſubmit, and thoſe who did, acted a treacherous and diſhonourable part to their GREAT DELIVERER, throughout the courſe of his reign. What inconſiſtencies are theſe! What oaths and declarations can hold men who burſt ſuch bands, and cut

cut ſuch ſacred cords aſunder! The like muſt be obſerved as to their vows and promiſes to the *non-conformiſts*, all which were forgot or broken; as ſoon as the church was delivered. The diſſenters acted a more conſiſtent part, for not being intangled with the ſame fetters, they went heartily into the *revolution*, and were among king *William*'s beſt and ſteadieſt friends, when others forſook and oppoſed him. *King William and queen Mary. 1688.*

No ſooner were king WILLIAM and queen MARY ſettled on the throne, than the diſſenting miniſters in and about the city of *London*, waited on their majeſties with an *addreſs of congratulation*, when Dr. *Bates* at their head made the two following ſpeeches.

To the KING.

May it pleaſe your majeſty,

Addreſs of the diſſenting miniſters to K. William.

" THE ſeries of ſucceſsful events that has attended your glo-
" rious enterprize, for the ſaving theſe kingdoms from ſo emi-
" nent and deſtructive evils, has been ſo eminent and extraordinary, that
" it may force an acknowledgement of the divine providence from thoſe
" who deny it, and cauſe admiration in all who believe and reverence it:
" The beauty and ſpeed of this happy work are the bright ſignatures of
" his hand, who creates deliverance for his people: The leſs of human
" power, the more of divine wiſdom and goodneſs has been conſpicuous
" in it. If the deliverance had been obtained by fierce and bloody bat-
" tles, victory itſelf had been dejected and ſad, and our joy had been
" mixed with afflicting bitterneſs; but as the ſun aſcending the horizon,
" diſpels without noiſe the darkneſs of the night, ſo your ſerene preſence
" has, without tumults and diſorders, chaſed away the darkneſs that in-
" vaded us. In the ſenſe of this aſtoniſhing deliverance, we deſire with
" all poſſible ardency of affection, to magnify the glorious name of God,
" the author of it, by whoſe entire efficacy, the means have been ſuc-
" ceſsful; and we cannot without a warm rapture of thankfulneſs, recount
" our obligations to your majeſty, the happy inſtrument of it. Your
" illuſtrious greatneſs of mind, in an undertaking of ſuch vaſt expence,
" your heroic zeal in expoſing your moſt precious life in ſuch an adven-
" turous expedition, your wiſe conduct, and unſhaken reſolution in pro-
" ſecuting your great ends, are above the loftieſt flights of language,
" exceed all praiſe. We owe to your majeſty the two greateſt and moſt
" valuable bleſſings that we can enjoy, *the preſervation of the true religion*,
" our moſt ſacred treaſure; and *the recovery of the falling ſtate, and the*
" *eſtabliſhing it upon juſt foundations.* According to our duty, we pro-
" miſe unfeigned fidelity, and true allegiance to your majeſty's per-

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" ſon and government. We are encouraged by your gracious promiſe " upon our firſt addreſs, humbly to deſire and hope, that your majeſty " will be pleaſed, by your wiſdom and authority, to eſtabliſh a firm union " of your proteſtant ſubjects in matters of religion, by making the rule " of chriſtianity, to be the rule of conformity. Our bleſſed union in the " purity and peace of the goſpel, will make this church a fair and " lovely type of heaven, and terrible to our antichriſtian enemies: This " will make *England* the ſteady centre from whence a powerful influ- " ence will be derived, for the ſupport of reformed chriſtianity abroad. " This will bring immortal honour to your name, above the trophies " and triumphs of the moſt renowned conquerors. We do aſſure your " majeſty, that we ſhall cordially embrace the terms of union, which the " ruling wiſdom of our Saviour has preſcribed in his word. We ſhall " not treſpaſs further on your royal patience, but ſhall offer up our fervent " prayers to the king of kings, that he will pleaſe to direct your ma- " jeſty by his unerring wiſdom, and always encline your heart to his " glory, and encompaſs your ſacred perſon with his favour as with a " ſhield, and make your government an univerſal bleſſing to theſe king- " doms."

To which his majeſty was graciouſly pleaſed to make the following anſwer.

King's anſwer.

" *I TAKE kindly your good wiſhes, and whatever is in my power, ſhall* " *be employed for obtaining ſuch an union among you. I do aſſure you* " *of my protection and kindneſs.*"

To the QUEEN.

May it pleaſe your majeſty,

Their addreſs to the queen.

" YOUR happy arrival into your native country, and acceſſion to " the crown, has diffuſed an univerſal joy through this kingdom. " 'Tis an auſpicious ſign of public felicity, when ſupream virtue, and " ſupream dignity, meet in the ſame perſon. Your inviolable firmneſs " in the profeſſion of the truth, and examplary piety, are the moſt radi- " ant jewels in your crown. The luſtre of your converſation, un- " ſtained in the midſt of tempting vanities, and adorned with every " grace, recommends religion as the moſt honourable and amiable qua- " lity, even to thoſe who are averſe from hearing ſermons, and apt " to deſpiſe ſerious inſtructions and excitations to be religious. We " humbly

" humbly desire, that your majesty would be pleased by your wisdom " and goodness, to compose the differences between your protestant sub- " jects, in things of less moment concerning religion. We hope those " reverend persons who conspire with us in the main end, the glory of " God, and the public good, will consent to the terms of union, where- " in all the reformed churches agree. We shall sincerely address our " requests to God, that he will please to pour down in a rich a- " bundance his blessings, upon your majesty's person and government, and " preserve you to his heavenly kingdom."

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Her majesty was graciously pleased to answer,

" I *WILL use all endeavours for the obtaining an union that is ne-* " *cessary for the edifying of the church. I desire your prayers.*"

Her majesty's answer.

Though the joy that accompanied the *revolution*, had a considerable influence on the choice of representatives in parliament, yet there being no *court* to make interest among the people, it appeared that the late king had a party in both houses, sufficient to perplex the government, who first proposed the choice of a *new parliament*, in order to throw the nation into a ferment; but this being over-ruled, a bill was brought in, and passed *Jan.* 23, to turn the present *convention* into a *parliament*, it being wisely concluded, that those who had set the king on the throne, would be most zealous to maintain him there; but when the house was called over, and the members required to take the oaths, eight bishops absented (*viz.*) Dr. *Sancroft* archbishop of *Canterbury*, *Turner* of *Ely*, *Lake* of *Chichester*, *Kenn* of *Bath* and *Wells*, *White* of *Peterborough*, *Thomas* of *Worcester*, *Loyde* of *Norwich*, and *Frampton* of *Gloucester*; however that they might recommend themselves by a shew of moderation, before they withdrew, they moved the house of lords for a bill of toleration and another of comprehension, which were drawn up accordingly by the earl of *Nottingham*, and were much the same with those prepared for the house of *commons* in king *Charles* the second's time, during the debates about the bill of exclusion.

Some bishops refused the oath. Burnet, p. Vol. II. p. 6, 8.

The *clergy* in general took the oaths, but it became visible that many among them took them only as oaths of submission to *usurpers*, with this *reserve*, that it was still lawful to assist king *James*, if he should attempt to recover the crown, and that he was still their king *de jure*, though

Ib. Vol. II. p. 6, 11.

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though the prince of *Orange* was king *de facto*, contrary to the plain meaning of the words; but the clergy broke through all theſe fetters (ſays the biſhop), to the reproach of their profeſſion: And the prevarication of ſo many in ſo ſacred a matter, contributed not a little to the atheiſm of the age. Indeed they had embarked ſo far in their doctrines of *abſolute ſubmiſſion, and the divine right of monarchy*, that they knew not how to diſengage themſelves with honour or conſcience. Many ſuffered the time limited for taking the oaths to elapſe, and yet officiated afterwards contrary to law. They threatened the church with a new ſeparation, which terrified the moderate clergy, and put a ſtop to all amendments of the liturgy for the eaſe of diſſenters, leſt the *non jurors* ſhould gain over great numbers of the laity, by pretending to abide by the old liturgy, in oppoſition to the reformed one. Thus the non-conformiſts were ſold to the *jacobites*, by the timidity of their real friends; for the *high church party* diſcovered an irreconcileable enmity to an accommodation, and ſeemed only to wiſh for an occaſion to renew old ſeverities. Thoſe who had moved for a comprehenſion, and brought the bill into the houſe of lords, acted a very diſingenuous part (ſays *Burnet*), for while they ſtudied to recommend themſelves, by ſeeming to countenance the bill, they ſet on their friends to oppoſe it, repreſenting the favourers of it, as enemies to the church.

When the king came to the houſe, *March* 16, he made the following ſpeech.

My lords and gentlemen,

His majeſty recommends qualifying all his proteſtant ſubjects for ſerving the government. Gazette, N° 2436.

"NOW I have occaſion of coming hither to paſs theſe bills, I "ſhall put you in mind of one thing which will conduce much "to our ſettlement, as a ſettlement will to the diſappointment of our "enemies. I am, with all the expedition I can, filling up the vacancies "that are in the offices and places of truſt by this late revolution. I "hope you are ſenſible there is a neceſſity of ſome law, to ſettle the "oaths to be taken by all perſons to be admitted to ſuch places. I re"commend it to your care, to make a ſpeedy proviſion for it; and as I "doubt not but you will ſufficiently provide againſt papiſts, *ſo I hope "you will leave room for the admiſſion of all proteſtants that are willing and "able to ſerve.* This conjunction in my ſervice, will tend to the better "uniting you among yourſelves, and the ſtrengthening you againſt your "common enemies." It appears by this, that king *William* was for taking off the *teſt*, and abrogating the penal laws, as far as related to diſſenting proteſtants, though the parliament were of another mind.

When

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When a bill was brought into the houſe of lords, for abrogating the oaths of *allegiance and ſupremacy*, and framing other oaths in their ſtead, a committee was appointed to inſert a clauſe, *to take away the neceſſity of receiving the ſacrament, in order to make a man capable of enjoying any office, employment, or place of truſt*; but when the clauſe was reported to the houſe, it was rejected by a conſiderable majority, the earls of *Stamford* and *Cheſterfield*, the lords *Lovelace*, *Delamere*, *North* and *Grey*, *Wharton* and *Vaughan*, entering their proteſts. *Bill for changing the oaths.*

After this, another clauſe was offered, by which it was provided, that ſuch ſhould be ſufficiently qualified for any office, *who within a year before, or after their admiſſion, did receive the ſacrament either according to the uſage of the church of* England, *or in any other proteſtant congregation, and could produce a certificate under the hands of the miniſter, and two other credible perſons members of ſuch a congregation.* On the queſtion, whether this clauſe ſhould be a part of the bill, it paſſed in the negative; the lords *Oxford*, *Lovelace*, *Wharton*, *Mordaunt*, *Montague*, and *Paget*, entering their proteſts.

It was propoſed further, in a committee of the houſe of lords, to diſpenſe with *kneeling at the ſacrament*, but when the queſtion was put, whether to agree with the committee in leaving out the clauſe, the votes were equal, and ſo according to the uſage of the houſe it paſſed in the negative. The like fate attended the motion about the *croſs in baptiſm*, and explaining the words *aſſent* and *conſent* in ſubſcription. Thus the ſeveral attempts for alterations in thechurch ſervice, at a time when the legiſlature was in temper for accommodating leſſer differences, were fruſtrated by a riſing party of *jacobites* and *tories*, who threatened the new government with a revolt, unleſs they were humoured, and for fear of them, all promiſes of accommodation with the diſſenters were of no avail. Burnet. p. 11.

Act of toleration brought into the houſe and paſſed.

Soon after a bill for *toleration of proteſtant diſſenters* was brought into the houſe, and had an eaſy paſſage; though ſome propoſed, that the act ſhould only be temporary, as a neceſſary reſtraint, that the diſſenters might ſo demean themſelves, as to merit the continuance of it, when the term of years firſtgranted ſhould expire; but this was rejected. Biſhop *Burnet* ſays, that his zeal for this act loſt him his credit with the *church party*, by which it appears they did not much like it. It is entitled, *an act for exempting their majeſty's proteſtant ſubjects diſſenting from the church of* England, *from the penalties of certain laws therein mentioned.* But the *corporation* and *teſt acts* were not inſerted in this act, and therefore remain in full force: There is an exception likewiſe of ſuch as deny the doctrine of the trinity; and quakers are excuſed taking the oaths to the government, upon their making a ſolemn declaration therein mentioned

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mentioned. This act excuſes all *proteſtant diſſenters* from the penalties of the laws therein mentioned, for not coming to church, provided they take the oaths and ſubſcribe the declaration therein mentioned. And *diſſenting miniſters* are tolerated on the like conditions, and on their *ſubſcribing the doctrinal articles of the church of* England. But this being the baſis and boundary of their preſent liberty, I have inſerted the act in the *Appendix*.

Bill for a comprehenſion. Burnet, p. 10.

While the bill for a *toleration* was depending, a motion was made in the houſe of lords for a *comprehenſion*, which was received, and ſome progreſs made towards effecting it; but a *proviſo* being offered, and preſſed with great earneſtneſs by ſome temporal lords, that in imitation of the acts paſſed in the reigns of king *Henry* VIII. and *Edward* VI. a number of perſons *both of the clergy and laity*, might be empowered to prepare materials for ſuch a reformation of the church, as might be fit to offer the king and parliament, it was warmly debated, and at length rejected by a ſmall majority. Biſhop *Burnet* was againſt the *proviſo*, for fear of offending the clergy, who would look upon it as taking the reformation out of their hands; but adds, "I was convinced ſoon after, that I "had taken wrong meaſures, and that the method propoſed by the lords, "was the only one like to prove effectual." Dr. *Tillotſon* being of the ſame mind with *Burnet*, adviſed the king to refer the affair to a *ſynod of divines*, whoſe determinations he apprehended would ſtop the mouths of papiſts, who reproached our reformation as built chiefly on a parliamentary authority, and would be better received by the body of the clergy.

An eccleſiaſtical commiſſion to prepare matters for it.

Accordingly it was agreed in council, that a ſelect number of *learned divines*, ſhould be appointed by the *royal mandate*, to meet and conſult about the moſt proper methods of healing the wounds of the church; that their determinations ſhould be laid before the convocation, and from thence receive the ſanction of parliament. Agreeably to this reſolution, the king iſſued out a commiſſion to thirty divines, of whom ten were biſhops, whoſe names were,

Dr. *Lamplugh* Abp. of *York*,
Compton Bp. *London*,
Mew Bp. *Wincheſter*,
Lloyde Bp. *St. Aſaph*,
Sprat Bp. *Rocheſter*,
Smith Bp. *Carliſle*,
Sir *Jonath. Trelawney* Bp. *Exeter*,
Dr. *Burnet* Bp. *Sarum*,
Humphreys Bp. *Bangor*,
Stratford Bp. *Cheſter*.

To theſe were added the following divines.

Dr.

Dr. *Stillingfleet*,	Dr. *Patrick*,	*King* William *and queen* Mary. 1689.
Tillotſon,	*Meggot*,	
Sharp,	*Kidder*,	
Aldridge,	*Jane*,	
Hall,	*Beaumont*,	
Montague,	*Goodman*,	
Beveridge,	*Battely*,	
Alſton,	*Tenniſon*,	
Scot,	*Fowler*,	
Grove,	*Williams*.	

Their commiſſion was as follows;

" Whereas the particular forms of divine worſhip, and the rites and *Their powers.*
" ceremonies appointed to be uſed therein, being things in their own
" nature indifferent and alterable, and ſo acknowledged, it is but rea-
" ſonable that upon weighty and important conſiderations, according to
" the various exigencies of times and occaſions, ſuch changes and al-
" terations ſhould be made therein, as to thoſe that are in place and
" authority, ſhould from time to time, ſeem either neceſſary or expe-
" dient."

" And whereas the *book of canons* is fit to be reviewed, and made
" more ſuitable to the ſtate of the church; and whereas there are de-
" fects and abuſes in *the eccleſiaſtical courts and juriſdictions*; and par-
" ticularly, there is not ſufficient proviſion made for the removing of
" ſcandalous miniſters, and for the reforming of manners, either in mi-
" niſters or people. And whereas it is moſt fit, that there ſhould be a
" ſtrict method preſcribed, for the examination of ſuch perſons as de-
" ſire to to be admitted into holy orders, both as to their learning and
" manners."

" We therefore, out of our pious and princely care for the good or-
" der, edification, and unity of the church of *England*, committed to
" our charge and care, and for the reconciling as much as is poſſible of
" all differences among our good ſubjects, and to take away all occa-
" ſion of the like for the future, have thought fit to authorize you,
" *&c.* or any nine of you, whereof three to be biſhops, to meet from
" time to time, as often as ſhall be needful, and to *prepare ſuch altera-*
" *tions of the liturgy and canons, and ſuch propoſals for the reformation*
" *of the eccleſiaſtical courts*; and to conſider of ſuch other matters

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"as in your judgments, may moſt conduce to the the ends above-"mentioned."

The legality of them.

The *committee* having aſſembled in the *Jeruſalem Chamber*, a diſpute aroſe about the legality of their commiſſion; *Sprat* biſhop of *Rocheſter*, one of king *James*'s eccleſiaſtical commiſſioners, being of the number, they pretended to fear a *præmunire*, though there was not ſo much as a ſhadow for ſuch a pretence, the *king's ſupremacy*, if it means any thing, empowering him to appoint proper perſons to prepare matters for the legiſlature: However upon this debate, *Mew* biſhop of *Wincheſter*, *Sprat* of *Rocheſter*, with Dr. *Jane* and Dr. *Aldridge*, withdrew. Some of them declared plainly, they were againſt all alterations whatſoever; they thought too much would be done for the *diſſenters*, in granting them an act of toleration, and they would do nothing to make conformity eaſier. They ſaid further, that altering the cuſtoms and conſtitutions of the church to gratify a peeviſh and obſtinate party, was like to have no other effect, than to make them more inſolent. But was it ever tried? Did the convocation or parliament make a ſingle abatement from the year 1662 to this time? If the experiment had been tried, and proved ineffectual, the blame might have been caſt upon the *diſſenters*; but to call them *peeviſh* and *obſtinate*, without offering them any, even the ſmalleſt conceſſions, deſerves no better a name than unjuſt calumny. Was there no obſtinacy and peeviſhneſs on the ſide of the church, in retreating from ſo many promiſes, without a ſingle offer? —— But it was ſaid further, that the church by propoſing theſe alterations, ſeemed to confeſs, that ſhe had hitherto been in the wrong, and that the attempt would divide them among themſelves, and leſſen people's eſteem for the liturgy, if it appeared that it wanted correction. Such were the reaſonings of theſe *high divines*, if they deſerve the name, ſome of whom but a few months before, had made the warmeſt pretences to a ſpirit of moderation.

Reaſons againſt alterations. Burnet, Vol. II. p. 31.

And for them.

It was alledged on the other ſide, that if a few corrections or explanations were allowed, there was reaſon to hope, it would bring over many of the people, if not the *teachers themſelves*; at leaſt if the prejudices of the preſent *diſſenters* were too ſtrong, it might have a good effect on the next generation; nor could it be any reproach to the church, ſince the offers were made only in regard to their weakneſs. *Ritual matters* were of an indifferent nature, and became neceſſary in virtue only of the authority that injoined them; therefore it was an unreaſonable ſtiffneſs to deny any abatements, in order to heal the church's diviſions. Great changes had been made by the church of *Rome* in her *rituals*; and among ourſelves ſince the reformation, in the reigns of king *Edward* VI. queen *Elizabeth*, king *James*, and king *Charles* II. and it ſeemed neceſſary

ſary at this time, to make the terms of communion as large as might be, that ſo a greater number might be brought over, ſince by the *act of toleration* they might diſſent with ſafety. *King William and queen Mary. 1689.*

But while theſe matters were debating, the *jacobite party* took hold of the occaſion, to enflame mens minds againſt the government. It was pretended the church was to be pulled down, and preſbytery eſtabliſhed: The univerſities took fire, and declared againſt alterations, and againſt all who promoted them, as men who intended to undermine the hierarchy. Severe reflections were caſt on the king himſelf, as not being in the intereſt of epiſcopacy; for the cry of the church's danger was raiſed by the enemies of the government, as that under which they thought they might ſafely ſhelter their evil deſigns. Great intereſt was made in the choice of convocation men, to whom the determinations of the committee were to be referred, ſo that it was quickly viſible, that the laudable deſigns of the king, and the *eccleſiaſtical commiſſioners*, would prove abortive.

Their proceedings. Burnet, p. 31.

However the committee continued their work, till they had finiſhed it; they had before them all the exceptions that either the puritans before the war, or the non-conformiſts ſince the reſtoration, had made to the church ſervice. They had alſo many propoſitions and advices that had been ſuggeſted at ſeveral times, by many of our biſhops and divines upon thoſe heads; matters were well conſidered, and freely and calmly debated, and all was digeſted into an entire correction, of every thing that ſeemed liable to any juſt exception. Dr. *Nichols* ſays, they began with reviewing the liturgy, and firſt in examining the calendar; they ordered in the room of the *apocryphal* leſſons, certain chapters of *canonical ſcripture* to be read, that were more to the people's advantage; *Athanaſius*'s *creed* being diſliked, by reaſon of the damnatory clauſes, it was left to the miniſters choice to uſe it, or change it for the *apoſtles creed*. New collects were drawn up, more agreeable to the epiſtles and goſpels, for the whole courſe of the year, with that elegance and brightneſs of expreſſion (ſays the doctor), and ſuch a flame of devotion, that nothing could more affect and excite the hearts of the hearers, and raiſe up their minds towards God; they were firſt prepared by Dr. *Patrick*; Dr. *Burnet* added to them farther force and ſpirit; Dr. *Stillingfleet* afterwards examined them with great judgment, carefully weighing every word in them; and Dr. *Tillotſon* had the laſt hand, giving them ſome free and maſterly ſtrokes of his ſweet and flowing eloquence. Dr. *Kidder* made a *new verſion of the pſalms*, more agreeable to the original. Dr. *Tenniſon* made a collection of the words and expreſſions throughout the liturgy, which had been excepted againſt, and propoſed others in their room that were clear and plain, and leſs liable to exception —— ſinging in cathedrals was to be laid aſide — the *apocryphal leſſons* were to be omitted, together with the *legendary ſaints*

Apparatus, p. 95, 66.

Their particular amendments. Calamy's Abridg. Vol. I. p. 453.

King William *and queen* Mary. 1689.

ſaints days —— the *croſs* in *baptiſm* to be left to the choice of the parent —— and *kneeling* at the *ſacrament* to be indifferent —— the intention of *lent faſts* was declared to conſiſt only in extraordinary acts of devotion, not in diſtinction of meats —— the word *prieſt* was to be changed for *miniſter* —— the uſe of the *ſurplice* is left to the diſcretion of the biſhop, who may diſpenſe with it, or appoint another to read the ſervice —— *god-fathers* and *god-mothers* in baptiſm may be omitted if deſired, and children preſented in their parents names —— *re-ordination* of thoſe who had been ordained by preſbyters was to be only conditional —— but theſe, with ſome other uſeful alterations in the litany, communion ſervice, and canons, will not be known till the papers themſelves are made public. However theſe conceſſions and amendments, would in all probability, have brought in three parts in four of the diſſenters.

Proceedings of the convocation.

While theſe things were debating in parliament, and among the commiſſioners, an addreſs was preſented, *April* 19, praying that according to the ancient cuſtom and uſage of the kingdom in time of parliament, his majeſty would iſſue out his writ, for calling a *convocation of the clergy*, to be adviſed with in eccleſiaſtical matters, aſſuring his majeſty, that it was their intention forthwith to proceed to the conſideration, of *giving eaſe to proteſtant diſſenters*; but when they met it quickly appeared, that the *high church party* were ſuperior to the *moderate*, by their chooſing Dr. *Jane*, who drew up the *Oxford decree*, prolocutor, in preference of Dr. *Tillotſon*. His majeſty ſent a letter or meſſage by the earl of *Nottingham*, aſſuring them of his conſtant favour and protection, and that he had ſummoned them, not only becauſe it was uſual upon holding parliaments, but out of a pious zeal, to do every thing that might tend to the beſt eſtabliſhment of the church of *England*, and deſiring them to conſider of ſuch things, as by his order ſhould be laid before them, with a due and impartial zeal for the peace and good of the church. But there was no room for his majeſty's interpoſition, the lower houſe of convocation quickly coming to a reſolution, *not to enter into any debates with relation to alterations*; and it was not without difficulty carried, to make a decent addreſs to the king, thanking him for his promiſe of *protection*. And the addreſs which the biſhops ſent down, acknowledging the protection which the *proteſtant religion* in general, and the church of *England* in particular, had received from his majeſty, the lower houſe would not agree to it, becauſe it imported their owning ſome common union with the foreign churches. They would thank his majeſty for his care to eſtabliſh the church of *England*, whereby the intereſt of the *proteſtant churches* abroad would be better ſecured, but would not inſert the words, *this and all other proteſtant churches*, as the biſhops had deſired.

Their diſaffection.

The

King William and queen Mary. 1689.

The biſhop of *London* in his anſwer to the *prolocutor's* ſpeech, told them, that they ought to endeavour a temper of things not eſſential to religion; and that it was their duty to ſhew the ſame indulgence and charity to the *diſſenters* under king *William*, which ſome of the biſhops and clergy had promiſed in their addreſſes to king *James*. *But all theſe promiſes* (ſays biſhop *Burnet*), *were entirely forgot.* It was in vain therefore to refer the amendments of the eccleſiaſtical commiſſioners to a number of men, who had reſolved to *admit of no alterations*; and 'tis thought that if the *act of toleration* had been left to their deciſion, it would have miſcarried. The king obſerving ſuch a want of temper, broke up the ſeſſions; and ſeeing they were in no diſpoſition to do good, they were kept from doing miſchief by prorogations for a courſe of ten years.

Remarks.

This was the laſt fruitleſs attempt for a *comprehenſion of diſſenters within the eſtabliſhment*; and ſuch was the ungrateful return that theſe ſtubborn churchmen made, to thoſe who had aſſiſted them in diſtreſs! For it ought to ſtand upon record, that the *church of England* had been twice reſcued from the moſt imminent danger, by men for whoſe ſatisfaction they would not move a pin, nor abate a ceremony; firſt in the year 1660, when the *preſbyterians* reſtored the king and conſtitution, without making any terms for themſelves; and now again at the *revolution*, when the *church* fled for ſuccour to a *preſbyterian prince*, and was delivered by an army of fourteen thouſand *hollanders*, of the ſame principles with the *engliſh* diſſenters; and how uncivilly thoſe troops were afterwards uſed, is too ungrateful a piece of hiſtory to remember.

Account of aboliſhing epiſcopacy in Scotland. Burnet, Vol. II. p. 23.

But beſides the ſtrong diſpoſition of the *high church clergy* and their friends, to return to their allegiance to king *James*, there was another incident, that ſharpened their reſentments againſt the *king* and the *diſſenters*, which was his majeſty's conſenting to the aboliſhing epiſcopacy in *Scotland*, which could not be prevented without putting all his affairs into the utmoſt confuſion; the biaſs of that people was ſtrong to *preſbytery*, and the more ſo, becauſe the epiſcopal party went almoſt univerſally into king *James*'s intereſts, ſo that the *presbyterians* were the king's only friends in that kingdom. There was a *convention* in *Scotland* like that in *England*, who on the 11th of *April*, the day on which king *William* and queen *Mary* were crowned in *England*, paſſed judgment of forfeiture on king *James*, and voted the crown of *Scotland* to king *William* and queen *Mary*. They drew up a claim of rights, by one article of which it was declared, that *the reformation in* Scotland *having been begun by a parity among the clergy*; *prelacy in the church was a great and inſupportable grievance to the kingdom.* The biſhops and their adherents having left the *convention*, becauſe not ſummoned by writ from king *James*; the preſbyterians had a majority of voices; whereupon the aboliſhing epiſcopacy in *Scotland* was

Which was owing to the jacobitiſm of the ſcots bps. and clergy.

King William and queen Mary, 1689.

was made a neceſſary article of the new ſettlement. The epiſcopal party ſent the dean of *Glaſgow* to king *William*, to know his intentions concerning them, who anſwered he would do all he could to preſerve them, conſiſtent with *a full toleration to the presbyterians*, provided they concurred in the new eſtabliſhment; but if they oppoſed it, he ſhould not enter into a war for their ſakes. The biſhops, inſtead of ſubmitting to the *revolution*, reſolved unanimouſly to adhere firmly to king *James*, and declared in a body, with ſo much zeal againſt the new ſettlement, that it was not poſſible for the king to ſupport them. The clergy ſent for king *James* into *Scotland*, and the earl of *Dundee* collected ſome thouſands of highlanders to make a ſtand, but general *Mackay*, who was ſent with a body of forces to diſperſe them, routed them at a place called *Gillicranky*, and killed the earl of *Dundee* upon the ſpot. So that *epiſcopacy* in *Scotland* fell a ſacrifice to the intereſt of king *James*.

Creates diſaffection to the government. Burnet, p. 29.

But though it was impoſſible to ſtop the torrent of the *ſcots* peoples zeal for preſbytery; and though the king had only preſbyterians on his ſide in that kingdom, yet the ſuffering it to take place, encreaſed the diſaffection of the *engliſh* clergy. Reports of the king's diſlike of the *hierarchy* were ſpread with great induſtry; the leading men of both univerſities were poſſeſſed with it (ſays *Burnet*); though the king had joined in communion with the church, and took the ſacrament according to law. It was given out, that men zealous for the church were neglected, and that thoſe who were indifferent to the ceremonies were promoted. His majeſty promiſed the *ſcots* clergy to moderate matters in their favour, and lord *Melvil*, ſecretary of ſtate, engaged very ſolemnly to the ſame purpoſe; but when the *presbyterians* threatened to deſert the court, if they were deſerted by them, *Melvil* thought it the king's intereſt to ſecure them in all events, which could not be done, but by abandoning the miniſters of the *epiſcopal perſuaſion*. Such therefore as refuſed to read the proclamation of king *William* and queen *Mary* by the prefixed day, were deprived of their livings; which being publiſhed up and down *England*, and much aggravated, raiſed the averſion of the friends of the church againſt the preſbyterians ſo high (ſays biſhop *Burnet*), that they began to repent their having granted a toleration to a party, who where they prevailed, ſhewed ſo much fury againſt thoſe of the *epiſcopal perſuaſion*. It ought however to be remembered, that this was a *government caſe*, that the fate of the *revolution* in that kingdom depended upon it; and that the biſhops and epiſcopal clergy, almoſt to a man, were determined *jacobites*, and refuſed to take the oaths to king WILLIAM and queen MARY. Beſides, what reaſon had the *ſcots* preſbyterians to truſt the epiſcopal clergy, when it was in their power to do themſelves juſtice? Had they not deceived them out of their diſcipline in 1662, and perſecuted them cruelly

And to the engliſh *diſſenters,*

cruelly ever ſince? Whoever peruſes the dreadful ſufferings of the *kirk* in the reign of *Charles* the ſecond, will judge how far they had reaſon to replace them in the ſaddle, and deliver the reins into their hands.

King William *and queen* Mary. 1689.

But the diſaffection of the *high church clergy*, ſtopt not ſhort of the king himſelf, who was made uneaſy by their malignant ſpirit, and reſtleſs endeavours to clog the wheels of his government; inſomuch that his majeſty ſometimes declared, with more than ordinary vehemence, that he would not ſtay in *England* and hold an empty name; that it was not eaſy to determine which was beſt, a *commonwealth, or kingly government*; but he was ſure the worſt of all governments was, a *king without treaſure, and without power*. He once reſolved to return to *Holland*, and leave the government in the queen's hands, imagining they would treat her better; and he communicated his deſign to the marquis of *Carmarthen*, the earl of *Shrewsbury*, and others, who beſought him with tears, to change his reſolution, and at laſt prevailed: But had his majeſty declared this from the throne, the nation was in a temper to have done him juſtice on the *incendiaries*; for notwithſtanding their clamours, they knew their deſperate ſituation, if the king ſhould deſert them, having renounced their allegiance to king *James*, and gone ſuch lengths as he could never forgive. But king *William*, having a generous mind, imagined they might be gained by gentleneſs and kindneſs, and therefore took up with a *motley miniſtry*, which diſtreſſed him to the laſt. Thus the *tories and high church clergy* enjoyed the advantages of this GLORIOUS REVOLUTION, while they acted a moſt ungrateful part towards their DELIVERER, and a moſt unkind and ungenerous one to their *diſſenting brethren*.

King made uneaſy by the tories. Burnet, p. 35, 39.

Nor have theſe gentlemen ceaſed to diſcover their enmity to the *diſſenters*, ſince that time, as oft as the power has been in their hands. It was impoſſible to injure them while king WILLIAM lived, but no ſooner was queen ANNE advanced to the throne, than they endeavoured to cramp the *toleration*, by the bill againſt *occaſional conformity*, which was brought into the houſe one ſeſſions after another, till at length they obtained the royal aſſent, the latter end of the year 1711, under the ſpecious title of, *an act to preſerve the* proteſtant religion, *and to confirm the toleration, and further to ſecure the* proteſtant ſucceſſion. It makes ſome few conceſſions in ſupport of the toleration, but then it enacts, "that if any "perſons in office, who by the laws are obliged to qualify themſelves by "*receiving the ſacrament*, or *teſt*, ſhall ever reſort to a conventicle or "meeting of diſſenters for religious worſhip, during the time of their "continuance in ſuch office, they ſhall forfeit twenty pounds for every "ſuch offence, and be diſqualified for any office for the future, till they "have made oath, that they have entirely conformed to the church, and "not been at any conventicle for the ſpace of a whole year." So that

Their conduct to the diſſenters ſince the revolution.

Occaſional conformity bill.

no

King William *and queen* Mary. 1689.

no perſon in the leaſt office in the *cuſtoms*, *exciſe*, or *common-council*, &c. could ever enter the doors of a *meeting-houſe*. But the reader may peruſe the act at large in the *Appendix*.

Append. No. 2. *The* ſchiſm bill.

In the laſt year of queen *Anne*, the *toleration* was further ſtraitened by an *act to prevent the growth of ſchiſm*; for with theſe gentlemen, *all diſſenters are ſchiſmatics*; and in order to prevent their increaſe, the education of their children was taken out of the hands of their friends, and intruſted only with ſuch, who were *full and and entire conformiſts*. And if any ſchool-maſter or tutor ſhould be willingly preſent at any *conventicle of diſſenters for religious worſhip*, he was to ſuffer three months impriſonment, and be diſqualified, as above, from teaching ſchool for the future. The act was to take place *Auguſt* 1, 1714, the very day the queen died; but his late majeſty king *George* I. being fully ſatisfied that theſe hardſhips were brought upon the *diſſenters*, for their ſteady adherence to the *proteſtant ſucceſſion* in his illuſtrious houſe, againſt a tory and jacobite *miniſtry*, who were paving the way for a popiſh pretender, procured the repeal of them in the fifth year of his reign. The laſt mentioned act, with the repeal, is inſerted in the *Appendix*, together with a clauſe which forbids *the mayor, or other magiſtrate, to go into any meeting for religious worſhip with the enſigns of his office.*

Repealed by king George I.

Many of the ejected miniſters of 1662, and others, ſurvived the revolution, and made a conſiderable figure in the reigns of king WILLIAM and queen MARY. As,

Diſſenting miniſters who ſurvived the revolution.

The Rev. *William Bates* D.D.
Obad. Grew D.D.
Sam. Anneſly D.D.
John Collings D.D.
Mr. *Richard Baxter*,
Mr. *Vincent Alſop* M.A.
Mr. *John Howe* M.A.
Mr. *Thomas Doolittle* M.A.
Mr. *Phil.* and *Matth. Henry* M.A.
Mr. *John Flavel*,
Mr *Matthew Barker* M.A.
Mr. *George Cockayne*,
Mr. *John Faldo*,
Mr. *William Lorimer* M.A.
Mr. *Thomas Gilbert* B.D.
The Rev. Mr. *Joſ. Hill* B.D.
Mr. *Rob. Bragge*,
Mr. *Matth. Mead*,
Mr. *James Forbes* M.A.
Mr. *Thomas Cole* M.A.
Mr. *George Griffith* M.A.
Mr. *Nath. Mather*,
Mr. *Edward Veal*,
Mr. *John Quick*,
Mr. *Nathaniel Vincent* M.A.
Mr. *Richard Stretton* M.A.
Mr. *George Hammond* M.A.
Mr. *Richard Kentiſh*,

Mr.

Mr. *Henry Newcome* M.A.
Mr. *Matth. Sylveſter*,
Mr. *Chriſt. Neſſe* M. A.
Mr. *John Humphreys* M.A.
Mr. *Rich Mayo*,
Mr, *Matth. Clarke* ſen.
Iſaac Chauncey D.D.
The Rev. Mr. *Sam. Slater* M.A.
Daniel Williams D.D.
Mr. *John Spademan* M.A.
Mr. *Robert Billio*,
Mr. *Richard Steele* M.A.
Mr. *Nath. Taylor*,
Mr. *Rob. Fleming* M.A.
Mr. *Dan. Burgeſs*,
Mr. *James Owen*, &c.

King William *and queen* Mary. 1689.

Theſe and others who deſerve an honourable mention, were learned and uſeful men, and moſt of them popular preachers, ſerviceable to the ſocieties for reformation of manners, and *eminent confeſſors in the cauſe of liberty and ſcriptural religion*; but their deaths not happening within the compaſs of this work, I muſt leave them to be remembered by the hiſtorians of after times.

APPENDIX.

Numb. I.

ARTICLES

Of the

Church of *England.*

Reviſed and altered by the *aſſembly of divines* at *Weſtminſter*, in the year 1643, with ſcripture references.

ARTICLE I.

Of faith in the holy trinity.

THERE is but one [a] living and true God [b], everlaſting [c], without body, parts [d], or paſſions [e], of infinite power [f], wiſdom [g], and goodneſs [h]; the maker and preſerver of all things both viſible and inviſible [i]. And in unity of this godhead, there be three perſons of one ſubſtance, power, and eternity; the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt [k].

[a] Iſa. 46. 9. 1 Cor. 8. 4, 6. [b] Jer. 10. 10. 1 Theſ. 1. 9. [c] Pſal. 90. 2. Rom. 16. 26. Deu. 4. 15. 16. Joh. 4. 24, with Luke 24. 39. [e] Acts 14. 15. Jam. 1. 17. [f] Jer. 32. 17, 27. Mar. 10. 27. [g] Pſal 147. 5. Rom. 11. 33. [h] Pſal. 119. 68. with Mat. 19. 17. [i] Neh. 9. 6. Col. 1. 16, 17. [k] Mat. 3. 16, 17. Chap. 28. 19. 1 John 4. 7. 2 Cor. 13. 14.

THE ARTICLES

Of the

Church of *England.*

ARTICLE I.

Of faith in the holy trinity.

THERE is but one living and true God, everlaſting, without body, parts, or paſſions; of infinite power, wiſdom, and goodneſs, the maker, and preſerver of all things, both viſible and inviſible. And in unity of this godhead there be three perſons, of one ſubſtance, power, and eternity, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt.

Articles reviſed.

ARTICLE II.

Of the Word, or Son of God, which was made very man.

The Son, which is the Word of the Father, begotten from everlaſting of the Father [l], the very [m] and eternal God [n], of one ſubſtance with the Father [o], took man's nature in the womb of the bleſſed virgin, of her ſubſtance [p]; ſo that two whole and perfect natures, that is to ſay, the godhead and the manhood, were joined together in one perſon, never to be divided, whereof is one Chriſt, very God and very man [q], who for our ſakes truly ſuffered moſt grievous torments in his ſoul from God [r], was crucified, dead, and buried [s], to reconcile his Father to us [t], and to be a ſacrifice, not only for original guilt, but alſo for actual ſins of men [u].

[s] Mark 14. 33, 34. [r] 1 Pet. 2. 24. Phil. 2. 1. 1 Cor. 15. 3, 4. [t] Ezek. 16. 63. Rom. 3. 25. 2 Cor. 5. 12. [u] Iſa. 53. 10. Eph. 5. 2. 1 John 1. 7. Heb. 9. 26.

ARTICLE III.

As Chriſt died for us, and was buried, ſo it is to be believed that he continued in the ſtate of the dead, and under the power and dominion of death [w], from the time of his death and burial until his reſurrection [x]; which hath been otherwiſe expreſſed thus, *he went down into hell.*

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ARTICLE II.

Of the Word, or Son of God, which was made very man.

The Son, which is the Word of the Father, begotten from everlaſting of the Father, the very and eternal God, of one ſubſtance with the Father, took man's nature in the womb of the bleſſed virgin, of her ſubſtance; ſo that two whole and perfect natures, that is to ſay, the godhead and manhood, were joyned together in one perſon, never to be divided, whereof is one Chriſt, very God and very man, who truly ſuffered, was crucified, dead, and buried, to reconcile his Father to us, and to be a ſacrifice not only for original guilt, but alſo for all actual ſins of men.

[l] Prov. 8. 22—31. Joh. 1. 12, 14. [m] 1 Joh. 5. 20. Rom. 9. 5. [n] Joh. 17. 5. Heb. 1. 8. with Pſal 45. 6. [o] John 10. 30. Heb. 1. 3. [p] John 1. 14. Iſa. 7. 14. Luke 1. 35. Gal. 4. 4. [q] Iſa. 7. 14. with Mat. 1. 23. Rom. 1. 3, 4. Heb. 13. 8. [r] Iſa. 53. 10, 11.

ARTICLE III.

Of the going down of Chriſt into Hell.

As Chriſt died for us, and was buried: So alſo is it to be believed that he went down into Hell.

[w] Pſal 16. 10. with Acts 2. 24, 25, 26, 27, 31. [x] Rom. 6. 9. Mat. 12. 40.

ARTICLE IV.

Of the reſurrection of Chriſt.

Chriſt did truly riſe again from death [y], and took again his body, with fleſh, bones, and all things appertaining to the perfection of man's nature [z], wherewith he aſcended into heaven, and there ſitteth [a], until he return to judge [b] all men [c] at the general reſurrection of the body at the laſt day [d].

[y] 1 Cor. 15. 4. Rom. 8. 34. Pſal. 16. 10. with Acts 2. 31. Luke 24. 34. [z] Luke 24. 39. with John 20. 25, 27. [a] Pſal 68. 18. with Eph. 4. 8. Pſal 110. 1. with Acts 2. 34, 35. Mar. 19. 10. Rom. 8. 34. [b] Acts 3. 21. Pſal. 110. 1. with 1 Cor. 15. 25, 26. Acts 1. 11. [c] 2 Cor. 5. 20. Acts 17. 31. [d] Exod. 3. 6. with Luke 20, 37, 38. Acts 24. 14, 15. 1 Cor. 15. 12. to the end: John 5. 28, 29.

ARTICLE IV.

Of the reſurrection of Chriſt.

Chriſt did truly riſe again from death, and took again his body, with fleſh, bones, and all things appertaining to the perfection of man's nature, wherewith he aſcended into heaven, and there ſitteth, until he return to judge all men at the laſt day.

ARTICLE V.

Of the Holy Ghoſt.

The Holy Ghoſt is very and eternal God, of one ſubſtance [e], majeſty [f], and glory with the Father and the Son [g], proceeding from the Father and the Son [h].

[e] 2 Sam. 23. 2. with verſe 3. Iſa. 6, 5, 8. with Acts 28. 25. Acts 5. 3, 4. 1 Cor. 3. 16. 1 Cor. 6. 19. [f] Job 26. 13. Job 33. 4. 1 Cor. 12th Chap. Mat. 28. 19. 2 Cor. 13. 14. [g] 1 Cor. 12. 11. Eph. 1. 17. and 1 Cor 2. 8. with 1 Pet. 4. 14. [h] John 15. 26. Mat. 10. 20. and 1 Cor. 2. 11, 12. with Gal. 4. 6. and Rom. 8. 9. and Phil. 1. 9. John 16. 14. Iſa. 11. 2. Iſa. 61. 1. Gen. 1. 2. 2 Chron. 15. 1.

ARTICLE V.

Of the Holy Ghoſt.

The Holy Ghoſt, proceeding from the Father and the Son, is of one ſubſtance, majeſty and glory, with the Father and the Son, very and eternal God.

ARTICLE VI.

Of the ſufficiency of the holy ſcriptures for ſalvation.

Holy ſcripture [i] containeth all things neceſſary to ſalvation [k], ſo

[i] Rom. 1. 2. 2 Tim. 3. 15. 2 Pet. 1. 20, 21. [k] Pſal. 19. 7. 2 Tim. 3. 15, 16, 17. Jam. 1. 21, 25. Acts 20. 32.

ARTICLE VI.

Of the ſufficiency of the holy ſcriptures for ſalvation.

Holy ſcripture containeth all things neceſſary to ſalvation; ſo

that

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that whatſoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be believed as an article of faith, or neceſſary to ſalvation [1].

By the name of holy ſcripture we underſtand all the canonical books of the old and new teſtament, which follow,

Of the old teſtament,

Geneſis,
Exodus, *&c.*

Of the new teſtament,

The goſpel of St Matthew, *&c.*

All which books, as they are commonly received, we do receive, and acknowledge them to be given by the inſpiration of God, and in that regard, to be of moſt certain credit, and higheſt authority.

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that whatſoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man, that it ſhould be believed as an article of the faith, or be thought requiſite or neceſſary to ſalvation. In the name of the holy ſcripture, we do underſtand thoſe canonical books of the old and new teſtament, of whoſe authority was never any doubt in the church.

[1] Prov. 30. 5, 6. Iſa. 8: 20. Acts 26. 22. with ver. 20, 27. Gal. 1. 8, 9. Joh. 5. 39.

Of the names and number of the canonical books.

Geneſis,
Exodus,
Leviticus,
Numbers, *&c.*

And the other books (as *Hierome* ſaith), the church doth read for example of life and inſtruction of manners; but yet doth it not apply them to eſtabliſh any doctrine: Such are theſe following,

Third of Eſdras,
Fourth of Eſdras,
Book of Tobias,
Judith, *&c.*

All the books of the new teſtament, as they are commonly received, we do receive, and account them for canonical.

ARTICLE VII.

Of the old teſtament.

The old teſtament is not contrary to the new, in the doctrine contained in them [m]; for both in the

2 Pet. 3. 2. Luke 24. 44. Rom. 3. 31. Gal. 3. 21, 23, 24.

ARTICLE VII.

Of the old teſtament.

The old teſtament is not contrary to the new; for both in the old and new teſtament, everlaſting life

[m] Acts 26. 21. 23.

old

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old and new teſtament, everlaſting life is offered to mankind by Chriſt [n], who is the only mediator between God and man [o], being both God and man [p]. Wherefore they are not to be heard, which feign, that the old fathers did look only for temporary promiſes [q].

Although the law given from God by *Moſes*, as touching ceremonies and rites, do not bind chriſtians [r]; nor the civil precepts given by *Moſes*, ſuch as were peculiarly fitted to the commonwealth of the *jews*, are of neceſſity to be received in any commonwealth [s]; yet notwithſtanding, no chriſtan man whatſoever is free from the obedience of the commandments which are called moral [t]. By the moral law, we underſtand all the ten commandments taken in their full extent.

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is offered to mankind by Chriſt who is the only mediator between God and man, being both God and man. Wherefore they are not to be heard which fain that the old fathers did look only for tranſitory promiſes. Although the law given from GOD by *Moſes*, as touching ceremonies and rites, do not bind chriſtian men, nor the civil precepts thereof ought of neceſſity to be received in any commonwealth; yet notwithſtanding, no chriſtian man whatſoever is free from the obedience of the commandments which are called moral.

n Gen. 3. 15. Gen. 22. 18. with Gal. 3. 8, 14. 1 Cor. 10. 2, 3, 4. Luke 1. 69, 70. Acts 3. 24. Iſa. 53. chap. o Dan. 9. 17. Rom. 8. 34. 1 Joh. 2. 1. Heb. 7. 25. 1 Tim. 2. 5. John 14. 6. p Gal. 4. 4, 5. Acts 20. 28. Phil. 2. 7, 8. q Acts 26. 6, 7. Rom. 4. 11. Gal. 3. 9. Heb. 11. 10, 16, 35. r Gal 4. 9, 10. Col. 2. 14, 16, 17. Heb. 9. 9, 10. s Acts 25. 9, 10. 25. with Rom. 13. 8. 9, 10. Eph. 6. 1, 2, 3. Jam. 2. 8, 9, 10, 11, 12. Rom. 7. 25. Rom. 3. 31. Mat. 7. 12. t Mat. 5. 17, to the end. Deut. 17. 8 — 13. Rom. 13. 1, 5. Tit. 3. 1. 1 Pet. 2. 13, 14.

ARTICLE VIII.

Of the three creeds.

The three creeds, *Nice* creed, *Athanaſius* creed, and that which is commonly called the apoſtles creed, ought thoroughly to be received and believed: for they may be proved by moſt certain warrants of holy ſcripture.

A R-

ARTICLE IX.

Of original or birth ſin.

Original ſin [u] ſtandeth not in the following of *Adam*, as the *pelagians* do vainly talk [w]; but together with his firſt ſin imputed [x], it is the fault and corruption of the nature of every man, that naturally is propagated from *Adam*; whereby man is wholly deprived of original righteouſneſs [y], and is of his own nature inclined only to evil [z]. So that the luſt of the fleſh, called in *greek* φρόνημα σαρκὸς, which ſome do expound the wiſdom, ſome ſenſuality, ſome the affection, ſome the deſire of the fleſh, is not ſubject to the law of God [a], and therefore in every perſon born into this world it deſerveth God's wrath and damnation [b]. And this infection of nature doth remain, yea in them that are regenerate [c], whereby the fleſh luſteth always contrary to the ſpirit [d]. And although there is no condemnation for them that are regenerate, and do believe [e], yet the apoſtle doth confeſs, that concupiſcence and luſt is truly and properly ſin [f].

ARTICLE X.

Of free will.

The condition of man after the fall of *Adam* is ſuch, that he cannot turn or prepare himſelf, by his own natural ſtrength and good

ARTICE IX.

Of original or birth ſin.

Original ſin ſtandeth not in the following of *Adam* (as the *pelagians* do vainly talk), but it is the fault and corruption of the nature of every man, that naturally is engendered of the offſpring of *Adam*, whereby man is very far gone from original righteouſneſs, and is of his own nature enclined to evil, ſo that the fleſh luſteth always contrary to the ſpirit, and therefore in every perſon born into this world, it deſerveth God's wrath and damnation. And this infection of nature doth remain, yea in them that are regenerated, whereby the luſt of the fleſh, called in *greek* φρόνημα σαρκὸς, which ſome do expound the wiſdom, ſome ſenſuality, ſome the affection, ſome the deſire of the fleſh, is not ſubject to the law of GOD. And although there is no condemnation for them that believe and are baptized, yet the apoſtle doth confeſs, that concupiſcence and luſt hath of itſelf the nature of ſin.

[u] Pſal. 51. 5. Joh. 3. 5, 6. [w] Job 14. 4. Job. 15. 14. Rom. 6. 6. Joh. 3. 3, 5, 7. [x] Rom. 5. 12 — 19. Gen. 2. 17. with 1 Cor. 15. 22. [y] Col. 2. 13. Rom. 7. 18. Eccl. 7. 29. [z] Gen. 6. 5. Gen. 8. 21. Jer. 17. 9. Rom. 7. 8. James 1. 14. [a] Rom. 8. 7. 1 Cor. 2. 14. Col. 1. 21. [b] Eph. 2. 3. Rom. 8. 6, 7. [c] Prov. 20. 9. Rom. 7. 17, 20, 23, 25. [d] Gal. 5. 17. [e] Rom. 8. 1, 13. John 3. 13. [f] Rom. 8. 17, 20.

ARTICLE X.

Of free will.

The condition of man after the fall of *Adam* is ſuch, that he cannot turn and prepare himſelf by his own natural ſtrength and good works, to

works,

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works, to faith and calling upon God [g]; wherefore we have no power to do good works pleaſing and acceptable to God [h], without the grace of God by Chriſt, both preventing us, that we may have a good will, and working ſo effectually in us, as that it determineth our will to that which is good [i], and alſo working with us when we have that will unto good [k].

[g] Eph. 2. 1. 5. 1 Cor. 2. 14. Eph. 2. 8, 9, 10. John 6. 44, 65. [h] Rom. 8. 8. Heb. 11. 6. [i] Exek. 11. 19, 20. Ezek. 36. 26, 27. Jer. 31. 32, 33. with Heb. 8. 1. 6. Heb. 10, 11. Phil. 2. 12, 13. John 6. 45. Eph. 1. 19, 20. 1 Cor. 4. 7. [k] Heb. 13. 21. Phil. 12. 22. 1 Pet. 5. 10. 1 Theſſ. 5. 23, 24. 1 Kings 8. 57, 58.

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faith and calling upon God. Wherefore we have no power to do good works pleaſant and acceptable to God, without the grace of God by Chriſt preventing us, that we may have a good-will, and working with us, when we have that good-will.

ARTICLE XI.

Of the juſtification of man before God.

We are juſtified, that is, we are accounted righteous before God, and have remiſſion of ſins [l], not for, nor by our own works or deſervings [m], but freely by his grace [n], only for our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt's ſake [o], his whole obedience and ſatisfaction being by God imputed unto us [p], and Chriſt with his righteouſneſs, being apprehended and reſted on by faith only [q]. The doctrine of juſtification by faith only, is an wholeſome doctrine, and very full of comfort [r], notwithſtanding God doth not forgive them that are impenitent, and go on ſtill in their treſpaſſes [s].

[l] Rom. 4. 5, 6, 7. Pſal. 32. 1, 2. [m] Rom. 3. 20. Gal. 2. 16. Gal. 3. 10, 11. Phil. 3. 9. [n] Rom. 3. 24. Tit. 3. 7. [o] Rom. 3. 24, 25. Rom. 5. 1. 2 Cor. 5. 18, 19. [p] Rom. 5. 9, 17, 18, 19. Rom. 3. 25, 26. Rom 4. 6. 24. 2 Cor. 5. 21.

[q] Rom 3. 22, 25, 26, 28. Gal. 2. 16. Iſa. 28. 16. with Rom. 9. 33. and 1 Pet. 2. 6. Phil. 3. 9. [r] 2 Tim. 1. 13. Rom. 5. 1, 2, 8, 11. Rom. 15. 13. 1 Pet. 1. 8. [s] Pſal. 68. 20, 21. Exod. 34. 6, 7. Luke 13. 3, 5.

ARTICLE XI.

Of the juſtification of man.

We are accounted righteous before GOD, only for the merit of our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, by faith, and not for our own works or deſervings. Wherefore, that we are juſtified by faith only is a moſt wholeſome doctrine, and very full of comfort, as more largely is expreſſed in the homily of juſtification.

A R-

ARTICLE XII.

Of good works.

Good works, which are the fruits of faith [t], and follow after juſtification [u], cannot put away our ſins [w], and endure the ſeverity of God's judgment; yet are they, notwithſtanding their imperfections [x], in the ſight of God pleaſing and acceptable unto him in and for Chriſt [y], and do ſpring out neceſſarily of a true and lively faith [z], inſomuch that by them a lively faith may be evidently known, as a tree diſcerned by the fruits [a].

ARTICLE XII.

Of good works.

Albeit that good works, which are the fruits of faith, and follow after juſtification, cannot put away our ſins, and endure the ſeverity of God's judgment, yet are they pleaſing and acceptable to God in Chriſt, and do ſpring out neceſſarily of a true and lively faith, inſomuch that by them a lively faith may be as evidently known as a tree diſcerned by the fruit.

[t] Gal. 5. 6. James 2. 17, 18. 22. [u] Tit. 2. 14: Tit. 3. 7, 8. Eph. 2. 8, 9. 18. [w] Rom. 3. 20, 21. Rom. 4. 4 — 9. Dan. 9. 18, 19. [x] Neh. 13. 22. Pſal. 143. 2. Job. 9. 14, 15, 19, 20. Exod. 28. 38.

Rev. 8. 3, 4. [y] 1 Pet. 2. 5. Heb, 13. 16, 20, 21. Col. 1. 10. Phil. 4. 18. [z] James 2. 16. 1 John 1. 4. [a] James 2. 18, 19. John 15. 4, 5. 1 John 2. 3, 5. Mat. 12. 33.

ARTICLE XIII.

Of works before juſtification.

Works done before juſtification by Chriſt, and regeneration by his ſpirit, are not pleaſing unto God [b], for as much as they ſpring not of faith in Jeſus Chriſt [c]; neither do they make men meet to receive grace, or (as the ſchool authors ſay), deſerve grace of congruity; yea rather, for that they are not done as God hath willed and commanded them to be done, they are ſinful [d].

ARTICLE XIII.

Of works before juſtification.

Works done before the grace of Chriſt, and the inſpiration of his ſpirit, are not pleaſant to GOD, for as much as they ſpring not of faith in Jeſus Chriſt, neither do they make men meet to receive grace, or (as the ſchool authors ſay), deſerve grace of congruity; yea rather, for that they are not done as GOD hath willed and commanded them to be done, we doubt not but they have the nature of ſin.

[b] Tit. 1. 15, 16. Mat. 7. 18. Rom. 8. 8. Prov. 15. 8, 26. Prov. 21. 27. Rom. 3. 12. [c] Heb. 11. 5, 6. Gal. 5. 6. [d] 2 Tim. 1. 9. Joh. 1. 13. Rom.

8. 7, 8. Hag. 2. 14. Iſa. 58. 1—5. Iſa. 66. 2, 3.

ARTICLE XIV.

Of works of ſupererogation.

Voluntary works, beſides over and above God's commandments, which they call *works of ſupererogation*, cannot be taught [f] without arrogancy and impiety [g]; for by them men do declare, that they do not only render unto God as much as they are bound to do; but that they do more for his ſake than of bounden duty is required; whereas Chriſt ſaith plainly, *when you have done all thoſe things that are commanded you, ſay, we are unprofitable ſervants, we have done that which was our duty to do* [h].

[f] Mat. 5. 48. Mar. 12. 30, 31. Phil. 4. 8, 9. [g] Job 9. 2, 3, 20, 21. Pſal. 143. 2. Prov. 20. 9. Phil. 3. 8—15.

[h] Luke 17. 10. with ver. 7, 8, 9.

ARTICLE XV.

Of Chriſt alone without ſin.

Chriſt in the truth of our nature was made like unto us in all things, ſin only excepted [i], from which he was clearly void both in his fleſh and in his ſpirit [k]: He came to be the lamb without ſpot [l], who by ſacrifice of himſelf [m] once made [n], ſhould take away the ſins of the world [o]; and ſin (as St. *John* ſaith), was not in him [p]. But all we the reſt, although baptized and regenerate, yet offend in many things; and *if we ſay we have no ſin, we deceive ourſelves, and the truth is not in us* [q].

[i] Iſa. 53. 3, 4, 5. Heb. 2. 17. with Heb. 5. 15. [k] Luke 1. 35. with Acts 3. 14. John 14. 30. 2 Cor. 5. 21. Heb. 7. 26. [l] 1 Pet. 1. 19. [m] Eph. 5. 2. [n] Heb. 9. 26, 28. Heb. 10. 10, 12. [o] Joh. 1. 29. [p] 1 Joh. 3. 5. [q] Jam. 3. 2. 1 Joh. 1. 8, 10.

ARTICLE XIV.

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ARTICLE XV.

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Chriſt in the truth of our nature, was made like unto us in all things (ſin only except), from which he was clearly void, both in his fleſh and in his ſpirit. He came to be a Lamb without ſpot, who by ſacrifice of himſelf once made, ſhould take away the ſins of the world; and ſin (as St. *John* ſaith), was not in him. But all we the reſt (although baptized, and born again in Chriſt), yet offend in many things; and if we ſay we have no ſin we deceive ourſelves, and the truth is not in us.

Charles Herle, *prolocutor.*
Henry Roborough, *ſcriba.*
Adoniram Byfield, *ſcriba.*

N. B. *The aſſembly proceeded no farther in the reviſal.*

Numb. II.

THE

DIRECTORY

FOR THE

PUBLIC WORSHIP of GOD,

Agreed upon by the aſſembly of divines at *Weſtminſter*; examined and approved, *Anno* 1645, by the GENERAL ASSEMBLY of the CHURCH of *SCOTLAND*; and ratified by act of parliament the ſame year.

The PREFACE.

IN the beginning of the bleſſed reformation, our wiſe and pious anceſtors took care to ſet forth an order for redreſs of many things, which they then, by the word, diſcovered to be vain, erroneous, ſuperſtitious, and idolatrous, in the public worſhip of God. This occaſioned many godly and learned men to rejoice much in the book of common-prayer, *at that time ſet forth; becauſe the maſs, and the reſt of the* latin *ſervice being removed, the public worſhip was celebrated in our own tongue;*

many of the common people alſo received benefit by hearing the ſcriptures read in their own language, which formerly were unto them as a book that is ſealed.

Howbeit, long and ſad experience hath made it manifeſt, that the liturgy uſed in the church of England, (*notwithſtanding all the pains and religious intentions of the compilers of it*), *hath proved an offence, not only to many of the godly at home, but alſo to the reformed churches abroad. For not to ſpeak of urging the reading of all the prayers, which very greatly increaſed the burden of it; the many unprofitable and burdenſome ceremonies contained in it, have occaſioned much miſchief, as well by diſquieting the conſciences of many godly miniſters and people, who could not yield unto them, as by depriving them of the ordinances of God, which they might not enjoy without conforming or ſubſcribing to thoſe ceremonies. Sundry good chriſtians have been, by means thereof, kept from the Lord's table, and divers able and faithful miniſters debarred from the exerciſe of their miniſtry, (to the endangering of many thouſand ſouls, in a time of ſuch ſcarcity of faithful paſtors), and ſpoiled of their livelihood, to the undoing of them and their families. Prelates and their faction have laboured to raiſe the eſtimation of it to ſuch an height, as if there were no other worſhip, or way of worſhip of* GOD *amongſt us, but only the ſervice-book; to the great hindrance of the preaching of the word, and (in ſome places, eſpecially of late), to the juſtling of it out, as unneceſſary; or (at beſt) as far inferior to the reading of* common-prayer, *which was made no better than an idol by many ignorant and ſuperſtitious people, who pleaſing themſelves in their preſence at that ſervice, and their lip-labour in bearing a part in it, have thereby hardened themſelves in their ignorance and careleſsneſs of ſaving knowledge and true piety.*

In the mean time, papiſts boaſted, that the book was a compliance with them in a great part of their ſervice; and ſo were not a little confirmed in their ſuperſtition and idolatry, expecting rather our return to them, than endeavouring the reformation of themſelves: In which expectation they were of late very much encouraged, when upon the pretended warrantableneſs of impoſing the former ceremonies, new ones were daily obtruded upon the church.

Add hereunto (which was not foreſeen, but ſince hath come to paſs), that the liturgy hath been a great means, as on the one hand to make and increaſe an idle and unedifying miniſtry, which contented itſelf with ſet forms made to their hands by others, without putting forth themſelves to exerciſe the gift of prayer,

prayer, with which our Lord Jeſus Chriſt *pleaſeth to furniſh all his ſervants, whom he calls to that office: So on the other ſide it hath been (and ever would be, if continued), a matter of endleſs ſtrife and contention in the church, and a ſnare both to many godly and faithful miniſters, who have been perſecuted and ſilenced upon that occaſion, and to others of hopeful parts, many of which have been, and more ſtill would be diverted from all thoughts of the miniſtry to other ſtudies; eſpecially in theſe later times, wherein God vouchſafeth to his people more and better means for the diſcovery of error and ſuperſtition, and for attaining of knowledge in the myſteries of godlineſs, and gifts in preaching and prayer.*

Upon theſe, and many the like weighty conſiderations, in reference to the whole book in general, and becauſe of divers particulars contained in it; not from any love to novelty, or intention to diſparage our firſt reformers, (of whom we are perſuaded, that, were they now alive, they would join with us in this work, and whom we acknowledge as excellent inſtruments, raiſed by God, to begin the purging and building of his houſe, and deſire they may be had of us and poſterity in everlaſting remembrance, with thankfulneſs and honour;) but that we may, in ſome meaſure, anſwer the gracious providence of God, which at this time calleth upon us for further reformation, and may ſatisfy our own conſciences, and anſwer the expectation of other reformed churches, and the deſires of many of the godly among ourſelves, and withal give ſome public teſtimony of our endeavours for uniformity in divine worſhip, which we have promiſed in our ſolemn league and covenant: We have, after earneſt and frequent calling upon the name of God, and after much conſultation, not with fleſh and blood, but with his holy word, reſolved to lay aſide the former liturgy, with the many rites and ceremonies formerly uſed in the worſhip of God; and have agreed upon this following directory for all the parts of public worſhip, at ordinary and extraordinary times.

Wherein our care hath been, to hold forth ſuch things as are of divine inſtitution in every ordinance; and other things we have endeavoured to ſet forth according to the rules of chriſtian prudence, agreeable to the general rules of the word of God: Our meaning therein being only, that the general heads, the ſenſe and ſcope of the prayers, and other parts of public worſhip, being known to all, there may be a conſent of all the churches, in thoſe things that contain the ſubſtance of the ſervice and worſhip of God; and the miniſters may be hereby directed in their adminiſtrations, to keep like ſoundneſs in doctrine and prayer; and may, if need be, have ſome help and furniture; and yet ſo, as they become not hereby ſlothful and negligent, in ſtirring up the gifts of Chriſt in them; but, that each one, by meditation,

by

by taking head to himſelf and the flock of God committed to him, and by wiſe obſerving the ways of divine providence, may be careful to furniſh his heart and tongue with further, or other materials of prayer and of exhortation, as ſhall be needful upon all occaſions.

Of the aſſembling of the congregation, and their behaviour in the public worſhip of God.

WHEN the congregation is to meet for public worſhip, the people (having before prepared their hearts thereunto), ought all to come, and join therein; not abſenting themſelves from the public ordinances through negligence, or upon pretence of private meetings.

Let all enter the aſſembly, not irreverently, but in a grave and ſeemly manner, taking their ſeats or places without adoration, or bowing themſelves towards one place or other.

The congregation being aſſembled, the miniſter, after ſolemn calling on them to the worſhipping of the great name of God, is to begin with prayer.

" In all reverence and humility acknowledging the incomprehenſible " greatneſs and majeſty of the Lord, (in whoſe preſence they do then " in a ſpecial manner appear), and their own vileneſs and unworthineſs " to approach ſo near him, with their utter inability of themſelves to " ſo great a work; and humbly beſeeching him for pardon, aſſiſtance " and acceptance, in the whole ſervice then to be performed; and for a " bleſſing on that particular portion of his word then to be read: And " all in the name and mediation of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt."

The public worſhip being begun, the people are wholly to attend upon it, forbearing to read any thing, except what the miniſter is then reading or citing; and abſtaining much more from all private whiſperings, conferences, ſalutations, or doing reverence to any perſons preſent, or coming in; as alſo from all gazing, ſleeping, and other indecent behaviour, which may diſturb the miniſter or people, or hinder themſelves and others in the ſervice of God.

If any, through neceſſity, be hindered from being preſent at the beginning, they ought not, when they come into the congregation, to betake themſelves to their private devotions, but reverently to compoſe themſelves to join with the aſſembly, in that ordinance of God which is then in hand.

Of

Of public reading of the holy ſcriptures.

READING of the word in the congregation, being part of the public worſhip of God, (wherein we acknowledge our dependance upon him, and ſubjection to him), and one means ſanctified by him for the edifying of his people, is to be performed by the paſtors and teachers.

Howbeit, ſuch as intend the miniſtry, may occaſionally both read the word, and exerciſe their gift in preaching in the congregation, if allowed by the preſbytery thereunto.

All the canonical books of the old and new teſtament, (but none of thoſe which are commonly called *apocrypha*), ſhall be publicly read in the vulgar tongue, out of the beſt allowed tranſlation, diſtinctly, that all may hear and underſtand.

How large a portion ſhall be read at once, is left to the wiſdom of the miniſter; but it is convenient, that ordinarily one chapter of each teſtament be read at every meeting; and ſometimes more, where the chapters be ſhort, or the coherence of matter requireth it.

It is requiſite that all the canonical books be read over in order, that the people may be better acquainted with the whole body of the ſcriptures; and ordinarily, where the reading in either teſtament endeth on one Lord's day, it is to begin the next.

We commend alſo the more frequent reading of ſuch ſcriptures, as he that readeth ſhall think beſt for edification of his hearers, as the book of *Pſalms*, and ſuch like.

When the miniſter, who readeth, ſhall judge it neceſſary to expound any part of what is read, let it not be done until the whole chapter or pſalm be ended; and regard is always to be had unto the time, that neither preaching, nor other ordinance, be ſtraitned, or rendered tedious. Which rule is to be obſerved in all other public performances.

Beſide public reading of the holy ſcriptures, every perſon that can read, is to be exhorted to read the ſcriptures privately, (and all others that cannot read, if not diſabled by age, or otherwiſe, are likewiſe to be exhorted to learn to read), and to have a bible.

Of public prayer before the ſermon.

AFTER reading of the word (and ſinging of the pſalm), the miniſter who is to preach, is to endeavour to get his own, and his hearers hearts to be rightly affected with their ſins, that they may all mourn

mourn in ſenſe thereof before the Lord, and hunger and thirſt after the grace of God in Jeſus Chriſt, by proceeding to a more full confeſſion of ſin, with ſhame and holy confuſion of face, and to call upon the Lord to this effect;

" To acknowledge our great ſinfulneſs, *firſt*, by reaſon of original ſin, " which (beſide the guilt that makes us liable to everlaſting damnation), " is the ſeed of all other ſins, hath depraved and poiſoned all the faculties and powers of ſoul and body, doth defile our beſt actions, and " (were it not reſtrained, or our hearts renewed by grace), would break " forth into innumerable tranſgreſſions, and greateſt rebellions againſt the " Lord, that ever were committed by the vileſt of the ſons of men. And, " *next*, by reaſon of actual ſins, our own ſins, the ſins of magiſtrates, " of miniſters, and of the whole nation, unto which we are many " ways acceſſary: Which ſins of ours receive many fearful aggravations, " we having broken all the commandments of the holy, juſt, and good " law of God, doing that which is forbidden, and leaving undone what " is enjoined; and that not only out of ignorance and infirmity, but alſo more preſumptuouſly, againſt the light of our minds, checks of our " conſciences, and motions of his own holy ſpirit to the contrary, ſo " that we have no cloke for our ſins; yea, not only deſpiſing the riches " of God's goodneſs, forbearance, and long-ſuffering, but ſtanding out " againſt many invitations and offers of grace in the goſpel; not endeavouring, as we ought, to receive Chriſt into our hearts by faith, or to " walk worthy of him in our lives.

" To bewail our blindneſs of mind, hardneſs of heart, unbelief, impenitency, ſecurity, lukewarmneſs, barrenneſs; our not endeavouring " after mortification and newneſs of life; nor after the exerciſe of godlineſs in the power thereof: And that the beſt of us have not ſo ſtedfaſtly walked with God, kept our garments ſo unſpotted, nor been ſo " zealous of his glory, and the good of others, as we ought: And to " mourn over ſuch other ſins, as the congregation is particularly guilty " of, notwithſtanding the manifold and great mercies of our God, " the love of Chriſt, the light of the goſpel, and reformation of religion, our own purpoſes, promiſes, vows, ſolemn covenant, and other " ſpecial obligations to the contrary.

" To acknowledge and confeſs, that, as we are convinced of our " guilt, ſo, out of a deep ſenſe thereof, we judge ourſelves unworthy " of the ſmalleſt benefits, moſt worthy of God' fierceſt wrath, and of " all the curſes of the law, and heavieſt judgments inflicted upon the " moſt rebellious ſinners; and that he might moſt juſtly take his kingdom and goſpel from us, plague us with all ſorts of ſpiritual and temporal judgments in this life, and after caſt us into utter darkneſs, in

" the

" the lake that burneth with fire and brimſtone, where is weeping and " gnaſhing of teeth for evermore.

" Notwithſtanding all which, to draw near to the throne of grace, " encouraging ourſelves with hope of a gracious anſwer of our prayers, " in the riches and all-ſufficiency of that one only oblation, the ſatisaction " and interceſſion of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, at the right hand of his " Father, and our Father; and in confidence of the exceeding great and " precious promiſes of mercy and grace in the new covenant, through " the ſame mediator thereof, to deprecate the heavy wrath and curſe of " GOD, which we are not able to avoid, or bear; and humbly and " earneſtly to ſupplicate for mercy, in the free and full remiſſion of all " our ſins, and that only for the bitter ſufferings and precious merits of " our only Saviour Jeſus Chriſt.

" That the Lord would vouchſafe to ſhed abroad his love in our hearts " by the Holy Ghoſt; ſeal unto us, by the ſame ſpirit of adoption, the " full aſſurance of our pardon and reconciliation; comfort all that mourn " in *Zion*, ſpeak peace to the wounded and troubled ſpirit, and bind up " the broken-hearted: And as for ſecure and preſumptuous ſinners, that " he would open their eyes, convince their conſciences, and turn them from " darkneſs unto light, and from the power of ſatan unto God, that they " alſo may receive forgiveneſs of ſin, and an inheritance among them that " are ſanctified by faith in Chriſt Jeſus.

" With remiſſion of ſins through the blood of Chriſt, to pray for " ſanctification by his ſpirit; the mortification of ſin dwelling in, and " many times tyrannizing over us; the quickning of our dead ſpirits, " with the life of God in Chriſt; grace to fit and enable us for all du- " ties of converſation and callings towards God and men; ſtrength a- " gainſt temptations, the ſanctified uſe of bleſſings and croſſes, and per- " ſeverance in faith and obedience unto the end.

" To pray for the propagation of the goſpel and kingdom of Chriſt " to all nations, for the converſion of the *jews*, the fulneſs of the *gen-* " *tiles*, the fall of *antichriſt*, and the haſtening of the ſecond coming " of our Lord; for the deliverance of the diſtreſſed churches abroad " from the tyranny of the *antichriſtian faction*, and from the cruel op- " preſſions and blaſphemies of the *turk*; for the bleſſing of God upon " all the reformed churches, eſpecially upon the churches and kingdoms " of *Scotland*, *England*, and *Ireland*, now more ſtrictly and religiouſly " united in the *ſolemn national league* and *covenant*; and for our planta- " tions in the moſt remote parts of the world: more particularly for " that church and kingdom whereof we are members, that therein God " would eſtabliſh peace and truth, the purity of all his ordinances, and " the power of godlineſs; prevent and remove hereſy, ſchiſm, pro-

" faneneſs, ſuperſtition, ſecurity, and unfruitfulneſs under the means of " grace; heal all our rents and diviſions, and preſerve us from breach of " our *ſolemn covenant*.

" To pray for all in authority, eſpecially for the king's majeſty, that " God would make him rich in bleſſings, both in his perſon and govern- " ment; eſtabliſh his throne in religion and righteouſneſs, ſave him from " evil counſel, and make him a bleſſed and glorious inſtrument, for the " conſervation and propagation of the goſpel, for the encouragement and " protection of them that do well, the terror of all that do evil, and " the great good of the whole church, and of all his kingdoms; for " the converſion of the queen, the religious education of the prince, and " the reſt of the royal ſeed; for the comforting the afflicted queen of " *Bohemia*, ſiſter to our ſovereign; and for the reſtitution and eſtabliſh- " ment of the illuſtrious prince *Charles*, elector *palatine* of the *Rhine*, " to all his dominions and dignities; for a bleſſing upon the high court " of parliament, (when ſitting in any of theſe kingdoms reſpectively), " the nobility, the ſubordinate judges and magiſtrates, the gentry, and " all the commonalty; for all paſtors and teachers, that God would fill " them with his ſpirit, make them exemplarily holy, ſober, juſt, peace- " able, and gracious in their lives; ſound, faithful, and powerful in " their miniſtry; and follow all their labours with abundance of ſucceſs " and bleſſing; and give unto all his people paſtors according to his own " heart; for the univerſities, and all ſchools and religious ſeminaries of " church and commonwealth, that they may flouriſh more and more in " learning and piety; for the particular city or congregation, that God " would pour out a bleſſing upon the miniſtry of the word, ſacraments " and diſcipline, upon the civil government, and all the ſeveral families " and perſons therein; for mercy to the afflicted, under any inward or " outward diſtreſs. For ſeaſonable weather, and fruitful ſeaſons, as " the time may require; for averting the judgment that we either feel " or fear, or are liable unto, as famine, peſtilence, the ſword, and ſuch " like.

" And, with confidence of his mercy to his whole church. and the " acceptance of our perſons, through the merits and mediation of our " high prieſt the Lord Jeſus, to profeſs that it is the deſire of our ſouls " to have fellowſhip with God, in the reverend and conſcionable uſe of " his holy ordinances; and to that purpoſe, to pray earneſtly for his " grace, and effectual aſſiſtance to the ſanctification of his holy ſabbath, " the Lord's day, in all the duties thereof, public and private, both to our- " ſelves, and to all other congregations of his people, according to the riches " and excellency of the goſpel, this day celebrated and enjoyed.

" And

" And becauſe we have been unprofitable hearers in times paſt, and " now cannot of ourſelves receive, as we ſhould, the deep things of God, " the myſteries of Jeſus Chriſt, which require a ſpiritual diſcerning; to " pray, that the Lord, who teacheth to profit, would graciouſly pleaſe to " pour out the ſpirit of grace, together with the outward means thereof, " cauſing us to attain ſuch a meaſure of the excellency of the knowledge " of Chriſt Jeſus our Lord, and in him, of the things which belong to " our peace, that we may account all things but as droſs in compariſon " of him: And that we, taſting the firſt fruits of the glory that is to be " revealed, may long for a more full and perfect communion with " him, that where he is, we may be alſo, and enjoy the fulneſs of " thoſe joys and pleaſures which are at his right hand for evermore.

" More particularly, that God would in ſpecial manner furniſh his " ſervant (now called to diſpenſe the bread of life unto his houſhold), " with wiſdom, fidelity, zeal, and utterance, that he may divide the " word of God aright, to every one his portion, in evidence and de- " monſtration of the ſpirit and power; and that the Lord would circum- " ciſe the ears and hearts of the hearers, to hear, love, and receive with " meekneſs, the ingrafted word, which is able to ſave their ſouls; make " them as good ground to receive in the good ſeed of the word, and " ſtrengthen them againſt the temptations of ſatan, the cares of the world, " the hardneſs of their own hearts, and whatſoever elſe may hinder their " profitable and ſaving hearing; that ſo Chriſt may be ſo formed in them, " and live in them, that all their thoughts may be brought into captivity " to the obedience of Chriſt, and their hearts eſtabliſhed in every good " word and work for ever."

We judge this to be a convenient order, in the ordinary public prayers; yet ſo, as the miniſter may defer (as in prudence he ſhall think meet), ſome part of theſe petitions, till after his ſermon, or offer up to God ſome of the thankſgivings hereafter appointed, in his prayer before his ſermon.

Of the preaching of the word.

PREACHING of the word being the power of God unto ſalvation, and one of the greateſt and moſt excellent works belonging to the miniſtry of the goſpel, ſhould be ſo performed, that the workman need not be aſhamed, but may ſave himſelf, and thoſe that hear him.

It is preſuppoſed (according to the rules for ordination), that the miniſter of Chriſt is in ſome good meaſure gifted for ſo weighty a ſervice, by his ſkill in the original languages, and in ſuch arts and ſciences as are hand-

maids unto divinity; by his knowledge in the whole body of theology, but moſt of all in the holy ſcriptures, having his ſenſes and heart exerciſed in them above the common ſort of believers; and by the illumination of God's ſpirit, and other gifts of edification, which (together with reading and ſtudying of the word), he ought ſtill to ſeek by prayer, and an humble heart, reſolving to admit and receive any truth not yet attained, whenever God ſhall make it known unto him. All which he is to make uſe of, and improve in his private preparations, before he deliver in public what he hath provided.

Ordinarily, the ſubject of his ſermon is to be ſome text of ſcripture, holding forth ſome principle or head of religion, or ſuitable to ſome ſpecial occaſion emergent; or he may go on in ſome chapter, pſalm, or book of the holy ſcripture, as he ſhall ſee fit.

Let the introduction to his text be brief and perſpicuous, drawn from the text itſelf, or context, or ſome parallel place, or general ſentence of ſcripture.

If the text be long (as in hiſtories and parables it ſometimes muſt be), let him give a brief ſum of it; if ſhort, a paraphraſe thereof, if need be: In both, looking diligently to the ſcope of the text, and pointing at the chief heads and grounds of doctrine, which he is to raiſe from it.

In analyſing and dividing his text, he is to regard more the order of matter, than of words; and neither to burden the memory of the hearers in the beginning with too many members of diviſion, nor to trouble their minds with obſcure terms of art.

In raiſing doctrines from the text, his care ought to be, *firſt*, that the matter be the truth of God. *Secondly*, that it be a truth contained in, or grounded on that text, that the hearers may diſcern how God teacheth it from thence. *Thirdly*, that he chiefly inſiſt upon thoſe doctrines which are principally intended, and make moſt for the edification of the hearers.

The doctrine is to be expreſſed in plain terms; or, if any thing in it need explication, it is to be opened, and the conſequence alſo from the text cleared. The parallel places of ſcripture confirming the doctrine, are rather to be plain and pertinent, than many, and (if need be), ſomewhat inſiſted upon, and applied to the purpoſe in hand.

The arguments and reaſons are to be ſolid; and as much as may be, convincing. The illuſtrations, of what kind ſoever, ought to be full of light, and ſuch as may convey the truth into the hearers heart with ſpiritual delight.

If

If any doubt, obvious from ſcripture, reaſon, or prejudice of the hearers, ſeem to ariſe, it is very requiſite to remove it, by reconciling the ſeeming differences, anſwering the reaſons, and diſcovering and taking away the cauſes of prejudice and miſtake. Otherwiſe, it is not fit to detain the hearers with propounding or anſwering vain or wicked cavils, which as they are endleſs, ſo the propounding and anſwering of them doth more hinder than promote edification.

He is not to reſt in general doctrine, although never ſo much cleared and confirmed, but to bring it home to ſpecial uſe, by application to his hearers; which albeit it prove a work of great difficulty to himſelf, requiring much prudence, zeal, and meditation, and to the natural and corrupt man will be very unpleaſant; yet he is to endeavour to perform it in ſuch a manner, that his auditors may feel the word of God to be quick and powerful, and a diſcerner of the thoughts and intents of the heart; and that, if any unbeliever or ignorant perſon be preſent, he may have the ſecrets of his heart made manifeſt, and give glory to God.

In the uſe of inſtruction or information in the knowledge of ſome truth, which is a conſequence from his doctrine, he may (when convenient), confirm it by a few firm arguments from the text in hand, and other places of ſcripture, or from the nature of that common-place in divinity, whereof that truth is a branch.

In confutation of falſe doctrines, he is neither to raiſe an old hereſy from the grave, nor to mention a blaſphemous opinion unneceſſarily: But if the people be in danger of an error, he is to confute it ſoundly, and endeavour to ſatisfy their judgments and conſciences againſt all objections.

In exhorting to duties, he is, as he ſeeth cauſe, to teach alſo the means that help to the performance of them.

In dehortation, reprehenſion, and public admonition (which require ſpecial wiſdom), let him, as there ſhall be cauſe, not only diſcover the nature and greatneſs of the ſin, with the miſery attending it, but alſo ſhew the danger his hearers are in to be overtaken and ſurprized by it, together with the remedies and beſt way to avoid it.

In applying comfort, whether general againſt all temptations, or particular againſt ſome ſpecial troubles or terrors, he is carefully to anſwer ſuch objections, as a troubled heart and afflicted ſpirit may ſuggeſt to the contrary.

It is alſo ſometimes requiſite to give ſome notes of trial (which is very profitable, eſpecially when performed by able and experienced miniſters, with circumſpection and prudence, and the ſigns clearly grounded on the holy

holy ſcripture), whereby the hearers may be able to examine themſelves, whether they have attained thoſe graces, and performed thoſe duties to which he exhorteth, or be guilty of the ſin reprehended, and in danger of the judgments threatened, or are ſuch to whom the conſolations propounded do belong; that accordingly they may be quickened and excited to duty, humbled for their wants and ſins, affected with their danger, and ſtrengthened with comfort, as their condition upon examination ſhall require.

And, as he needeth not always to proſecute every doctrine which lies in his text, ſo is he wiſely to make choice of ſuch uſes, as, by his reſidence and converſing with his flock, he findeth moſt needful and ſeaſonable; and, amongſt theſe, ſuch as may moſt draw their ſouls to Chriſt, the fountain of light, holineſs and comfort.

This method is not preſcribed as neceſſary for every man, or upon every text; but only recommended, as being found by experience to be very much bleſſed of God, and very helpful for the peoples underſtandings and memories.

But the ſervant of Chriſt, whatever his method be, is to perform his whole miniſtry,

1. Painfully, not doing the work of the Lord negligently.

2. Plainly, that the meaneſt may underſtand, delivering the truth, not in the enticing words of man's wiſdom, but in demonſtration of the ſpirit and of power, leſt the croſs of Chriſt ſhould be made of none effect; abſtaining alſo from an unprofitable uſe of unknown tongues, ſtrange phraſes, and cadences of ſounds and words, ſparingly citing ſentences of eccleſiaſtical, or other human writers, ancient or modern, be they never ſo elegant.

3. Faithfully, looking at the honour of Chriſt, the converſion, edification and ſalvation of the people, not at his own gain or glory, keeping nothing back which may promote thoſe holy ends, giving to every one his own portion, and bearing indifferent reſpect unto all, without neglecting the meaneſt, or ſparing the greateſt in their ſins.

4. Wiſely, framing all his doctrines, exhortations, and eſpecially his reproofs, in ſuch a manner as may be moſt likely to prevail, ſhewing all due reſpect to each man's perſon and place, and not mixing his own paſſion or bitterneſs.

5. Gravely, as becometh the word of God, ſhunning all ſuch geſture, voice and expreſſions, as may occaſion the corruptions of men to deſpiſe him and his miniſtry.

6. With loving affection, that the people may ſee all coming from his godly zeal, and hearty deſire to do them good.

7. As

As taught of God, and perſuaded in his own heart, that all that he teacheth is the truth of Chriſt; and walking before his flock, as an example to them in it; earneſtly, both in private and public, recommending his labours to the bleſſing of God, and watchfully looking to himſelf and the flock, whereof the Lord hath made him overſeer: So ſhall the doctrine of truth be preſerved uncorrupt, many ſouls converted and built up, and himſelf receive manifold comforts of his labours, even in this life, and afterward the crown of glory laid up for him in the world to come.

Where there are more miniſters in a congregation than one, and they of different gifts, each may more eſpecially apply himſelf to doctrine or exhortation, according to the gift wherein he moſt excelleth, and as they ſhall agree between themſelves.

Of prayer after ſermon.

THE ſermon being ended, the miniſter is, "to give thanks for the great "love of God, in ſending his Son Jeſus Chriſt unto us; for the com- "munication of his holy ſpirit; for the light and liberty of the glorious goſ- "pel, and the rich and heavenly bleſſings revealed therein; as namely, elec- "tion, vocation, adoption, juſtification, ſanctification, and hope of glory; "for the admirable goodneſs of God, in freeing the land from antichriſtian "darkneſs and tyranny, and for all other national deliverances; for the "reformation of religion; for the covenant; and for many temporal "bleſſings.

"To pray for the continuance of the goſpel, and all ordinan- "ces thereof, in their purity, power and liberty: To turn the chief "and moſt uſeful heads of the ſermon into ſome few petitions; and to "pray that it may abide in the heart, and bring forth fruit.

"To pray for preparation for death and judgment, and a watching "for the coming of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt: To entreat of God the for- "giveneſs of the iniquities of our holy things, and the acceptation of "our ſpiritual ſacrifice, through the merit and mediation of our great "high prieſt and Saviour the Lord Jeſus Chriſt."

And becauſe the prayer which Chriſt taught his diſciples. is not only a pattern of prayer, but itſelf a moſt comprehenſive prayer, we recommend it alſo to be uſed in the prayers of the church.

And whereas, at the adminiſtration of the ſacraments, the holding public faſts, and days of thankſgiving, and other ſpecial occaſions, which may afford matter of ſpecial petitions and thankſgivings, it is requiſite to expreſs ſomewhat in our public prayers (as at this time, it is our duty to pray for a bleſſing upon the aſſembly of divines, the armies by ſea and

and land, for the defence of the king, parliament, and kingdom;) every miniſter is herein to apply himſelf in his prayer, before or after ſermon, to thoſe occaſions; but for the manner, he is left to his liberty, as God ſhall direct and enable him, in piety and wiſdom to diſcharge his duty.

The prayer ended, let a pſalm be ſung, if with conveniency it may be done. After which (unleſs ſome other ordinance of Chriſt, that concerneth the congregation at that time, be to follow), let the miniſter diſmiſs the congregation with a ſolemn bleſſing.

The adminiſtration of the ſacraments.

And firſt, *of baptiſm.*

BAPTISM, as it is not unneceſſarily to be delayed, ſo it is not to be adminiſtered in any caſe by any private perſon, but by a miniſter of Chriſt, called to be the ſteward of the myſteries of God.

Nor is it to be adminiſtered in private places, or privately, but in the place of public worſhip, and in the face of the congregation, where the people may moſt conveniently ſee and hear, and not in the places where fonts, in the time of popery, were unfitly and ſuperſtitiouſly placed.

The child to be baptized, after notice given to the miniſter the day before, is to be preſented by the father, or (in caſe of his neceſſary abſence), by ſome chriſtian friend in his place, profeſſing his earneſt deſire that the child may be baptized.

Before baptiſm, the miniſter is to uſe ſome words of inſtruction, touching the inſtitution, nature, uſe, and ends of this ſacrament: Shewing,

"That it is inſtituted by our Lord Jeſus Chriſt; that it is a ſeal of the "covenant of grace, of our ingrafting into Chriſt, and of our union "with him, of remiſſion of ſins, regeneration, adoption, and life eter- "nal. That the water in baptiſm repreſenteth and ſignifieth, both "the blood of Chriſt, which taketh away all guilt of ſin, original and "actual; and the ſanctifying vertue of the ſpirit of Chriſt againſt the "dominion of ſin, and the corruption of our ſinful nature: That bap- "tizing, or ſprinkling and waſhing with water, ſignifieth the cleanſing "from ſin by the blood, and for the merit of Chriſt, together with "the mortification of ſin, and riſing from ſin to newneſs of life, by

"vertue

" vertue of the death and reſurrection of Chriſt: That the promiſe is " made to believers and their ſeed; and that the ſeed and poſterity of " the faithful, born within the church, have by their birth, intereſt " in the covenant, and right to the ſeal of it, and to the outward pri- " vileges of the church, under the goſpel, no leſs than the children of " *Abraham* in the time of the old teſtament; the covenant of grace, for " ſubſtance, being the ſame; and the grace of God, and the conſolation " of believers, more plentiful than before: That the Son of God ad- " mitted little children into his preſence, embracing and bleſſing them, " ſaying, *for of ſuch is the kingdom of God:* That children, by baptiſm, " are ſolemnly received into the boſom of the viſible church, diſtinguiſh- " ed from the world, and them that are without, and united with belie- " vers; and that all who are baptized in the name of Chriſt, do re- " nounce, and by their baptiſm, are bound to fight againſt the devil, " the world, and the fleſh: That they are chriſtians, and fœderally ho- " ly before baptiſm, and therefore are they baptized: That the inward " grace and vertue of baptiſm, is not tied to that very moment of " time wherein it is adminiſtered, and that the fruit and power there- " of reacheth to the whole courſe of our life; and that outward " baptiſm is not ſo neceſſary, that through the want thereof the in- " fant is in danger of damnation, or the parents guilty, if they do not " contemn or neglect the ordinance of Chriſt, when and where it may " be had."

In theſe, or the like inſtructions, the miniſter is to uſe his own liberty and godly wiſdom, as the ignorance or errors in the doctrine of baptiſm, and the edification of the people ſhall require.

He is alſo to admoniſh all that are preſent,

" To look back to their baptiſm; to repent of their ſins againſt their " covenant with God; to ſtir up their faith; to improve and make the " right uſe of their baptiſm, and of the covenant ſealed thereby betwixt " God and their ſouls."

He is to exhort the parent,

" To conſider the great mercy of God to him and his child; " to bring up the child in the knowledge of the grounds of the chriſ- " tian religion, and in the nurture and admonition of the Lord; and " to let him know the danger of God's wrath to himſelf and child, if " he be negligent; requiring his ſolemn promiſe for the performance " of his duty."

This being done, prayer is alſo to be joined with the word of inſtitution, for ſanctifying the water to this ſpiritual uſe; and the miniſter is to pray to this or the like effect.

" That the Lord, who hath not left us as ſtrangers without the cove-
" nant of promiſe, but called us to the privileges of his ordinances,
" would graciouſly vouchſafe to ſanctify and bleſs his own ordinance of
" baptiſm at this time: That he would join the inward baptiſm of his
" ſpirit with the outward baptiſm of water; make this baptiſm to the
" infant a ſeal of adoption, remiſſion of ſin, regeneration, and eternal
" life, and all other promiſes of the covenant of grace: That the child
" may be planted into the likeneſs of the death and reſurrection of Chriſt;
" and that the body of ſin being deſtroyed in him, he may ſerve God
" in newneſs of life all his days."

Then the miniſter is to demand the name of the child, which being told him, he is to ſay (calling the child by his name.)

I baptize thee in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghoſt.

As he pronounceth theſe words, he is to baptize the child with water; which, for the manner of doing it, is not only lawful but ſufficient, and moſt expedient to be, by pouring or ſprinkling of the water on the face of the child, without adding any other ceremony.

This done, he is to give thanks, and to pray to this or the like purpoſe;

" Acknowledging with all thankfulneſs, that the Lord is true and
" faithful in keeping covenant and mercy; that he is good and gracious,
" not only in that he numbreth us among his ſaints, but is pleaſed alſo
" to beſtow upon our children this ſingular token and badge of his love
" in Chriſt: That, in his truth and ſpecial providence, he daily bringeth
" ſome into the boſom of his church, to be partakers of his ineſtimable
" benefits, purchaſed by the blood of his dear Son, for the continuance
" and increaſe of his church.

" And praying, that the Lord would ſtill continue, and daily confirm
" more and more this his uſpeakable favour: That he would receive
" the infant, now baptized, and ſolemnly entered into the houſhold of
" faith, into his fatherly tuition and defence, and remember him with
" the favour that he ſheweth to his people: That, if he ſhall be taken
" out of this life in his infancy, the Lord, who is rich in mercy, would
" be pleaſed to receive him up into glory; and if he live, and attain
" the years of diſcretion, that the Lord would ſo teach him by his
" word and ſpirit, and make his baptiſm effectual to him, and ſo up-

hold

" hold him by his divine power and grace, that by faith he may " prevail againſt the devil, the world, and the fleſh, till in the end he " obtain a full and final victory, and ſo be kept by the power of God " through faith unto ſalvation, through Jeſus Chriſt our Lord."

Of the celebration of the communiom, or ſacrament of the Lord's ſupper.

THE communion, or ſupper of the Lord, is frequently to be celebrated: But how often, may be conſidered, and determined by the miniſters, and other church-governors of each congregation, as they ſhall find moſt convenient for the comfort and edification of the people committed to their charge. And when it ſhall be adminiſtered, we judge it convenient to be done after the morning ſermon.

The ignorant and the ſcandalous are not fit to receive this ſacrament of the Lord's ſupper.

Where this ſacrament cannot with convenience be frequently adminiſtered, it is requiſite that public warning be given the ſabbath-day before the adminiſtration thereof: And that either then, or on ſome day of that week, ſomething concerning that ordinance, and the due preparation thereunto, and participation thereof, be taught, that by the diligent uſe of all means ſanctified of God to that end, both in public and private, all may come better prepared to that heavenly feaſt.

When the day is come for adminiſtration, the miniſter, having ended his ſermon and prayer, ſhall make a ſhort exhortation;

" Expreſſing the ineſtimable benefit we have by this ſacrament; to- " gether with the ends and uſe thereof: Setting forth the great neceſſity " of having our comforts and ſtrength renewed thereby, in this our pil- " grimage and warfare: How neceſſary it is, that we come unto it " with knowledge, faith, repentance, love, and with hungring and thirſ- " ting ſouls after Chriſt and his benefits: How great the danger to eat and " drink unworthily.

" Next, he is, in the name of Chriſt, on the one part, to warn all " ſuch as are ignorant, ſcandalous, profane, or that live in any ſin or " offence againſt their knowledge or conſcience, that they preſume not " to come to that holy table; ſhewing them, that he that eateth and " drinketh unworthily, eateth and drinketh judgment unto himſelf: And " on the other part, he is in eſpecial manner to invite and encourage " all that labour under the ſenſe of the burden of their ſins, and fear " of wrath, and deſire to reach out unto a greater progreſs in grace than " yet they can attain unto, to come to the Lord's table; aſſuring them,

" in the ſame name, of eaſe, refreſhing, and ſtrength, to their weak and " wearied ſouls."

After this exhoration, warning, and invitation, the table being before decently covered, and ſo conveniently placed that the communicants may orderly ſit about it, or at it, the miniſter is to begin the action with ſanctifying and bleſſing the elements of bread and wine ſet before him, (the bread in comely and convenient veſſels, ſo prepared, that being broken by him, and given, it may be diſtributed amongſt the communicants: The wine alſo in large cups;) having firſt in a few words ſhewed, that thoſe elements, otherwiſe common, are now ſet apart and ſanctified to this holy uſe, by the word of inſtitution and prayer.

Let the words of inſtitution be read out of the evangeliſts, or out of the firſt epiſtle of the apoſtle *Paul* to the *Corinthians*, chap. xi. verſe 23, *I have received of the Lord*, &c. to the 27th verſe, which the miniſter may, when he ſeeth requiſite, explain and apply.

Let the prayer, thankſgiving, or bleſſing of the bread and wine, be to this effect;

" WITH humble and hearty acknowledgment of the greatneſs " of our miſery, from which neither man nor angel was able to " deliver us, and of our great unworthineſs of the leaſt of all God's " mercies; to give thanks to God for all his benefits, and eſpecially " for that great benefit of our redemption, the love of God the Father, " the ſufferings and merits of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt the Son of God, " by which we are delivered; and for all means of grace, the word " and ſacraments; and for this ſacrament in particular, by which Chriſt, " and all his benefits, are applied and ſealed up unto us, which, not- " withſtanding the denial of them unto others, are in great mercy con- " tinued unto us, after ſo much and long abuſe of them all.

" To profeſs, that there is no other name under heaven by which we " can be ſaved, but the name of Jeſus Chriſt, by whom alone we re- " ceive liberty and life, have acceſs to the throne of grace, are admitted " to eat and drink at his own table, and are ſealed up by his ſpirit to an " aſſurance of happineſs and everlaſting life.

" Earneſtly to pray to God, the Father of all mercies, and God of " all conſolation, to vouchſafe his gracious preſence, and the effectual " working of his ſpirit in us, and ſo to ſanctify theſe elements, both of " bread and wine, and to bleſs his own ordinance, that we may receive, " by faith, the body and blood of Jeſus Chriſt crucified for us, and ſo " to feed upon him, that he may be one with us, and we with him;

" that

" that he may live in us, and we in him, and to him, who hath loved " us, and given himſelf for us."

All which he is to endeavour to perform with ſuitable affections, anſwerable to ſuch an holy action, and to ſtir up the like in the people.

The elements being now ſanctified by the word and prayer, the miniſter, being at the table, is to take the bread in his hand, and ſay, in theſe expreſſions (or other the like, uſed by Chriſt, or his apoſtle upon this occaſion :)

" According to the holy inſtitution, command, and example of our " bleſſed Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, I take this bread, and having given thanks, " I break it, and give it unto you (there the miniſter, who is alſo him- " ſelf to communicate, is to break the bread and give it to the commu- " nicants :) *Take ye, eat ye; this is the body of Chriſt which is broken* " *for you; do this in remembrance of him.*"

In like manner the miniſter is to take the cup, and ſay, in theſe expreſſions (or other the like, uſed by Chriſt, or the apoſtle, upon the ſame occaſion ;)

" According to the inſtitution, command, and example of our Lord " Jeſus Chriſt, I take this cup, and give it unto you (here he giveth " it to the communicants), *this cup is the new teſtament in the blood of* " *Chriſt, which is ſhed for the remiſſion of the ſins of many; drink ye all* " *of it.*"

After all have communicated, the miniſter may, in a few words, put them in mind,

" Of the grace of God, in Jeſus Chriſt, held forth in this ſacrament; " and exhort them to walk worthy of it."

The miniſter is to give ſolemn thanks to God,

" For his rich mercy, and invaluable goodneſs vouchſafed to them " in that ſacrament; and to entreat for pardon for the defects of the " whole ſervice, and for the gracious aſſiſtance of his good ſpirit, " whereby they may be enabled to walk in the ſtrength of that " grace, as becometh thoſe who have received ſo great pledges of ſal- " vation."

The collection for the poor is ſo to be ordered, that no part of the public worſhip be thereby hindered.

THE

Of the ſanctification of the Lord's day.

THE Lord's day ought to be ſo remembered before-hand, as that all worldly buſineſs of our ordinary callings may be ſo ordered, and ſo timely and ſeaſonably laid aſide, as they may not be impediments to the due ſanctifying of the day when it comes.

The whole day is to be celebrated as holy to the Lord, both in public and private, as being the chriſtian ſabbath. To which end it is requiſite, that there be a holy ceſſation, or reſting all the day, from all unneceſſary labours; and an abſtaining, not only from all ſports and paſtimes, but alſo from all worldly words and thoughts.

That the diet on that day be ſo ordered, as that neither ſervants be unneceſſarily detained from the public worſhip of God, nor any other perſons hindered from the ſanctifying that day.

That there be private preparation of every perſon and family, by prayer for themſelves, and for God's aſſiſtance of the miniſter, and for a bleſſing upon his miniſtry; and by ſuch other holy exerciſes, as may further diſpoſe them to a more comfortable communion with God in his public ordinances.

That all the people meet ſo timely for public worſhip, that the whole congregation may be preſent at the beginning, and with one heart ſolemnly join together in all parts of the public worſhip, and not depart till after the bleſſing.

That what time is vacant, between, or after the ſolemn meetings of the congregation in public, be ſpent in reading, meditation, repetition of ſermons; (eſpecially by calling their families to an account of what they have heard), and catechizing of them, holy conferences, prayer for a bleſſing upon the public ordinances, ſinging of pſalms, viſiting the ſick, relieving the poor, and ſuch like duties of piety, charity and mercy, accounting the ſabbath a delight.

The ſolemnization of marriage.

ALTHOUGH marriage be no ſacrament, nor peculiar to the church of God, but common to mankind, and of public intereſt in every commonwealth; yet becauſe ſuch as marry are to marry in the Lord, and have ſpecial need of inſtruction, direction, and exhortation from the word of God, at their entering into ſuch a new condition; and of the bleſſing of God upon them therein; we judge it expedient, that marriage be ſolemnived by a lawful miniſter

ter of the word, that he may accordingly counſel them, and pray for a bleſſing upon them.

Marriage is to be betwixt one man and one woman only; and they ſuch as are not within the degrees of conſanguinity or affinity prohibited by the word of God; and the parties are to be of years of diſcretion, fit to make their own choice, or, upon good grounds, to give their mutual conſent.

Before the ſolemnizing of marriage between any perſons, their purpoſe of marriage ſhall be publiſhed by the miniſter, three ſeveral ſabbath days, in the congregation at the place or places of their moſt uſual and conſtant abode reſpectively. And of this publication, the miniſter who is to join them in marriage, ſhall have ſufficient teſtimony, before he proceed to ſolemnize the marriage.

Before that publication of ſuch their purpoſe (if the parties be under age), the conſent of the parants, or others under whoſe power they are, (in caſe the parents be dead), is to be made known to the church officers of that congregation to be recorded.

The like is to be obſerved in the proceedings of all others, although of age, whoſe parents are living, for their firſt marriage. And in after marriages of either of thoſe parties, they ſhall be exhorted not to contract marriage without firſt acquainting their parents with it, (if with conveniencey it may be done), endeavouring to obtain their conſent.

Parents ought not to force ther children to marry without their free conſent, nor deny their own conſent without juſt cauſe.

After the purpoſe or contract of marriage hath been thus publiſhed, the marriage is not to be long deferred. Therefore the miniſter, having had convenient warning, and nothing being objected to hinder it, is publicly to ſolemnize it in the place appointed by authority for public worſhip, before a competent number of credible witneſſes, at ſome convenient hour of the day, at any time of the year, except on a day of public humiliation. And we adviſe that it be not on the Lord's day.

And becauſe all relations are ſanctified by the word and prayer, the miniſter is to pray for a bleſſing upon them to this effect;

" Acknowledging our ſins, whereby we have made ourſelves leſs than " the leaſt of all the mercies of God, and provoked him to imbitter all " our comforts; earneſtly, in the name of Chriſt, to entreat the Lord " (whoſe preſence and favour is the happineſs of every condition, and " ſweetens every relation), to be their portion, and to own and accept " them in Chriſt, who are now to be joined in the honourable eſtate of " marriage, the covenant of their God: And that, as he hath brought them

" them together by his providence, he would ſanctify him by his " ſpirit, giving them a new frame of heart, fit for their new eſtate; " enriching them with all graces, whereby they may perform the " duties, enjoy the comforts, undergo the cares, and reſiſt the temp- " tations which accompany that condition, as becometh chriſtians."

The prayer being ended, it is convenient that the miniſter do briefly declare unto them out of the ſcripture,

" The inſtitution, uſe, and ends of marriage, with the conjugal du- " ties, which, in all faithfulneſs, they are to perform each to other; " exhorting them to ſtudy the holy word of God, that they may learn " to live by faith, and to be content in the midſt of all marriage-cares " and troubles, ſanctifying God's name, in a thankful, ſober, and ho- " ly uſe of all conjugal comforts; praying much with, and for one an- " other; watching over, and provoking each other to love and good " works; and to live together as the heirs of the grace of life."

After ſolemn charging of the perſons to be married before the great God, who ſearcheth all hearts, and to whom they muſt give a ſtrict account at the laſt day, that if either of them know any cauſe, by precontract, or otherwiſe, why they may not lawfully proceed to marriage, that they now diſcover it: The miniſter (if no impediment be acknowledged), ſhall cauſe firſt the man to take the woman by the right hand, ſaying theſe words,

I N. *do take thee* N. *to be my married wife, and do, in the preſence of God, and before this congregation, promiſe and covenant to be a loving and faithful huſband unto thee, until God ſhall ſeparate us by death.*

Then the woman ſhall take the man by his right hand, and ſay theſe words,

I N. *do take thee* N. *to be my married huſband, and I do, in the preſence of God, and before this congregation, promiſe and covenant to be a loving, faithful, and obedient wife unto thee, until God ſhall ſeparate us by death.*

Then, without any further ceremony, the miniſter ſhall, in the face of the congregation, pronounce them to be huſband and wife, according to God's ordinance; and ſo conclude the action with prayer to this effect;

" That the Lord would be pleaſed to accompany his own ordinance " with his bleſſing, beſeeching him to enrich the perſons now married, " as with other pledges of his love, ſo particularly with the comforts and

" fruits

" fruits of marriage, to the praiſe of his abundant mercy, in and thro' " Chriſt Jeſus."

A regiſter is to be carefully kept, wherein the names of the parties ſo married, with the time of their marriage, are forthwith to be fairly recorded in a book, provided for that purpoſe, for the peruſal of all whom it may concern.

Concerning viſitation of the ſick.

IT is the duty of the miniſter, not only to teach the people committed to his charge, in public; but privately and particularly to admoniſh, exhort, reprove, and comfort them, upon all ſeaſonable occaſions, ſo far as his time, ſtrength and perſonal ſafety, will permit.

He is to admoniſh them, in time of health, to prepare for death; and for that purpoſe, they are often to confer with their miniſter about the eſtate of their ſouls; and in times of ſickneſs, to deſire his advice and help, timely and ſeaſonably, before their ſtrength and underſtanding fail them.

Times of ſickneſs and affliction are ſpecial opportunities put into his hand by God, to miniſter a word in ſeaſon to weary ſouls; becauſe then the conſciences of men are, or ſhould be more awakened to bethink themſelves of their ſpiritual eſtates for eternity; and ſatan alſo takes advantage then, to load them more with ſore and heavy temptations: Therefore the miniſter being ſent for, and repairing to the ſick, is to apply himſelf with all tenderneſs and love, to adminiſter ſome ſpiritual good to his ſoul to this effect.

He may, from the conſideration of the preſent ſickneſs, inſtruct him out of ſcripture, that diſeaſes come not by chance, or by diſtempers of body only, but by the wiſe and orderly guidance of the good hand of God, to every particular perſon ſmitten by them. And that, whether it be laid upon him out of diſpleaſure for ſin, for his correction and amendment, or for trial and exerciſe of his graces, or for other ſpecial and excellent ends, all his ſufferings ſhall turn to his profit, and work together for his good, if he ſincerely labour to make a ſanctified uſe of God's viſitation, neither deſpiſing his chaſtning, nor waxing weary of his correction.

If he ſuſpect him of ignorance, he ſhall examine him in the principles of religion, eſpecially touching repentance and faith; and as he ſeeth cauſe, inſtruct him in the nature, uſe, excellency, and neceſſity of thoſe graces; as alſo touching the covenant of grace, and Chriſt the Son of God, the mediator of it, and concerning remiſſion of ſins by faith in him.

He ſhall exhort the ſick perſon to examine himſelf, to ſearch and try his former ways, and his eſtate towards God.

And if the ſick perſon ſhall declare any ſcruple, doubt or temptation that are upon him, inſtructions and reſolutions ſhall be given to ſatisfy and ſettle him.

If it appear that he hath not a due ſenſe of his ſins, endeavours ought to be uſed to convince him of his ſins, of the guilt and deſert of them; of the filth and pollution which the ſoul contracts by them; and of the curſe of the law, and wrath of God, due to them; that he may be truly affected with, and humbled for them: And withal to make known the danger of deferring repentance, and of neglecting ſalvation at any time offered; to awaken his conſcience, and rouſe him up out of a ſtupid and ſecure condition, to apprehend the juſtice and wrath of God, before whom none can ſtand, but he that, being loſt in himſelf, layeth hold upon Chriſt by faith.

If he have endeavoured to walk in the ways of holineſs, and to ſerve God in uprightneſs, although not without many failings and infirmities; or if his ſpirit be broken with the ſenſe of ſin, or caſt down through want of the ſenſe of God's favour, then it will be fit to raiſe him up, by ſetting before him the freeneſs and fulneſs of God's grace, the ſufficiency of righteouſneſs in Chriſt, the gracious offers in the goſpel, that all who repent and believe with all their heart in God's mercy thro' Chriſt, renouncing their own righteouſneſs, ſhall have life and ſalvation in him: It may be alſo uſeful to ſhew him, that death hath in it no ſpiritual evil, to be feared by thoſe that are in Chriſt, becauſe ſin, the ſting of death, is taken away by Chriſt, who hath delivered all that are his, from the bondage of the fear of death, triumphed over the grave, given us victory, is himſelf entered into glory, to prepare a place for his people: So that neither life nor death ſhall be able to ſeparate them from God's love in Chriſt, in whom ſuch are ſure, though now they muſt be laid in the duſt, to obtain a joyful and glorious reſurrection to eternal life.

Advice alſo may be given, as to beware of an ill-grounded perſuaſion on mercy, or on the goodneſs of his condition for heaven, ſo to diſclaim all merit in himſelf, and to caſt himſelf wholly upon God for mercy, in the ſole merits and mediation of Jeſus Chriſt, who hath engaged himſelf never to caſt off them, who in truth and ſincerity come unto him. Care alſo muſt be taken, that the ſick perſon be not caſt down into deſpair, by ſuch a ſevere repreſentation of the wrath of God due to him for his ſins, as is not mollified by a ſeaſonable propounding of Chriſt and his merit, for a door of hope to every penitent believer.

When

When the ſick perſon is beſt compoſed, may be leaſt diſturbed, and other neceſſary offices about him leaſt hindered, the miniſter, if deſired, ſhall pray with him, and for him, to this effect;

" Confeſſing and bewailing of ſin original and actual, the miſerable " condition of all by nature, as being children of wrath, and under the " curſe; acknowledging that all diſeaſes, ſickneſſes, death, and hell it- " ſelf, are the proper iſſues and effects thereof; imploring God's mercy " for the ſick perſon through the blood of Chriſt; beſeeching that God " would open his eyes, diſcover unto him his ſins, cauſe him to ſee him- " ſelf loſt in himſelf, make known to him the cauſe why God ſmiteth " him, reveal Jeſus Chriſt to his ſoul for righteouſneſs and life, give un- " to him his holy ſpirit to create and ſtrengthen faith, to lay hold upon " Chriſt, to work in him comfortable evidences of his love, to arm him " againſt temptations, to take off his heart from the world, to ſanctify " his preſent viſitation, to furniſh him with patience and ſtrength to bear " it, and to give him perſeverance in faith to the end.

" That if God ſhall pleaſe to add to his days, he would vouchſafe to " bleſs and ſanctify all means of his recovery, to remove the diſeaſe, re- " new his ſtrength, and enable him to walk worthy of God, by a faithful " remembrance, and diligent obſerving of ſuch vows and promiſes of ho- " lineſs and obedience, as men are apt to make in times of ſickneſs, that he " may glorify God in the remaining part of his life.

" And if God have determined to finiſh his days by the preſent viſita- " tion, he may find ſuch evidence of the pardon of all his ſins, of his in- " tereſt in Chriſt, and eternal life by Chriſt, as may cauſe his inward man " to be renewed, while his outward man decayeth; that he may behold " death without fear, caſt himſelf wholly upon Chriſt without doubting, " deſire to be diſſolved and be with Chriſt, and ſo receive the end of his " faith, the ſalvation of his ſoul, thro' the only merits and interceſſion of " the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, our alone Saviour, and all-ſufficient Redeemer."

The miniſter ſhall admoniſh him alſo (as there ſhall be cauſe), to ſet his houſe in order, thereby to prevent inconveniencies; to take care for the payment of his debts, and to make reſtitution or ſatisfaction where he hath done any wrong, to be reconciled to thoſe with whom he hath been at variance, and fully to forgive all men their treſpaſſes againſt him, as he expects forgiveneſs at the hand of God.

Laſtly, the miniſter may improve the preſent occaſion to exhort thoſe about the ſick perſon, to conſider their own mortality, to return to the Lord, and make peace with him; in health to prepare for ſickneſs, death, and judgment; and all the days of their appointed time, ſo to wait until their change come, that when Chriſt, who is our life, ſhall appear, they may appear with him in glory.

Concerning burial of the dead.

WHEN any perſon departeth this life, let the dead body, upon the day of burial, be decently attended from the houſe to the place appointed for public burial, and there immediately interred, without any ceremony.

And becauſe the cuſtoms of kneeling down, and praying by, or towards the dead corps, and other ſuch uſages, in the place where it lies, before it be carried to burial, are ſuperſtitious; and for that, praying, reading, and ſinging, both in going to, and at the grave, have been groſly abuſed, are no way benificial to the dead, and have proved many ways hurtful to the living, therefore let all ſuch things be laid aſide.

Howbeit, we judge it very convenient, that the chriſtian friends which accompany the dead body to the place appointed for public burial, do apply themſelves to meditations, and conferences ſuitable to the occaſion: And that the miniſter, as upon other occaſions, ſo at this time, if he be preſent, may put them in remembrance of their duty.

That this ſhall not extend to deny any civil reſpects or deferences at the burial, ſuitable to the rank and condition of the party deceaſed, while he was living.

Concerning public ſolemn faſting.

WHEN ſome great and notable judgments are either inflicted upon a people, or apparently imminent, or by ſome extraordinary provocations notoriouſly deſerved; as alſo, when ſome ſpecial bleſſing is to be ſought and obtained, public ſolemn faſting (which is to continue the whole day), is a duty that God expecteth from that nation or people.

A religious faſt requires total abſtinence, not only from all food, (unleſs bodily weakneſs do manifeſtly diſable from holding out till the faſt be ended, in which caſe, ſomewhat may be taken, yet very ſparingly, to ſupport nature, when ready to faint), but alſo from all worldly labour, diſcourſes and thoughts, and from all bodily delights (although at other times lawful), rich apparel, ornaments, and ſuch like, during the faſt; and much more from whatever is in the nature, or uſe, ſcandalous and offenſive, as gaudiſh attire, laſcivious habits, and geſtures, and other vanities of either ſex; which we recommend to all miniſters, in their places, diligently and zealouſly to reprove, as at other times, ſo eſpecially at a faſt, without reſpect of perſons, as there ſhall be occaſion.

Before the public meeting, each family and perſon apart, are privately to uſe all religious care to prepare their hearts to ſuch ſolemn work, and to be early at the congregation.

So

So large a portion of the day, as conveniently may be, is to be ſpent in public reading and preaching of the word, with ſinging of pſalms, fit to quicken affections ſuitable to ſuch a duty, but eſpecially in prayer, to this or the like effect:

"Giving glory to the great majeſty of God, the creator, preſerver, "and ſupreme ruler of all the world. the better to affect us thereby "with an holy reverence and awe of him; acknowledging his mani- "fold, great, and tender mercies, eſpecially to the church and nation, "the more effectually to ſoften and abaſe our hearts before him; hum- "bly confeſſing of ſins of all ſorts, with their ſeveral aggravations; "juſtifying God's righteous judgments, as being far leſs than our ſins do "deſerve; yet humbly and earneſtly imploring his mercy and grace for "ourſelves, the church and nation, for our king, and all in authority, "and for all others for whom we are bound to pray, (according as the "preſent exigence requireth), with more ſpecial importunity and enlarge- "ment than at other times; applying, by faith, the promiſes and good- "neſs of God, for pardon, help, and deliverance from the evils felt, "feared, or deſerved; and for obtaining the bleſſings which we need "and expect; together with a giving up of ourſelves wholly and for "ever unto the Lord."

In all theſe, the miniſters, who are the mouths of the people unto God, ought ſo to ſpeak from their hearts, upon ſerious and thorough premeditation of them, that both themſelves and the people may be much affected, and even melted thereby; eſpecially with ſorrow for their ſins, that it may be indeed a day of deep humiliation and afflicting of the ſoul.

Special choice is to be made of ſuch ſcriptures to be read, and of ſuch texts for preaching, as may beſt work the hearts of the hearers to the ſpecial buſineſs of the day, and moſt diſpoſe them to humiliation and repentance; inſiſting moſt on thoſe particulars, which each miniſter's obſervation and experience tells him, are moſt conducing to the edification and reformation of that congregation, to which he preacheth.

Before the cloſe of the public duties, the miniſter is, in his own and the peoples names, to ingage his and their hearts to be the Lord's, with profeſſed purpoſe and reſolution to reform whatever is amiſs among them, and more particularly ſuch ſins as they have been more remarkable guilty of; and, to draw nearer unto God, and to walk more cloſely and faithfully with him in new obedience, than ever before.

He is alſo to admoniſh the people with all importunity, that the work of that day doth not end with the public duties of it, but that they are ſo to improve the remainder of the day, and of their whole life, in reinforcing upon themſelves and their families in private, all thoſe godly affections and reſolutions which they profeſſed in public, as that they may

may be ſettled in their hearts for ever, and themſelves may more ſenſibly find, that God hath ſmelt a ſweet ſavour in Chriſt from their performances, and is pacified towards them, by anſwers of grace, in pardoning of ſin, in removing of judgments, in averting or preventing of plagues, and in conferring of bleſſings, ſuitable to the conditions and prayers of his people by Jeſus Chriſt.

Beſide ſolemn and general faſts enjoined by authority, we judge, that at other times congregations may keep days of faſting, as divine providence ſhall adminiſter unto them ſpecial occaſions. And alſo, that families may do the ſame, ſo it be not on days wherein the congregation to which they do belong, is to meet for faſting, or other public duties of worſhip.

Concerning the obſervation of days of public thankſgiving.

WHEN any ſuch day is to be kept, let notice be given of it, and of the occaſion thereof, ſome convenient time before, that the people may the better prepare themſelves thereunto.

The day being come, and the congregation (after private preparations), being aſſembled, the miniſter is to begin with a word of exhortation, to ſtir up the people to the duty for which they are met, and with a ſhort prayer for God's aſſiſtance and bleſſing (as at other conventions for public worſhip), according to the particular occaſion of their meeting.

Let him then make ſome pithy narration of the deliverance obtained, or mercy received, or of whatever hath occaſioned that aſſembling of the congregation, that all may better underſtand it, or be minded of it, and more affected with it.

And becauſe ſinging of pſalms is of all other the moſt proper ordinance for expreſſing of joy and thankſgiving, let ſome pertinent pſalm or pſalms be ſung for that purpoſe, before or after the reading of ſome portion of the word, ſuitable to the preſent buſineſs.

Then let the miniſter who is to preach, proceed to further exhortation and prayer before his ſermon, with ſpecial reference to the preſent work: After which, let him preach upon ſome text of ſcripture pertinent to the occaſion.

The ſermon ended, let him not only pray, as at other time after preaching is directed, with remembrance of the neceſſities of the church, king, and ſtate, (if before the ſermon they were omitted), but enlarge himſelf in due and ſolemn thankſgiving for former mercies and deliverances, but more eſpecially for that which at the preſent calls them together to give thanks: With humble petition for the continuance and renewing of God's wonted mercies, as need ſhall be, and for ſanctifying grace to make a right uſe thereof. And ſo, having ſung another

pſalm

pſalm ſuitable to the mercy, let him diſmiſs the congregation with a bleſſing, that they may have ſome convenient time for their repaſt and refreſhing.

But the miniſter (before their diſmiſſion), is ſolemnly to admoniſh them, to beware of all exceſs and riot, tending to gluttony or drunkenneſs, and much more of theſe ſins themſelves, in their eating and refreſhing; and to take care that their mirth and rejoicing be not carnal, but ſpiritual, which may make God's praiſe to be glorious, and themſelves humble and ſober; and that both their feeding and rejoicing may render them more cheerful and enlarged, further to celebrate his praiſes in the midſt of the congregation, when they return unto it, in the remaining part of that day.

When the congregation ſhall be again aſſembled, the like courſe in praying, reading, preaching, ſinging of pſalms, and offering up of more praiſe and thankſgiving, that is before directed for the morning, is to be renewed and continued ſo far as the time will give leave.

At one, or both of the public meetings that day, a collection is to be made for the poor (and in the like manner upon the day of public humiliation), that their loins may bleſs us, and rejoice the more with us. And the people are to be exhorted, at the end of the latter meeting, to ſpend the reſidue of that day in holy duties, and teſtifications of chriſtian love and charity one towards another, and of rejoicing more and more in the Lord; as becometh thoſe who make the joy of the Lord their ſtrength.

Of ſinging of pſalms.

IT is the duty of chriſtians to praiſe God publicly, by ſinging of pſalms together in the congregation, and alſo privately in the family.

In ſinging of pſalms the voice is to be tunably and gravely ordered; but the chief muſt be, to ſing with underſtanding, and with grace in the heart, making melody unto the Lord.

That the whole congregation may join herein, every one that can read is to have a pſalm-book; and all others, not diſabled by age, or otherwiſe, are to be exhorted to learn to read. But for the preſent, where many in the congregation cannot read, it is convenient that the miniſter, or ſome other fit perſon appointed by him, and the other ruling officers, do read the pſalm line by line, betore the ſinging thereof.

An APPENDIX, *touching days and places of public worſhip.*

THERE is no day commanded in ſcripture to be kept holy under the goſpel, but the Lord's day, which is the chriſtian ſabbath.

Feſtival days vulgarly called holy days, having no warrant in the word of God, are not to be continued.

Nevertheleſs, it is lawful and neceſſary, upon ſpecial emergent occaſions, to ſeparate a day or days for public faſting or thankſgiving, as the ſeveral eminent and extraordinary diſpenſations of God's providence ſhall adminiſter cauſe and opportunity to his people.

As no place is capable of any holineſs, under pretence of whatſoever dedication or conſecration; ſo neither is it ſubject to ſuch pollution by any ſuperſtition formerly uſed, and now laid aſide, as may render it unlawful or incovenient for chriſtians to meet together therein for the public worſhip of God. And therefore we hold it requiſite, that the places of public aſſembling for worſhip among us, ſhould be continued, and imployed to that uſe.

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THE

FORM of presbyterial *church government*,

Agreed upon by the aſſembly of divines at *Weſtminſter*; examined and approved, *anno* 1645, by the GENERAL ASSEMBLY of the CHURCH of *SCOTLAND*, &c.

The PREFACE.

JESUS CHRIST, upon whoſe ſhoulders the government is, whoſe name is called wonderful, counſellor, the mighty God, the everlaſting Father, the prince of peace[a], *of the increaſe of whoſe government and peace there ſhall be no end, who ſits upon the throne of* David, *and upon his kingdom, to order it, and to eſtabliſh it with judgment and juſtice, from henceforth even for ever, having all power given unto him even in heaven and in earth by the Father, who raiſed him from the dead, and ſet him at his own right hand, far above all principalities and power, and might and dominion, and every name that is named, not only in this world, but alſo in that which is to come, and put all things under his feet, and gave him to be the head over all things to the church, which is his body, the fulneſs of him that filleth all in all; he being aſcended up far above all heavens, that he might fill all things, received gifts for his church, and gave offices neceſſary for the edification of his church, and perfecting of his ſaints.*

[a] Iſa. 9. 6, 7.

Of the church.

THERE is one general church viſible held forth in the new teſtament, 1 *Cor.* xii. 12, 13, 28, together with the reſt of the chapter.

The miniſtry, oracles, and ordinances of the new teſtament, are given by Jeſus Chriſt to the general church viſible, for the gathering and perfecting of it in this life, until his ſecond coming, 1 *Cor.* xii. 28. *Eph.* iv. 4, 5, compared with *ver.* 10, 11, 12, 13, 15, 16, of the ſame chapter.

Particular viſible churches, members of the general church, are alſo held forth in the new teſtament, *Gal.* i. 21, 22, *Rev.* i. 4, 20, and *Rev.* ii. 1. Particular churches, in the primitive times, were made up of viſible ſaints, *viz.* of ſuch as, being of age, profeſſed faith in Chriſt, and obedience unto Chriſt, according to the rules of faith and life, taught by Chriſt and his apoſtles; and of their children, *Acts* ii. 38, 41, *Acts* ii. *verſe* laſt, compared with *Acts* v. 14, 1 *Cor.* i. 2, compared with 2 *Cor.* ix. 13. *Acts* ii. 39, 1 *Cor.* vii. 14, *Rom.* ix. 16, and ſo forward; *Mark* x. 14, compared with *Mat.* xix. 13, 14. *Luke* xviii. 15, 16.

Of the officers of the church.

THE officers which Chriſt hath appointed for the edification of his church, and the perfecting of the ſaints, are,

Some extraordinary, as apoſtles, evangeliſts, and prophets, which are ceaſed.

Others ordinary and perpetual, as paſtors, teachers, and other church governors, and deacons.

Paſtors.

THE paſtor is an ordinary and perpetual officer in the church, *Jer.* iii. 15, 16, 17; propheſying of the time of the goſpel. 1 *Pet.* v. 2, 3, 4, *Eph.* iv. 11, 12, 13.

Firſt, it belongs to his office,

To pray for and with his flock, as the mouth of the people unto God, *Acts* vi. 2, 3, 4, *Acts* xx. 36; where preaching and prayer are joined as

[b] Mat. xxviii. 18, 19, 20. Eph. i. 20, 21. 22, *compared with* Eph. iv. 8, 11, *and* Pſal. lxviii. 18.

as ſeveral parts of the ſame office. *James* v. 14, 15. The office of the elder, that is the paſtor, is to pray for the ſick, even in private, to which a bleſſing is eſpecially promiſed; much more therefore ought he to perform this in the public execution of his office, as a part thereof, 1 *Cor.* xiv. *ver.* 15 16.

To read the ſcripture publicly; for the proof of which,

1. That the prieſts and levites in the *jewiſh* church were truſted with the public reading of the word, as is proved, *Deut.* xxxi. 9, 10, 11. *Neh.* viii. 1, 2, and 13,

2. That the miniſters of the goſpel have as ample a charge and commiſſion to diſpenſe the word, as well as other ordinances, as the prieſts and levites had under the law, proved, *Iſa.* lxvi. 21, *Mat.* xxiii. 34, where our Saviour intituleth the officers of the new teſtament, whom he will ſend forth, by the ſame names of the teachers of the old.

Which propoſitions prove, that therefore, (the duty being of a moral nature), it followeth by juſt conſequence, that the public reading of the ſcriptures belongeth to the paſtor's office.

To feed the flock, by preaching of the word, according to which he is to teach, convince, reprove, exhort, and comfort, 1 *Tim.* iii. 2, 2 *Tim.* iii. *ver.* 16,17, *Tit.* i. 9.

To catechiſe, which is a plain laying down the firſt principles of the oracles of God, *Heb.* v. 12, or of the doctrine of Chriſt, and is a part of preaching.

To diſpenſe other divine myſteries, 1 *Cor.* iv. 1, 2.

To adminiſter the ſacraments, *Matth.* xxviii. 19, 20, *Mark* xvi. 15, 16, 1 *Cor.* xi. 23, 24, 25, compared with 1 *Cor.* x. 16.

To bleſs the people from God, *Numb.* vi. 23, 24, 25, 26, compared with *Rev.* xiv. 5, (where the ſame bleſſings, and perſons from whom they come, are expreſsly mentioned), *Iſa.* lxvi. 21, where, under the names of prieſts and levites, to be continued under the goſpel, are meant evangelical paſtors, who therefore are by office to bleſs the people, *Deut.* x. 8, 2 *Cor.* xiii. 14, *Eph.* i. 2.

To take care of the poor, *Acts* xi. 30, *Acts* iv. 34, 35, 36, 37, *Acts* vi. 2, 3, 4, 1 *Cor.* xvi. 1, 2, 3, 4, *Gal.* ii. 9, 10.

And he hath alſo a ruling power over the flock as a paſtor, 1 *Tim.* v. 17, *Acts* xx. 17, and 28, 1 *Theſſ.* v. 12, *Heb.* xiii. 7, 17.

Teacher or doctor.

THE ſcripture doth hold out the name and title of teacher, as well as of the paſtor, 1 *Cor.* xii. 28, *Eph.* iv. 11.

Who is alſo a miniſter of the word as well as the paſtor, and hath power of adminiſtration of the ſacraments.

The Lord having given different gifts, and divers exerciſes according to theſe gifts, in the miniſtry of the word, *Rom.* xii. 6, 7, 1, 1 *Cor.* xii. 1, 4, 5, 6, 7, though theſe different gifts may meet in, and accordingly be exerciſed by one and the ſame miniſter, 1 *Cor.* xiv. 3, 2 *Tim.* iv. 2, *Tit.* i. 9, yet, where be ſeveral miniſters in the ſame congregation, they may be deſigned to ſeveral imployments, according to the different gifts in which each of them doth moſt excel, *Rom.* xii. 6, 7, 8, 1 *Pet.* iv. 10, 11. And he that doth more excel in expoſition of ſcriptures, in teaching ſound doctrine, and in convincing gainſayers, than he doth in application, and is accordingly employed therein, may be called a teacher, or doctor, (the places alledged by the notation of the word do prove the propoſition), nevertheleſs, where is but one miniſter in a particular congregation, he is to perform ſo far as he is able the whole work of the miniſtry, as appeareth in 2 *Tim.* iv. 2, *Tit.* i. 9, before alledged, 1 *Tim.* vi. 2.

A teacher or doctor is of moſt excellent uſe in ſchools and univerſities; as of old in the ſchools of the prophets, and at *Jeruſalem*, where *Gamaliel* and others taught as doctors.

Other church governors.

AS there were in the *jewiſh* church, elders of the people joined with the prieſts and levites in the government of the church, (as appeareth in 2 *Chron.* xix. 8, 9, 10.) So Chriſt, who hath inſtituted a government, and governors eccleſiaſtical in the church, hath furniſhed ſome in his church, beſide the miniſters of the word, with gifts for government, and with commiſſion to execute the ſame when called thereunto, who are to join with the miniſter in the government of the church, *Rom.* xii. 7, 8, 1 *Cor.* xii. 28. Which officers reformed churches commonly call elders.

Deacons

Deacons.

THE ſcripture doth hold out deacons as diſtinct officers in the church, *Phil.* i. 1, 1 *Tim.* iii. 8.

Whoſe office is perpetual, 1 *Tim.* iii. 8, to *ver.* 15, *Acts* vi. 1, 2, 3, 4. To whoſe office it belongs not to preach the word, or adminiſter the ſacraments, but to take ſpecial care in diſtributing to the neceſſities of the poor, *Acts* vi. 1, 2, 3, 4, and the verſes following.

Of particular congregations.

IT is lawful and expedient that there be fixed congregations, that is a certain company of chriſtians to meet in one aſſembly ordinarily for public worſhip. When believers multiply to ſuch a number, that they cannot conveniently meet in one place, it is lawful and expedient that they ſhould be divided into diſtinct and fixed congregations, for the better adminiſtration of ſuch ordinances as belong unto them, and the diſcharge of mutual duties, 1 *Cor.* xiv. *ver.* 26. *Let all things be done unto edifying*; and *verſes* 33, and 40.

The ordinary way of dividing chriſtians into diſtinct congregations, and moſt expedient for edification, is by the reſpective bounds of their dwellings.

Firſt, becauſe they who dwell together, being bound to all kind of moral duties one to another, have the better opportunity thereby to diſcharge them; which moral tye is perpetual, for Chriſt came not to deſtroy the law, but to fulfil it, *Deut.* xv. 7, 11, *Mat.* xxii. 39, *Mat.* v. 17.

Secondly, The communion of ſaints muſt be ſo ordered, as may ſtand with the moſt convenient uſe of the ordinances, and diſcharge of moral duties, without reſpect of perſons, 1 *Cor.* xiv. 26, *Let all things be done unto edifying. Heb.* x. 24, 25, *James* ii. 1, 2.

Thirdly, the paſtor and people muſt ſo nearly cohabit together, as that they may mutually perform their duties each to other with moſt convenience.

In this company ſome muſt be ſet apart to bear office.

Of the officers of a particular congregation.

FOR officers in a ſingle congregation, there ought to be one at the leaſt, both to labour in the word and doctrine, and to rule, *Prov.* xxix. 18, 1 *Tim.* v. 17, *Heb.* xiii. 7.

It

It is alſo requiſite that there ſhould be others to join in government, 1 *Cor.* xii. 28.

And likewiſe it is requiſite that there ſhould be others to take ſpecial care for the relief of the poor, *Acts* vi. 2, 3.

The number of each of which is to be proportioned according to the condition of the congregation.

Theſe officers are to meet together at convenient and ſet times, for the well ordering of the affairs of that congregation, each according to his office.

It is moſt expedient that in theſe meetings, one whoſe office is to labour in the word and doctrine, do moderate in their proceedings, 1 *Tim.* v. 17.

Of the ordinances in a particular congregation.

THE ordinances in a ſingle congregation, are prayer, thankſgiving, and ſinging of pſalms, 1 *Tim.* ii. 1. 1 *Cor.* xiv. 15, 16. The word read, (although there follow no immediate explication of what is read), the word expounded and applied, catechiſing, the ſacraments adminiſtered, collection made for the poor, diſmiſſing the people with a bleſſing.

Of church government, and the ſeveral ſorts, of aſſemblies for the ſame.

CHRIST hath inſtituted a government, and governors eccleſiaſtical in the church: To that purpoſe, the apoſtles did immediately receive the keys from the hand of Jeſus Chriſt, and did uſe and exerciſe them in all the churches of the world, upon all occaſions.

And Chriſt hath ſince continually furniſhed ſome in his church with gifts of government, and with commiſſion to execute the ſame, when called thereunto.

It is lawful and agreeable to the word of God, that the church be governed by ſeveral ſorts of aſſemblies, which are congregational, claſſical, and ſynodical.

Of the power in common of all theſe aſſemblies.

IT is lawful and agreeable to the word of God, that the ſeveral aſſemblies before mentioned have power to convene, and call before them any perſon within their ſeveral bounds, whom the eccleſiaſtical

cleſiaſtical buſineſs which is before them doth concern; proved by *Matth. chap.* xviii.

They have power to hear and determine ſuch cauſes and differences, as do orderly come before them.

It is lawful and agreeable to the word of God, that all the ſaid aſſemblies have ſome power to diſpenſe church cenſures.

Of congregational aſſemblies, that is, the meeting of the ruling officers of a particular congregation for the government thereof.

THE ruling officers of a particular congregation have power, authoritatively, to call before them any member of the congregation, as they ſhall ſee juſt occaſion.

To enquire into the knowledge and ſpiritual eſtate of the ſeveral members of the congregation.

To admoniſh and rebuke.

Which three branches are proved by *Heb.* xiii. 17, 1 *Theſſ.* v. 12, 13, *Ezek.* xxxiv. 4.

Authoritative ſuſpenſion from the Lord's table of a perſon not yet caſt out of the church, is agreeable to the ſcripture.

Firſt, becauſe the ordinance itſelf muſt not be profaned.

Secondly, becauſe we are charged to withdraw from thoſe that walk diſorderly.

Thirdly, becauſe of the great ſin and danger, both to him that comes unworthily, and alſo to the whole church, *Matth.* vii. 6, 2 *Theſſ.* iii. 6, 14, 15, 1 *Cor.* xi. 27, to the end of the chapter, compared with *Jude*, ver. 23. 1 *Tim.* v. 22. And there was power and authority, under the old teſtament, to keep unclean perſons from holy things, *Levit.* xiii. 5, *Numb.* ix. 7, 2 *Chron.* xxiii. 19.

The like power and authority, by way of analogy, continues under the new teſtament.

The ruling officers of a particular congregation, have power authoritatively to ſuſpend from the Lord's table, a perſon not yet caſt out of the church.

Firſt, becauſe thoſe who have authority to judge of, and admit ſuch as are fit to receive the ſacrament, have authority to keep back ſuch as ſhall be found unworthy.

Secondly, becauſe it is an eccleſiaſtical buſineſs of ordinary practice belonging to that congregation.

When congregations are divided and fixed, they need all mutual help one from another, both in regard of their intrinſical weakneſſes, and mutual dependance; as alſo, in regard of enemies from without.

Of

Of claſſical aſſemblies.

THE ſcripture doth hold out a preſbytery in a church, both in the firſt epiſtle to *Timothy*, chap. iv. verſe 14. And in *Acts* xv. verſes 2, 4, 6.

A preſbytery conſiſteth of miniſters of the word, and ſuch other public officers as are agreeable to, and warranted by the word of God, to be church governors, to join with the miniſters in the government of the church; as appeareth, *Rom.* xii. 7, 8. 1 *Cor.* xii. 28.

The ſcripture doth hold forth, that many particular congregations may be under one preſbyterial government.

This propoſition is proved by inſtances.

I. *Firſt*, of the church of *Jeruſalem*, which conſiſted of more congregations than one, and all theſe congregations were under one preſbyterial government.

This appeareth thus:

1. *Firſt*, the church of *Jeruſalem* conſiſted of more congregations than one, as is manifeſt,

Firſt, by the multitude of believers mentioned in divers places. Both before the diſperſion of the believers there, by means of the perſecution, (mentioned in the *Acts* of the apoſtles, *chap.* viii. in the beginning thereof), witneſs, *chap.* i. *verſe* 11. *chap.* ii. *verſe* 41, 46, and 47, *chap.* iv. 4, *chap.* v. 14, *chap.* vi. of the ſame book of the *Acts*, verſes 1, 7. And alſo after the diſperſion, *Acts* ix. 31, chap. xii. 24, chap. xxi. ver. 20 of the ſame book.

Secondly, by the many apoſtles and other preachers in the church of *Jeruſalem:* And if there were but one congregation there, then each apoſtle preached but ſeldom; which will not conſiſt with *chap.* vi. *verſe* 2, of the ſame book of the *Acts* of the apoſtles.

Thirdly, the diverſity of languages amongſt the believers, mentioned both in the ſecond and and ſixth *chapters* of the *Acts*, doth argue more congregations than one in that church.

2. *Secondly*, all thoſe congregations were under one preſbyterial government; becauſe, *Firſt*, they were one church, *Acts* viii. 1, and *chap.* ii. 47, compared with *chap.* v, 11, *chap.* xii. 5, and *chap.* xv. 4, of the ſame book.

Secondly, the elders of the church are mentioned, *Acts* xi. 30, *chap.* xv. 4, 6, 22, and *chap.* xxi. 17, 18, of the ſame book.

Thirdly, the apoſtles did the ordinary acts of preſbyters, as preſbyters in that kirk; which proveth a preſbyterial church before the diſperſion, *Acts* vi.

Fourthly,

Fourthly, the ſeveral congregations in *Jeruſalem* being one church, the elders of that church are mentioned as meeting together for acts of government, *Acts* xi. 30. *Acts* xv. 4, 6, 22, and *chap.* xxi. 17, 18, and ſo forward: Which proves that thoſe ſeveral congregations were under one preſbyterial government.

And whether theſe congregations were fixed, or not fixed, in regard of officers or members, it is all one as to the truth of the propoſition.

Nor doth there appear any material difference betwixt the ſeveral congregations in *Jeruſalem*, and the many congregations now in the ordinary condition of the church, as to the point of fixedneſs required of officers or members.

3. *Thirdly*, therefore the ſcripture doth hold forth, that many congregations may be under one preſbyterial government.

II. *Secondly*, by the inſtance of the church of *Epheſus*; for

1. That they were more congregations than one in the church of *Epheſus*, appears by *Acts* xx. 31, where is mention of *Paul*'s continuance at *Epheſus* in preaching for the ſpace of three years; and *Acts* xix. 18, 19, 20, where the ſpecial effect of the word is mentioned; and *verſe* 10, and 17, of the ſame chapter, where is a diſtinction of *jews* and *greeks*; and 1 *Cor.* xvi. 8, and 9, where is a reaſon of *Paul*'s ſtay at *Epheſus* until *Pentecoſt*; and *verſe* 19, where is mention of a particular church in the houſe of *Aquilla* and *Priſcilla* then at *Epheſus*; as appears, *Acts* xviii. 19, 24, 26. All which laid together doth prove, that the multitude of believers did make more congregations than one in the church of *Epheſus*.

2. That there were many elders over theſe many congregations, as one flock, appeareth, *Acts* xx. 17, 25, 28, 30, 36, 37.

3. That theſe many congregations were one church, and that they were under one preſbyterial government, appeareth, *Rev.* ii. the firſt ſix *verſes*, joined with *Acts* xx. *ver.* 17, 18.

Of ſynodical aſſemblies.

THE ſcripture doth hold out another ſort of aſſemblies, for the government of the church, beſide claſſical and congregational, all which we call ſynodical, *Acts* xv, Paſtors and teachers, and other church governors, (as alſo other fit perſons, when it ſhall be deemed expedient), are members of thoſe aſſemblies which we call ſynodical, where they have a lawful calling thereunto.

Synodical aſſemblies may lawfully be of ſeveral ſorts, as provincial, national, and œcumenical.

It is lawful and agreeable to the word of God, that there be a ſubordination of congregational, claſſical, provincial, and national aſſemblies, for the government of the church.

Of Ordination of ministers.

UNDER the head of ordination of miniſters is to be conſidered, either the doctrine of ordination, or the power of it.

Touching the doctrine of ordination.

NO man ought to take upon him the office of a miniſter of the word, without a lawful calling, *John* iii. 27, *Rom.* x. 14, 15, *Jer.* xiv. 14, *Heb.* v. 4.

Ordination is always to be continued in the church, *Tit.* i. 5. 1 *Tim.* v. 21, 22.

Ordination is the ſolemn ſetting apart of a perſon to ſome public church office, *Numb.* viii. 10, 11, 14, 19, 22, *Acts* vi. 3, 5, 6.

Every miniſter of the word is to be ordained by impoſition of hands, and prayer, with faſting, by thoſe preaching preſbyters, to whom it doth belong, 1 *Tim.* v. 22, *Acts* iv. 23, and *Acts* xiii. 3.

It is agreeable to the word of God, and very expedient, that ſuch as are to be ordained miniſters, be deſigned to ſome particular church, or other miniſterial charge, *Acts* xiv. 23, *Tit.* i. 5, *Acts* xx. 17, and 28.

He that is to be ordained miniſter, muſt be duly qualified, both for life and miniſterial abilities, according to the rules of the apoſtle, 1 *Tim.* iii. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, and *Tit.* i. 5, 6, 7, 8, 9.

He is to be examined and approved by thoſe by whom he is to be ordained, 1 *Tim.* iii. *ver.* 7, and 10, and *chap.* v. *ver.* 22.

No man is to be ordained a miniſter for a particular congregation, if they of that congregation can ſhew juſt cauſe of exception againſt him, 1 *Tim.* iii. 2, *Tit.* i. 7.

Touching the power of ordination.

ORDINATION is the act of a preſbytery, 1 *Tim.* iv. 14. The power of ordering the whole work of ordination, is in the whole preſbytery, which when it is over more congregations than one,

one, whether thoſe congregations be fixed or not fixed, in regard of officers or members, it is indifferent, as to the point of ordination, 1 *Tim.* iv. 14.

It is very requiſite that no ſingle congregation, that can conveniently aſſociate, do aſſume to itſelf all and ſole power in ordination.

1. Becauſe there is no example in ſcripture, that any ſingle congregation, which might conveniently aſſociate, did aſſume to itſelf all and ſole power in ordination; neither is there any rule which may warrant ſuch a practice.

2. Becauſe there is in ſcripture, example of an ordination in a preſbytery over divers congregations; as in the church of *Jeruſalem*, where were many congregations, theſe many congregations were under one preſbytery, and this preſbytery did ordain.

The preaching preſbyters orderly aſſociated, either in cities or neighbouring villages, are thoſe to whom the impoſition of hands doth appertain, for thoſe congregations within their bounds reſpectively.

Concerning the doctrinal part of ORDINATION *of* MINISTERS.

1. NO man ought to take upon him the office of a miniſter of the word, without a lawful calling, *John* iii. 27, *Rom.* x. 14, 15, *Jer.* xiv. 14, *Heb.* v. 4.

2. Ordination is always to be continued in the church, *Tit.* i. 5, 1 *Tim.* v. 21, 22.

3. Ordination is the ſolemn ſetting apart of a perſon to ſome public church office, *Numb.* viii. 10, 11, 14, 19, 22, *Acts* vi. 3, 5, 6.

4. Every miniſter of the word is to be ordained by impoſition of hands and prayer, with faſting, by thoſe preaching preſbyters to whom it doth belong, 1 *Tim.* v. 22, *Acts* xiv. 23, *Acts* xiii. 3.

5. The power of ordering the whole work of ordination is in the whole preſbytery, which, when it is over more congregations than one, whether thoſe congregations be fixed, or not fixed, in regard of officers or members, it is indifferent as to the point of ordination, 1 *Tim.* iv. 14.

It is agreeable to the word, and very expedient, that ſuch as are to be ordained miniſters, be deſigned to ſome particular church, or other miniſterial charge, *Acts* xiv. 23, *Tit.* i. 5, *Acts* xx. 17, and 28.

7. He that is to be ordained miniſter, muſt be duly qualified, both for life and miniſterial abilities, according to the rules of the apoſtle, 1 *Tim.* iii. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, *Tit.* i. 5, 6, 7, 8, 9.

8. He is to be examined, and approved of by thoſe by whom he is to be ordained, 1 *Tim.* iii. 7, 10, 1 *Tim.* v. 22.

9. No man is to be ordained a miniſter for a particular congregation, if they of that congregation can ſhew juſt cauſe of exception againſt him, 1 *Tim.* iii. 2, *Tit.* i. 7.

10. Preaching preſbyters orderly aſſociated, either in cities, or neighbouring villages, are thoſe to whom the impoſition of hands do appertain, for theſe congregations within their bounds reſpectively, 1 *Tim.* iv. 14.

11. In extraordinary caſes, ſomething extraordinary may be done, until a ſettled order may be had, yet keeping as near as poſſibly may be to the rule, 2 *Chron.* xxix. 34, 35, 36, 2 *Chron.* xxx. 2, 3, 4, 5.

12. There is at this time, (as we humbly conceive), an extraordinary occaſion for a way of ordination for the preſent ſupply of miniſters.

The directory for the ordination of miniſters.

IT being manifeſt by the word of God, that no man ought to take upon him the office of a miniſter of the goſpel, until he be lawfully called and ordained thereunto; and that the work of ordination is to be performed with all due care, wiſdom, gravity, and ſolemnity; we humbly tender theſe directions as requiſite to be obſerved.

Firſt, he that is to be ordained, being either nominated by the people, or otherwiſe commended to the preſbytery for any place, muſt addreſs himſelf to the preſbytery, and bring with him a teſtimonial of his taking the covenant of the three kingdoms; of his diligence and proficiency in his ſtudies; what degrees he hath taken in the univerſity, and what hath been the time of his abode there; and withal of his age, which is to be twenty-four years; but eſpecially of his life and converſation.

2. Which being conſidered by the preſbytery, they are to proceed, to enquire touching the grace of God in him, and whether he be of ſuch holineſs of life, as is requiſite in a miniſter of the goſpel; and to examine him touching his learning and ſufficiency, and touching the evidences of his calling to the holy miniſtry, and in particular, his fair and direct calling to that place.

The

The rules for examination are theſe.

1. *That the party examinea be dealt withal in a brotherly way, with mildneſs of ſpirit, and with ſpecial reſpect to the gravity, modeſty, and quality of every one.*

2. *He ſhall be examined touching his ſkill in the original tongues, and his trial to be made by reading the* hebrew *and* greek *teſtaments, and rendering ſome portion of ſome into* latin; *and if he be defective in them, enquiry ſhall be made more ſtrictly after his other learning, and whether he hath ſkill in* logic *and* philoſophy.

3. *What authors in* divinity *he hath read, and is beſt acquainted with. And trial ſhall be made in his knowledge of the grounds of religion, and of his ability to defend the orthodox doctrine contained in them, againſt all unſound and erroneous opinions, eſpecially thoſe of the preſent age: Of his ſkill in the ſenſe and meaning of ſuch places of ſcripture, as ſhall be propoſed unto him, in caſes of conſcience, and in the chronology of the ſcripture, and the eccleſiaſtical hiſtory.*

4. *If he hath not before preached in public, with approbation of ſuch as are able to judge, he ſhall, at a competent time aſſigned him, expound before the presbytery ſuch a place of ſcripture as ſhall be given him.*

5. *He ſhall alſo, within a competent time, frame a diſcourſe in* latin, *upon ſuch a common place or controverſy in* divinity, *as ſhall be aſſigned him, and exhibit to the presbytery ſuch* theſes *as expreſs the ſum thereof, and maintain a diſpute upon them.*

6. *He ſhall preach before the people, the preſbytery, or ſome of the miniſters of the word appointed by them, being preſent.*

7. *The proportion of his gifts in relation to the place unto which he is called ſhall be conſidered.*

8. *Beſide the trial of his gifts in preaching, he ſhall undergo an examination in the premiſes two ſeveral days, and more, if the preſbytery ſhall judge it neceſſary.*

9. *And as for him that hath formerly been ordained a miniſter, and is to be removed to another charge, he ſhall bring a teſtimonial of his ordination, and of his abilities and converſation, whereupon his fitneſs for that place ſhall be tried by his preaching there, (if it ſhall be judged neceſſary), by a further examination of him.*

3. In all which he being approved, he is to be ſent to the church, where he is to ſerve, there to preach three ſeveral days, and to conve with

rſe the

the people, that they may have trial of his gifts for their edification, and may have time and occaſion to enquire into, and the better to know his life and converſation.

4. In the laſt of theſe three days appointed for the trial of his gifts in preaching, there ſhall be ſent from the preſbytery to the congregation, a public intimation in writing, which ſhall be publicly read before the people, and after affixed to the church door, to ſignify that ſuch a day, a competent number of the members of that congregation, nominated by themſelves, ſhall appear before the preſbytery, to give their conſent and approbation to ſuch a man to be their miniſter; or otherwiſe to put in, with all chriſtian diſcretion and meekneſs, what exceptions they have againſt him; and if, upon the day appointed, there be no juſt exception againſt him, but the people give their conſent, then the preſbytery ſhall proceed to ordination.

5. Upon the day appointed for ordination, which is to be performed in that church, where he that is to be ordained is to ſerve, a ſolemn faſt ſhall be kept by the congregation, that they may the more earneſtly join in prayer, for a bleſſing upon the ordinance of Chriſt, and the labours of his ſervant for their good. The preſbytery ſhall come to the place, or at leaſt three or four miniſters of the word ſhall be ſent thither from the preſbytery; of which one, appointed by the preſbytery, ſhall preach to the people, concerning the office and duty of miniſters of Chriſt, and how the people ought to receive them for their work's ſake.

6. After the ſermon, the miniſter who hath preached, ſhall, in the face of the congregation, demand of him who is now to be ordained, concerning his faith in Chriſt Jeſus, and his perſuaſion of the truth of the reformed religion according to the ſcripture; his ſincere intentions and ends in deſiring to enter into this calling; his diligence in prayer, reading, meditation, preaching, miniſtring the ſacraments, diſcipline, and doing all miniſterial duties towards his charge; his zeal and faithfulneſs in maintaining the truth of the goſpel, and unity of the church; againſt error and ſchiſm; his care that himſelf and his family may be unblameable, and examples to the flock; his willingneſs and humility, in meekneſs of ſpirit, to ſubmit unto the admonitions of his brethren and diſcipline of the church; and his reſolution to continue in his duty againſt all trouble and perſecution.

7. In all which having declared himſelf, profeſſed his willingneſs, and promiſed his endeavours, by the help of God; the miniſter likewiſe ſhall demand of the people, concerning their willingneſs to receive and acknowledge him, as the miniſter of Chriſt; and to obey, and ſubmit unto him,

as

as having rule over them in the Lord; and to maintain, encourage, and aſſiſt him in all the parts of his office.

8. Which being mutually promiſed by the people, the preſbytery, or the miniſters ſent from them for ordination, ſhall ſolemnly ſet him apart to the office and work of the miniſtry, by laying their hands on him, which is to be accompanied with a ſhort prayer or bleſſing, to this effect,

" Thankfully acknowledging the great mercy of God, in ſending Je-
" ſus Chriſt for the redemption of his people; and for his aſcenſion to
" the right hand of God the Father, and thence pouring out his ſpirit, and
" giving gifts to men, apoſtles, evangeliſts, prophets, paſtors and teachers,
" for the gathering and building up of his church; and for fitting and in-
" clining this man to this great work *; to entreat him to fit him with his
" holy ſpirit, to give him, (who in his name we thus ſet apart to this
" holy ſervice), to fulfil the work of his miniſtry in all things,
" that he may both ſave himſelf, and his people committed to his
" charge."

9. This, or the like form of prayer and bleſſing being ended, let the miniſter who preached, briefly exhort him, to conſider of the greatneſs of his office and work, the danger of negligence both to himſelf and his people, the bleſſing which will accompany his faithfulneſs in this life, and that to come; and withal exhort the people to carry themſelves to him, as to their miniſter in the Lord, according to their ſolemn promiſe made before; and ſo by prayer commending both him and his flock to the grace of God, after ſinging of a pſalm, let the aſſembly be diſmiſſed with a bleſſing.

10. If a miniſter be deſigned to a congregation, who hath been formerly ordained preſbyter, according to the form of ordination which hath been in the church of *England*, which we hold for ſubſtance to be valid, and not to be diſclaimed by any who have received it; then there being a cautious proceeding in matters of examination, let him be admitted without any new ordination.

11, And in caſe any perſon already ordained miniſter in *Scotland*, or in any other reformed church, be deſigned to another congregation in *England*, he is to bring from that church to the preſbytery here, within which that congregation is, a ſufficient teſtimonial of his ordination, of his life and converſation while he lived with them, and of the cauſes of his removal; and to undergo ſuch a trial of his fitneſs and ſufficiency, and to have the ſame courſe held with him in other particulars, as is ſet down

* *Here let them impoſe hands on his head.*

down in the rule immediately going before, touching examination and admiſſion.

12. That records be carefully kept in the ſeveral preſbyteries, of the names of the perſons ordained, with their teſtimonials, the time and place of their ordination, of the preſbyters who did impoſe hands upon them, and of the charge to which they are appointed.

13. That no money or gift of what kind ſoever ſhall be received from the perſon to be ordained, or from any on his behalf, for ordination, or ought elſe belonging to it, by any of the preſbytery, or any appertaining to any of them, upon what pretence ſoever.

Thus far of ordinary rules and courſe of ordination in the ordinary way; that which concerns the extraordinary way, requiſite to be now practiſed, followeth.

1. In theſe preſent exigencies, while we cannot have any presbyteries formed up to their whole power and work, and that many miniſters are to be ordained for the ſervice of the armies and navy, and to many congregations where there is no miniſter at all; and where, (by reaſon of the public troubles), the people cannot either themſelves enquire, and find out one who may be a faithful miniſter for them, or have any with ſafety ſent unto them, for ſuch a ſolemn trial as was before mentioned in the ordinary rules, eſpecially when there can be no presbytery near unto them, to whom they may addreſs themſelves, or which may come or ſend to them a fit man to be ordained in that congregation, and for that people: And yet notwithſtanding, it is requiſite that miniſters be ordained for them, by ſome, who, being ſet apart themſelves for the work of the miniſtry, have power to join in the ſetting apart others who are found fit and worthy. In thoſe caſes, until, by God's bleſſing, the aforeſaid difficulties may be in ſome good meaſure removed, let ſome godly miniſters in or about the city of *London*, be deſigned by public authority, who being aſſociated, may ordain miniſters for the city and the vicinity, keeping as near to the ordinary rules forementioned as poſſibly they may; and let this aſſociation be for no other intent or purpoſe, but only for the work of ordination.

2. Let the like aſſociation be made by the ſame authority in great towns, and the neighbouring pariſhes in the ſeveral counties, which are at the preſent quiet and undiſturbed, to do the like for the parts adjacent.

3. Let

3. Let ſuch as are choſen, or appointed for the ſervice of the armies or navy, be ordained as aforeſaid, by the aſſociated miniſters of *London*, or ſome others in the country.

4. Let them do the like when any man ſhall duly and lawfully be recommended to them for the miniſtry of any congregation, who cannot enjoy liberty to have a trial of his parts and abilities, and deſire the help of ſuch miniſters ſo aſſociated, for the better furniſhing of them with ſuch a perſon, as by them ſhall be judged fit for the ſervice of that church and people.

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Numb. IV.

The TOLERATION ACT, entituled, *an act for exempting their majeſties proteſtant ſubjects diſſenting from the church of* England *from the penalties of certain laws.*

1 *Will.* & *Mary, cap.* 18.

FORASMUCH as ſome eaſe to ſcrupulous conſciences, in the exerciſe of religion, may be an effectual means to unite their majeſties proteſtant ſubjects in intereſt and affection,

The ſeveral laws againſt diſſenters repealed.

I. Be it enacted by the king and queen's moſt excellent majeſties, and with the advice and conſent of the lord's ſpiritual and temporal, and commons in this preſent parliament aſſembled, and by the authority of the ſame, that neither the ſtatute made in the 23d year of the reign of the late queen *Elizabeth*, entitled, *an act to retain the queen's majeſty's ſubjects in their due obedience*; nor that ſtatute made in the 29th year of the ſaid queen, entituled, *an act for the more ſpeedy and due execution of certain branches of the ſtatute made in the 23d year of the queen's majeſty's reign*, viz. the aforeſaid act; nor that branch or clauſe of a ſtatute made in the firſt year of the reign of the ſaid queen, entituled, *an act for the uniformity of common-prayer and ſervice in the church, and adminiſtration of the ſacraments*; whereby all perſons having no lawful or reaſonable excuſe to be abſent, are required to reſort to their pariſh church or chapel, or ſome uſual place where the common-prayer ſhall be uſed, upon pain of puniſhment by the cenſures of the church; and alſo, upon pain, that every perſon ſo offending ſhall forfeit for every ſuch offence twelve pence. Nor that ſtatute made in the 3d year of the late king *James* the firſt, entituled, *an act for the better diſcovering and repreſſing popiſh recuſants.* Nor that after ſtatute made in the ſame year, entituled, *an act to prevent and avoid dangers which may grow by popiſh recuſants.* Nor any other law or ſtatute of this realm made againſt papiſts or popiſh recuſants, except the ſtatute made in the 25th year of king *Charles* II. entituled, *an act for preventing dangers which may happen from popiſh recuſants.* And except alſo the ſtatute made in the 30th year of the ſaid king *Charles* II. entituled, *an act for the more effectual preſerving the king's perſon and government, by diſabling papiſts from*

23 *Eliz.* cap. 1.
29 *Eliz.* cap. 6.
29 *Eliz.* cap. 2. § 14.
3 *Jac.* I. cap. 4.
3 *Jac.* I. cap. 5.
Exception.
25 *Car.* II. cap. 2.
30 *Car.* II. Stat. 2d. cap. 1.

from ſitting in either houſe of parliament, ſhall be conſtrued to extend to any perſon or perſons diſſenting from the church of *England*, that ſhall take the oaths mentioned in a ſtatute made this preſent parliament, entituled, *an act for removing and preventing all queſtions and diſputes concerning the aſſembling and ſitting of the preſent parliament*, ſhall make and ſubſcribe the declaration mentioned in a ſtatute made in the 30th year of the reign of king *Charles* II. entituled, *an act to prevent papiſts from ſitting in either houſe of parliament*. Which oaths and declaration the juſtices of peace at the general ſeſſions of the peace to be held for the county or place where ſuch perſon ſhall live, are hereby required to tender and adminiſter to ſuch perſons as ſhall offer themſelves to take, make and ſubſcribe the ſame, and thereof to keep a regiſter. And likewiſe none of the perſons aforeſaid ſhall give or pay, as any fee or reward, to any officer or officers belonging to the court aforeſaid, above the ſum of 6 *d.* nor that more than once for his or their entry of his taking the ſaid oaths, and making and ſubſcribing the ſaid declaration; nor above the further ſum of 6 *d.* for any certificate of the ſame, to be made out and ſigned by the officer or officers of the ſaid court.

Supra, cap. 1.

30 *Car.* II. Stat. 2d. cap. 1. *Taking declaration to be regiſtered. Fee for regiſter and certificate.*

II. And be it further enacted by the authority aforeſaid, that all and every perſon and perſons already convicted, or proſecuted in order to conviction, of recuſancy, by indictment, information, action of debt, or otherwiſe grounded upon the aforeſaid ſtatutes, or any of them, that ſhall take the ſaid oaths mentioned in the ſaid ſtatutes made this preſent parliament, and make and ſubſcribe the declaration aforeſaid, in the court of *Exchequer*, or aſſize, or general or quarter ſeſſions, to be held for the county where ſuch perſon lives, and to be thence reſpectively certified into the *Exchequer*; ſhall be thenceforth exempted and diſcharged from all the penalties, ſeizures, forfeitures, judgments, and executions, incurred by force of any of the aforeſaid ſtatutes, without any compoſition, fee, or further charge whatſoever.

Perſons convicted, &c. *taking the oaths*, &c. *ſhall be diſcharged.*

III. And be it further enacted by the authority aforeſaid, that all and every perſon and perſons that ſhall, as aforeſaid, take the ſaid oaths, and make and ſubſcribe the declaration aforeſaid, ſhall not be liable to any pains, penalties, or forfeitures, mentioned in an act made in the 35th year of the reign of the late queen *Elizabeth*, entituled, *an act to retain the queen's majeſty's ſubjects in their due obedience*. Nor in an act made in the 22d year of the reign of the late king *Charles* II. entituled, *an act to prevent and ſuppreſs ſeditious conventicles*. Nor ſhall any of the ſaid perſons be proſecuted in any eccleſiaſtical court, for or by reaſon of their non-conforming to the church of *England*.

35 *Eliz.* cap. 1.

22 *Car.* II. cad. 1. *Eccleſiaſtical court.*

Private meetings excluded.

IV. Provided always, and be it enacted by the authority aforeſaid, that if any aſſembly of perſons, diſſenting from the church of *England*, ſhall be held in any place for religious worſhip, with the doors locked, barred, or bolted, during any time of ſuch meeting together, all and every perſon or perſons that ſhall come to, and be at ſuch meeting, ſhall not receive any benefit from this law, but be liable to all the pains and penalties of all the aforeſaid laws recited in this act, for ſuch their meeting, notwithſtanding his taking the oaths, and his making and ſubſcribing the declaration aforeſaid.

Tithes ſaved.

V. Provided always, that nothing herein contained, ſhall be conſtrued to exempt any of the perſons aforeſaid, from paying of tithes, or other parochial duties, or any other duties to the church or miniſter; nor from any proſecution in any eccleſiaſtical court, or elſewhere, for the ſame.

Officers ſcrupling oaths, &c. allowed to act by deputy.

VI. And be it further enacted by the authority aforeſaid, that if any perſon diſſenting from the church of *England*, as aforeſaid, ſhall hereafter be choſen, or otherwiſe appointed to bear the office of high-conſtable, or petit-conſtable, church-warden, overſeer of the poor, or any other parochial or ward office, and ſuch perſon ſhall ſcruple to take upon him any of the ſaid offices, in regard of the oaths, or any other matter or thing required by the law to be taken or done, in reſpect of ſuch office, every ſuch perſon ſhall and may execute ſuch office or employment by a a ſufficient deputy, by him to be provided, that ſhall comply with the laws on this behalf; provided always, the ſaid deputy be allowed and approved by ſuch perſon or perſons, in ſuch manner, as ſuch officer or officers reſpectively ſhould by law have been allowed and approved.

Perſons in orders how excepted from 17 *Car.* II. cap. 2. 13 14 *Car.* II. cap. 4.

VII. And be it further enacted by the authority aforeſaid, that no perſon diſſenting from the church of *England* in holy orders, or pretended holy orders, or pretending to holy orders, nor any preacher or teacher of any congregation of diſſenting proteſtants, that ſhall make and ſubſcribe the declaration aforeſaid, and take the ſaid oaths, at the general or quarter ſeſſions of the peace to be held for the county, town, parts, or diviſion where ſuch perſon lives, which court is hereby impowered to adminiſter the ſame; and ſhall alſo declare his approbation of, and ſubſcribe the articles of religion mentioned in the ſtatute made in the 13th year of the reign of the late queen *Elizabeth*, except the 34th, 35th, and 36th, and theſe words of the 20th article, *viz.* [*the church hath power to decree rites or ceremonies, and authority in controverſies of faith, and yet*], ſhall be liable to any of the pains or penalties mentioned in an act made in the 17th year of the reign of king *Charles* II. entituled,

13 *Eliz.* cap. 12.

entituled, *an act for reſtraining non-conformiſts from inhabiting in corporations*; nor the penalties mentioned in the aforeſaid act made in the 22d year of his ſaid late majeſty's reign, for or by reaſon of ſuch perſons preaching at any meeting for the exerciſe of religion. Nor to the penalties of 100 *l.* mentioned in an act made in the 13th and 14th of king *Charles* II. entituled, *an act for the uniformity of public prayers, and adminiſtring of ſacraments, and other rites and ceremonies; and for eſtabliſhing the form of making, ordaining, and conſecrating of biſhops, prieſts, and deacons, in the church of* England, for officiating in any congregation for the exerciſe of religion permitted and allowed by this act. 17 *Car.* II. cap. 2. 13 & 14 *Car.* II. cap. 4.

VIII. Provided always, that the making and ſubſcribing the ſaid declaration, and the taking the ſaid oaths, and making the declaration of approbation and ſubſcription to the ſaid articles, in manner as aforeſaid, by every reſpective perſon or perſons herein before mentioned, at ſuch general or quarter ſeſſions of the peace as aforeſaid, ſhall be then and there entered of record in the ſaid court, for which 6 *d.* ſhall be paid to the clerk of the peace, and no more; provided that ſuch perſon ſhall not at any time preach in any place but with the doors not locked, barred, or bolted, as aforeſaid. *Taking the oaths to be regiſtered.* *Meeting doors to be unlocked.*

IX. And whereas ſome diſſenting proteſtants ſcruple the baptizing of infants, be it enacted by the authority aforeſaid, that every perſon in pretended holy orders, or pretending to holy orders, or preacher or teacher, that ſhall ſubſcribe the aforeſaid articles of religion, except before excepted; and alſo except part of the 27th article teaching infant baptiſm, and ſhall take the oaths, and make and ſubſcribe the declaration aforeſaid, in manner aforeſaid; every ſuch perſon ſhall enjoy all the privileges, benefits, and advantages, which any other diſſenting miniſter, as aforeſaid, might have or enjoy by virtue of this act.

X. And be it further enacted by the authority aforeſaid, that every teacher or preacher in holy orders, or pretended holy orders, that is a miniſter, preacher, or teacher of a congregation, that ſhall take the oaths herein required, and make and ſubſcribe the declaration aforeſaid; and alſo ſubſcribe ſuch of the aforeſaid articles of the church of *England*, as are required by this act in manner aforeſaid, ſhall be thenceforth exempted from ſerving upon any jury, or from being choſen, or appointed to bear the office of church-warden, overſeer of the poor, or any other parochial or ward office, or other office in any hundred or any ſhire, city, town, pariſh, diviſion, or wapentake. *Teachers exempt from offices.*

XI. And be it further enacted by the authority aforeſaid, that any juſtice of the peace may at any time hereafter require any perſon that goes to any meeting for exerciſe of religion, to make and ſubſcribe the declara- *Juſtices of peace may tender the oaths, &c.*

declaration aforeſaid, and alſo to take the ſaid oaths, or declaration of fidelity herein after mentioned, in caſe ſuch perſon ſcruple the taking of an oath, and upon the refuſal thereof, ſuch juſtice of the peace is hereby required to commit ſuch perſon to priſon, without bail or mainprize, and to certify the name of ſuch perſon to the next general or quarter ſeſſions of the peace to be held for that county, city, town, part, or diviſion, where ſuch perſon then reſides; and if ſuch perſon ſo committed ſhall upon a ſecond tender at the general or quarter ſeſſions, refuſe to make and ſubſcribe the declaration aforeſaid, ſuch perſon refuſing, ſhall be then and there recorded, and ſhall be taken thenceforth to all intents and purpoſes for a popiſh recuſant convict, and ſuffer accordingly, and incur all the penalties and forfeitures of the aforeſaid laws.

Penalty for refuſing.

Quakers how exempted. Altered as to quakers by 8 Geo. I. cap. 6.

XII. And whereas there are certain other perſons diſſenters from the church of *Emgland*, who ſcruple the taking of any oath, be it enacted by the authority aforeſaid, that every ſuch perſon ſhall make and ſubſcribe the aforeſaid declaration; and alſo this declaration of fidelity following.

Declaration of fidelity.

I A. B. *do ſincerely promiſe, and ſolemnly declare, before God and the world, that I will be true and faithful to king* William *and queen* Mary. *And I ſolemnly profeſs and declare, that I do from my heart abhor, deteſt, and renounce, as impious and heretical, that damnable doctrine and poſition, that princes excommunicated, or deprived by the pope, or any authority of the ſee of* Rome, *may be depoſed or murdered by their ſubjects, or any other whatſoever. And I do declare, that no foreign prince, perſon, prelate, ſtate, or potentate, hath, or ought to have any power, juriſdiction, ſuperiority, pre-eminence, or authority, eccleſiaſtical or ſpiritual, within this realm.*

And ſhall ſubſcribe a profeſſion of their chriſtian belief in theſe words:

Profeſſion.

I A. B. *profeſs faith in God the Father, and in Jeſus Chriſt his eternal Son, the true God, and in the holy ſpirit, one God bleſſed for evermore; and do acknowledge the holy ſcriptures of the* old *and* new teſtament *to be given by divine inſpiration.*

Which declaration and ſubſcription ſhall be made and entered of record at the general quarter ſeſſions of the peace for the county, city, or place, where every ſuch perſon ſhall then reſide. And every ſuch perſon that ſhall make and ſubſcribe the two declarations and profeſſion aforeſaid, being thereunto required, ſhall be exempted from all the pains and penalties of all and every the aforementioned ſtatutes made againſt popiſh recuſants, or proteſtant non-conformiſts; and alſo from the penalties of an act made in the 5th year of the reign of the late queen *Eliza-*

Elizabeth, entituled, *an for the aſſurance of the queen's royal power over all eſtates and ſubjects within her dominions*, for or by reaſon of ſuch perſons not taking or refuſing to take the oath mentioned in the ſaid act. And alſo from the penalties of an act made in the 13th and 14th years of the reign of king *Charles* II. entituled, *an act for preventing miſchiefs that may ariſe by certain perſons called* quakers *refuſing to take lawful oaths*, and enjoy all other the benefits, privileges, and advantages, under the like limitations, proviſo's, and conditions, which any other diſſenters ſhould or ought to enjoy by virtue of this act. 5 *Eliz.* cap. 1. 13 & 14. *Car.* II. cap. 1.

XIII. Provided always, and be it enacted by the authority aforeſaid, that in caſe any perſon ſhall refuſe to take the ſaid oaths when tendered to them, which every juſtice of the peace is hereby impowered to do, ſuch perſon ſhall not be admitted to make and ſubſcribe the two declarations aforeſaid, though required thereunto either before any juſtice of the peace, or at the general or quarter ſeſſions, before or after any conviction of popiſh recuſancy, as aforeſaid, unleſs ſuch perſon can, within thirty-one days after ſuch tender of the declaration to him, produce two ſufficient proteſtant witneſſes to teſtify upon oath, that they believe him to be a proteſtant diſſenter, or a certificate under the hands of four proteſtants who are conformable to the church of *England*, or have taken the oaths, and ſubſcribed the declaration above-named, and ſhall produce a certificate under the hands and ſeals of ſix or more ſufficient men of the congregation to which he belongs, owning him for one of them. *How purged after refuſal of the oaths.*

XIV. Provided alſo, and be it enacted by the authority aforeſaid, that until ſuch certificate, under the hands of ſix of his congregation, as aforeſaid, be produced, and two proteſtant witneſſes come to atteſt his being a proteſtant diſſenter, or a certificate under the hands of four proteſtants, as aforeſaid, be produced, the juſtice of peace ſhall, and hereby is required to take a recognizance, with two ſureties, in the penal ſum of fifty pounds, to be levied of his goods and chattels, lands and tenements, to the uſe of the king's and queen's majeſties, their heirs and ſucceſſors, for his producing the ſame; and if he cannot give ſuch ſecurity, to commit him to priſon, there to remain until he has produced ſuch certificate, or two witneſſes as aforeſaid.

XV. Provided always, and it is the true intent and meaning of this act, that all the laws made and provided for the frequenting of divine ſervice on the *Lord's day*, commonly called *Sunday*, ſhall be ſtill in force, and executed againſt all perſons that offend againſt the ſaid laws, except ſuch perſons come to ſome congregation, or aſſembly of religious worſhip, allowed, or permitted by this act. *Laws for divine ſervice in force.*

XVI. Pro-

Papiſts excepted. XVI. Provided always, and be it further enacted by the authority aforeſaid. that neither this act, nor any clauſe, article, or thing, herein contained, ſhall extend, or be conſtrued to extend, to give any eaſe, benefit, or advantage, to any papiſt or popiſh recuſant whatſoever, or any perſon, that ſhall deny in his preaching or writing, the doctrine of the bleſſed trinity, as it is declared in the aforeſaid articles of religion.

Diſturbers of religious worſhip, how puniſhed, § 1. Geo. I. Stat. 2. cap. 5. § 4. XVII. Provided always, and be it enacted by the authority aforeſaid, that if any perſon or perſons, at any time or times, after the 10th day of *June*, do, and ſhall willingly, and of purpoſe, maliciouſly, or contemptuouſly, come into any cathedral, or pariſh church, chapel, or other congregation, permitted by this act, and diſquiet or diſturb the ſame, or miſuſe any preacher or teacher; ſuch perſon or perſons, upon proof thereof, before any juſtice of peace, by two or more ſufficient witneſſes, ſhall find two ſureties to be bound by recognizance in the penal ſum of fifty pounds, and in default of ſuch ſureties ſhall be committed to priſon, there to remain till the next general or quarter ſeſſions, and upon conviction of the ſaid offence, at the ſaid general or quarter ſeſſions, ſhall ſuffer the pain and penalty of twenty pounds, to the uſe of the king's and queen's majeſties, their heirs and ſucceſſors.

Place for worſhip to be certified. XVIII. Provided always, that no congregation, or aſſembly for religious worſhip, ſhall be permitted or allowed by this act, until the place of ſuch meeting ſhall be certified to the biſhop of the dioceſe, or to the archdeacon of that archdeaconry, or to the juſtices of the peace, at the general or quarter ſeſſions of the peace for the county, city, or place, in which ſuch meeting ſhall be held, and regiſtered in the ſaid biſhop's or archdeacon's court reſpectively, or recorded at the ſaid general or quarter ſeſſions, the regiſter or clerk of the peace whereof reſpectively, is hereby required to regiſter the ſame, and to give certificate thereof to ſuch perſon as ſhall demand the ſame, for which there ſhall be no greater fee or reward taken than the ſum of ſix pence.

Numb. V.

The OCCASIONAL CONFORMITY ACT, entituled, *an act for preſerving the proteſtant religion, by better ſecuring the church of* England, *as by law eſtabliſhed; and for confirming the toleration granted to proteſtant diſſenters by an act, entituled,* an act for exempting their majeſty's proteſtant ſubjects, diſſenting from the church of *England*, from the penalties of certain laws, *and for ſupplying the defects thereof; and for the further ſecuring the proteſtant ſucceſſion, by requiring the practicers of the law in* North Britain *to take the oaths, and ſubſcribe the declaration therein mentioned.*

WHEREAS an act was made in the thirteenth year of the reign of the late king *Charles* the ſecond, entituled, *an act for the well governing and regulating of corporations.* And another act was made in the five and twentieth year of the reign of the ſaid late king *Charles* the ſecond, entiuled, *an act for the preventing dangers which may happen from popiſh recuſants.* Both which acts were made for the ſecurity of the church of *England*, as by law eſtabliſhed. Now for the better ſecuring the ſaid church, and quieting the minds of her majeſty's proteſtant ſubjects diſſenting from the church of *England*, and rendring them ſecure in the exerciſe of their religious worſhip; as alſo for the further ſtrengthening the proviſion already made for the ſecurity of the ſucceſſion to the crown in the houſe of *Hanover*; Be it enacted by the queen's moſt excellent majeſty, by and with the advice and conſent of the lords ſpiriritual and temporal, and commons in parliament aſſembled, and by the authority of the ſame, that if any perſon or perſons, after the five and twentieth day of *March*, which ſhall be in the year of our Lord one thouſand ſeven hundred and twelve, either peers or commoners, who have, or ſhall have any office or offices, civil or military, or receive any pay, ſalary, fee, or wages, by reaſon 10*th of* Q. Anne.

reaſon of any patent or grant from or under her majeſty, or any of her majeſty's predeceſſors, or of her heirs or ſucceſſors, or ſhall have any command or place of truſt from or under her majeſty, her heirs or ſucceſſors, or from any of her majeſty's predeceſſors, or by her or their authority, or by authority derived from her or them, within that part of *Great Britain* called *England*, the dominion of *Wales*, or town of *Berwick* upon *Tweed*, or in the navy, or in the ſeveral iſlands of *Jerſey* or *Guernſey*, or ſhall be admitted into any ſervice or employment in the houſhold or family of her majeſty, her heirs or ſucceſſors; or if any mayor, alderman, recorder, bailiff, town-clerk, common-council-man, or other perſon bearing any office of magiſtracy, or place of truſt, or other employment relating to, or concerning the government of any the reſpective cities, corporations, boroughs, cinque ports, and their members, or other port towns within that part of *Great Britain* called *England*, the dominion of *Wales*, town of *Berwick*, or either of the iſles aforeſaid, who by the ſaid recited acts, or either of them, were or are obliged to receive the ſacrament of the Lord's ſupper, according to the rites and uſage of the church of *England*, as aforeſaid, ſhall at any time after their admiſſion into their reſpective offices or employments, or after having ſuch patent or grant, command or place of truſt, as aforeſaid, during his or their continuance in ſuch office or offices, employment or employments, or having ſuch patent or grant, command or place of truſt, or any profit or advantage from the the ſame, knowingly or willingly reſort to, or be preſent at any conventicle, aſſembly or meeting within *England*, *Wales*, *Berwick* upon *Tweed*, or the iſles aforeſaid, for the exerciſe of religion in other manner than according to the liturgy and practice of the church of *England*, in any place within that part of *Great Britain* called *England*, dominion of *Wales*, and town of *Berwick* upon *Tweed*, or the iſles aforeſaid, at which conventicle, aſſembly, or meeting, there ſhall be ten perſons or more aſſembled together, over and beſides thoſe of the ſame houſhold, if it be in any houſe where there is a family inhabiting, or if it be in an houſe or place where there is no family inhabiting, then where any ſuch ten perſons are ſo aſſembled, as aforeſaid; or ſhall knowingly and willingly be preſent at any ſuch meeting in ſuch houſe or place, as aforeſaid, although the liturgy be there uſed, where her majeſty, (whom God long preſerve), and the princeſs *Sophia*, or ſuch others as ſhall from time to time be lawfully appointed to be prayed for, ſhall not there be prayed for in expreſs words according to the liturgy of the church of *England*, except where ſuch particular offices of the liturgy are uſed, wherein there are no expreſs directions to pray for her majeſty and the

royal

royal family, ſhall forfeit forty pounds, to be recovered by him or them that ſhall ſue for the ſame, by any action of debt, bill, plaint, or information in any of her majeſty's courts at *Weſtminſter*, wherein no eſſoign, protection, or wager of law ſhall be allowed, or any more than one imparlance.

And be it further enacted, that every perſon convicted in any action to be brought, as aforeſaid, or upon any information, preſentment or indictment, in any of her majeſty's courts at *Weſtminſter*, or at the aſſizes, ſhall be diſabled from thenceforth to hold ſuch office or offices, employment or employments, or to receive any profit or advantage by reaſon of them, or of any grant, as aforeſaid, and ſhall be adjudged incapable to bear any office or employment whatſoever within that part of *Great Britain* called *England*, the dominion of *Wales*, or the town of *Berwick* upon *Tweed*, or the iſles of *Jerſey* or *Guernſey*.

Provided always, and be it further enacted by the authority aforeſaid, that if any perſon or perſons who ſhall have been convicted as aforeſaid, and thereby made incapable to hold any office or employment, or to receive any profit or advantage by reaſon of them, or of any grant, as aforeſaid, ſhall, after ſuch conviction, conform to the church of *England*, for the ſpace of one year, without having been preſent at any conventicle, aſſembly, or meeting, as aforeſaid, and receive the ſacrament of the Lord's ſupper, according to the rites and uſage of the church of *England*, at leaſt three times in the year, every ſuch perſon or perſons ſhall be capable of the grant of any the offices or employments aforeſaid.

Provided alſo, and be it further enacted, that every ſuch perſon ſo convicted, and afterwards conforming, in manner, as aforeſaid, ſhall at the next term after his admiſſion into any ſuch office or employment, make oath in writing, in ſome one of her majeſty's courts at *Weſtminſter*, in public and open court, or at the next quarter ſeſſions for that county or place where he ſhall reſide, between the hours of nine and twelve in the forenoon, he hath conformed to the church of *England* for the ſpace of one year before ſuch his admiſſion, without having been preſent at any conventicle, aſſembly or meeting, as aforeſaid, and that he hath received the ſacrament of the Lord's ſupper at leaſt three times in the year; which oath ſhall be there enrolled and kept upon record.

Provided, that no perſon ſhall ſuffer any puniſhment for any offence committed againſt this act, unleſs oath be made of ſuch offence before ſome judge or juſtice of the peace, (who is hereby empowered and required to take the ſaid oath), within ten days after the ſaid offence committed,

and unleſs the ſaid offender be proſecuted for the ſame within three months after the ſaid offence committed, nor ſhall any perſon be convicted for any ſuch offence, unleſs upon the oaths of two credible witneſſes at the leaſt.

Provided always, that this act, or any thing therein contained, or any offence againſt the ſame, ſhall not extend or be judged to take away or make void any office of inheritance, nevertheleſs ſo as ſuch perſon having or enjoying any ſuch office of inheritance, do or ſhall ſubſtitute and appoint his ſufficient deputy, (which ſuch officer is hereby empowered from time to time, to make or change, any former law or uſage to the contrary notwithſtanding,) to exerciſe the ſaid office, until ſuch time as the perſon having ſuch office, ſhall conform as aforeſaid.

And it is hereby further enacted and declared by the authority aforeſaid, that the toleration granted to proteſtant diſſenters, by the act made in the firſt year of the reign of king *William* and queen *Mary*, entitled, *an act for exempting their majeſties proteſtant ſubjects, diſſenting from the church of* England, *from the penalties of certain laws*, ſhall be, and is hereby ratified and confirmed, and that the ſame act ſhall at all times be inviolably obſerved, for the exempting of ſuch proteſtant diſſenters as are thereby intended, from the pains and penalties therein mentioned.

And for the rendering the ſaid laſt mentioned act more effectual, according to the true intent and meaning thereof, be it further enacted and declared by the authority aforeſaid, that if any perſon diſſenting from the church of *England*, (not in holy orders, or pretended holy orders, or pretending to holy orders, nor any preacher or teacher of any congregation), who ſhould have been entituled to the benefit of the ſaid laſt mentioned act, if ſuch perſon had duly taken, made, and ſubſcribed the oaths and declaration, or otherwiſe qualified him or herſelf, as required by the ſaid act, and now is or ſhall be proſecuted upon or by virtue of any of the penal ſtatutes, from which proteſtant diſſenters are exempted by the ſaid act, ſhall at any time during ſuch proſecution, take, make, and ſubſcribe the ſaid oaths and declaration, or being of the people called *quakers*, ſhall make and ſubſcribe the aforeſaid declaration, and alſo the declaration of fidelity, and ſubſcribe the profeſſion of their chriſtian belief according to the ſaid act, or before any two of her majeſty's juſtices of the peace, (who are hereby required to take and return the ſame to the next quarter ſeſſions of the peace, to be there recorded), ſuch perſon ſhall be, and is hereby entituled to the benefit of the ſaid act, as fully and effectually as if ſuch ſuch perſon had duly qualified himſelf within the time preſcribed by the ſaid act, and ſhall be thenceforth exempted and diſcharged from all the penalties and forfeitures incurred by force of any of the aforeſaid penal ſtatutes.

And

And whereas it is or may be doubted, whether a preacher or teacher of any congregation of diſſenting proteſtants, duly in all reſpects qualified according to the ſaid act, be allowed by virtue of the ſaid act, to officiate in any congregation in any county, other than that in which he ſo qualified himſelf, although in a congregation or place of meeting, duly certified and regiſtered as is required by the ſaid act; Be it declared and enacted by the authority aforeſaid, that any ſuch preacher or teacher, ſo duly qualified according to the ſaid act, ſhall be, and is hereby allowed to officiate in any congregation, although the ſame be not in the county wherein he was ſo qualified; provided that the ſaid congregation, or place of meeting hath been before ſuch officiating, duly certified and regiſtered or recorded according to the ſaid act: And ſuch preacher or teacher ſhall, if required, produce a certificate of his having ſo qualified himſelf, under the hand of the clerk of the peace for the county or place where he ſo qualified himſelf, which certificate ſuch clerk of the peace is hereby required to make; and ſhall alſo before any juſtice of the peace of ſuch county or place where he ſhall ſo officiate, make and ſubſcribe ſuch declaration, and take ſuch oaths as are mentioned in the ſaid act, if thereunto required.

And be it further enacted by the authority aforeſaid, that on or before the fifteenth day of *June* next, all advocates, writers to the ſignet, notaries public, and other members of the college of juſtice, within that part of her majeſty's kingdom of *Great Britain* called *Scotland*, ſhall be, and are hereby obliged to take and ſubſcribe the oath appointed by the act of the ſixth year of her majeſty's reign, entitled, *an act for the better ſecurity of her majeſty's perſon and government*, before the lords of ſeſſion of the aforeſaid part of her majeſty's kingdom, except ſuch of the ſaid perſons who have already taken the ſame: And if any of the perſons aforeſaid do, or ſhall neglect or refuſe to take and ſubſcribe the ſaid oath, as aforeſaid, ſuch perſon ſhall be *ipſo facto* adjudged incapable, and diſabled in law to have, enjoy, or exerciſe in any manner his ſaid employment or practice.

And be it further enacted by the authority aforeſaid, that in all time coming, no perſon or perſons ſhall be admitted to the employment of advocate, writer to the ſignet, notary publick, or any office belonging to the ſaid college of juſtice, until he or they have taken and ſubſcribed the aforeſaid oath, in manner as is above directed.

Numb. VI.

The SCHISM ACT, entituled, *an act to prevent the growth of ſchiſm, and for the further ſecurity of the churches of* England *and* Ireland, *as by law eſtabliſhed.*

12th of Q. Anne.

WHEREAS by an act of parliament made in the thirteenth and fourteenth years of his late majeſty king *Charles* the ſecond, entituled, *an act for the uniformity of publick prayers, and adminiſtration of ſacraments, and other rites and ceremonies; and for eſtabliſhing the form of making, ordaining, and conſecrating biſhops, prieſts, and deacons, in the church of* England; it is amongſt other things enacted, that every ſchool-maſter keeping any publick or private ſchool, and every perſon inſtructing or teaching any youth in any houſe or private family, as a tutor or ſchool-maſter, ſhould ſubſcribe before his or their reſpective archbiſhop, biſhop, or ordinary of the dioceſe, a declaration or acknowledgment, in which, amongſt other things, was contained, as follows, *viz.* I *A. B. do declare, that I will conform to the liturgy of the church of* England, *as it is now by law eſtabliſhed*; and if any ſchool-maſter or other perſon, inſtructing or teaching youth in any private houſe or family, as a tutor or ſchool-maſter, ſhould inſtruct or teach any youth as a tutor or ſchool maſter, before licence obtained from his reſpective archbiſhop, biſhop, or ordinary of the dioceſe, according to the laws and ſtatutes of this realm, for which he ſhould pay twelve pence only, and before ſuch ſubſcription and acknowledgment made, as aforeſaid, then every ſuch ſchool-maſter and other, inſtructing and teaching, as aforeſaid, ſhould, for the firſt offence, ſuffer three months impriſonment, without bail or mainprize; and for every ſecond and other ſuch offence, ſhould ſuffer three months impriſonment without bail or mainprize, and alſo forfeit to his majeſty the ſum of five pounds. And whereas notwithſtanding the ſaid act, ſundry papiſts, and other perſons diſſenting from the church of *England*, have taken upon them to inſtruct and teach youth as tutors or ſchool-maſters, and have for ſuch purpoſe openly ſet up ſchools and ſeminaries, whereby, if due and ſpeedy remedy be not had, great danger might enſue to this church and ſtate: For the making the ſaid recited act

act more effectual, and preventing the danger aforeſaid, be it enacted by the queen's moſt excellent majeſty, by and with the advice and conſent of the lords ſpiritual and temporal, and commons in this preſent parliament aſſembled, and by the authority of the ſame, that every perſon or perſons who ſhall, from and after the firſt day of *Auguſt* next enſuing, keep any publick or private ſchool or ſeminary, or teach and inſtruct any youth as tutor or ſchool-maſter, within that part of *Great Britain* called *England*, the dominion of *Wales*, or town of *Berwick* upon *Tweed*, before ſuch perſon or perſons ſhall have ſubſcribed ſo much of the ſaid declaration and acknowledgment, as is before recited, and ſhall have had and obtained a licence from the reſpective archbiſhop, biſhop, or ordinary of the place, under his ſeal of office (for which the party ſhall pay one ſhilling and no more, over and above the duties payable to her majeſty for the ſame) and ſhall be thereof lawfully convicted, upon an information, preſentment, or indictment, in any of her majeſty's courts of record at *Weſtminſter*, or at the aſſizes, or before juſtices of oyer and terminer, ſhall, and may be committed to the common goal of ſuch county, riding, city, or town corporate, as aforeſaid, there to remain without bail or mainprize for the ſpace of three months, to commence from the time that ſuch perſon or perſons ſhall be received into the ſaid goal.

Provided always, and be it hereby enacted, that no licence ſhall be granted by any archbiſhop, biſhop, or ordinary, unleſs the perſon or perſons who ſhall ſue for the ſame, ſhall produce a certificate of his or their having received the ſacrament according to the uſage of the church of *England*, in ſome pariſh church, within the ſpace of one year next before the grant of ſuch licence, under the hand of the miniſter and one of the church-wardens of the ſaid pariſh, nor until ſuch perſon or perſons ſhall have taken and ſubſcribed the oaths of allegiance and ſupremacy, and abjuration, as appointed by law, and ſhall have made and ſubſcribed the declaration againſt tranſubſtantiation, contained in the act made in the twenty fifth year of the reign of king *Charles* the ſecond, entituled, *an act for preventing dangers which may happen from popiſh recuſants*, before the ſaid archbiſhop, biſhop, or ordinary; which ſaid oaths and declarations, the ſaid archbiſhop, biſhop, or ordinary, are hereby impowered and required to adminiſter and receive; and ſuch archbiſhops, biſhops, and ordinaries, are required to file ſuch certificates, and keep an exact regiſter of the ſame, and of the taking and ſubſcribing ſuch oaths rnd declarations.

And be it further enacted by the authority aforeſaid, that any perſon who ſhall have obtained a licence, and ſubſcribed the declarations, and taken and ſubſcribed the oaths, as above appointed, and ſhall at any time

time after, during the time of his or their keeping any publick or private ſchool or ſeminary, or inſtructing any youth as tutor or ſchool-maſter, knowingly or willingly, reſort to, or be preſent at any conventicle, aſſembly, or meeting, within *England*, *Wales*, or town of *Berwick* upon *Tweed*, for the exerciſe of religion in any other manner than according to the liturgy and practice of the church of *England*, or ſhall knowingly and willingly be preſent at any meeting or aſſembly for the exerciſe of religion, although the liturgy be there uſed, where her majeſty (whom God long preſerve), and the elector of *Brunſwick*, or ſuch others as ſhall, from time to time, be lawfully appointed to be prayed for, ſhall not there be prayed for in expreſs words, according to the liturgy of the church of *England*, except where ſuch particular offices of the liturgy are uſed, wherein there are no expreſs directions to pray for her majeſty and the royal family, ſhall be liable to the penalties in this act, and ſhall from thenceforth be incapable of keeping any publick or private ſchool or ſeminary, or inſtructing any youth as tutor or ſchool-maſter.

And be it further enacted by the authority aforeſaid, that if any perſon licenſed, as aforeſaid, ſhall teach any other catechiſm, than the catechiſm ſet forth in the book of common prayer, the licence of ſuch perſon ſhall from thenceforth be void, and ſuch perſon ſhall be liable to the penalties of this act.

And be it further enacted by the authority aforeſaid, that it ſhall and may be lawful, to and for the biſhop of the dioceſe, or other proper ordinary, to recite any perſon or perſons whatſoever, keeping ſchool or ſeminary, or teaching without licence, as aforeſaid, and to proceed againſt, and puniſh ſuch perſon or perſons by eccleſiaſtical cenſure, ſubject to ſuch appeals as in caſes of ordinary juriſdiction; this act or any other law to the contrary notwithſtanding.

Provided always, that no perſon offending againſt this act, ſhall be puniſhed twice for the ſame offenee.

Provided alſo, that where any perſon ſhall be proſecuted without fraud or covin in any of the courts aforeſaid, for any offence contrary to this act, the ſame perſon ſhall not afterwards be proſecuted for the ſame offence in any of the ſaid courts, whilſt ſuch former proſecution ſhall be pending, and carried on without any wilful delay; and in caſe of any ſuch after-proſecution, the perſon ſo doubly proſecuted, may alledge, plead, or ſhew forth in his defence againſt the ſame, ſuch former proſecution pending, or judgment or ſentence thereupon given, the ſaid pleader firſt making oath before the judge or judges of the court, where ſuch after-proſecution ſhall be pending, and which ſaid oath

oath he or they are hereby impowered and required to adminiſter, that the ſaid prior proſecution was not commenced or carried on by his means, or with his conſent or procurement, or by any fraud or colluſion of any other perſon to his knowledge or belief.

Provided always, that this act, or any thing therein contained, ſhall not extend, nor be conſtrued to extend to any tutor teaching or inſtructing youth in any college or hall, within either of the univerſities of that part of *Great Britain* called *England*, nor to any tutor who ſhall be employed by any nobleman or noblewomen, to teach his or her own children, grand-children, or great grand-children only, in his or her family; provided ſuch tutor, ſo teaching in any nobleman or noblewoman's family, do in every reſpect qualify himſelf according to this act, except only in that of taking a licence from the biſhop.

Provided alſo, that the penalties in this act ſhall not extend to any foreigner, or alien of the foreign reformed churches, allowed, or to be allowed by the queen's majeſty, her heirs, or ſucceſſors, in *England*, for inſtructing or teaching any child or children of any ſuch foreigner or alien only, as a tutor or ſchool-maſter.

Provided always, and be it further enacted by the authority aforeſaid, that if any perſon who ſhall have been convicted, as aforeſaid, and thereby made incapable to teach or inſtruct any youth, as aforeſaid, ſhall, after ſuch conviction, conform to the church of *England* for the ſpace of one year, without having been preſent at any conventicle, aſſembly, or meeting, as aforeſaid, and receive the ſacrament of the lord's ſupper, according to the rites and uſage of the church of *England*, at leaſt three times in that year, every ſuch perſon or perſons ſhall be again capable of having and uſing a licence to teach ſchool, or to inſtruct youth as a tutor or ſchool-maſter, he or they alſo performing all that is made requiſite thereunto by this act.

Provided alſo, and be it further enacted, that every ſuch perſon ſo convicted, and afterwards conforming, in manner as aforeſaid ſhall, at the next term after his being admitted to, or taking upon him to teach, or inſtruct youth, as aforeſaid, make oath in writing, in ſome one of her majeſty's courts at *Weſtminſter*, in publick and open court, or at the next quarter ſeſſions for that county or place where he ſhall reſide, between the hours of nine and twelve in the forenoon, that he hath conformed to the church of *England*, for the ſpace of one year before ſuch his admiſſion, without having been preſent at any conventicle, aſſembly or meeting, as aforeſaid, and that he hath received the ſacrament of the lord's ſupper at leaſt three times in the year, which oath ſhall be there enrolled, and kept upon record.

Provided always, that this act ſhall not extend, or be conſtrued to extend to any perſon, who as a tutor or ſchool-maſter, ſhall inſtruct youth in reading, writing, arithmetick, or any part of mathematical learning only, ſo far as ſuch mathematical learning relates to navigation, or any mechanical art only, and ſo as ſuch reading, writing, arithmetick, or mathematical learning, ſhall be taught in the *Engliſh* tongue only.

And whereas by act of parliament made in *Ireland*, in the ſeventeenth and eighteenth years of his ſaid late majeſty king *Charles* the ſecond, entituled, *an act for the uniformity of publick prayers, and adminiſtration of the ſacraments, and other rites and ceremonies; and for eſtabliſhing the form of making, ordaining, and conſecrating of biſhops, prieſts, and deacons in the church of* Ireland; it is enacted concerning ſchool-maſters, and other perſons inſtructing youth in private families in *Ireland*, as in and by the above recited act is enacted concerning ſchool-maſters and others inſtructing youth in private families, in that part of *Great Britain*, called *England*. And whereas it is reaſonable, that where the law is the ſame, the remedy and means for enforcing the execution of the law ſhould be the ſame; be it therefore enacted by the authority aforeſaid, that all and every the remedies, proviſions and clauſes, in and by this act given, made, and enacted, ſhall extend, and be deemed, conſtrued, and adjudged to extend to *Ireland*, in as full and effectual manner as if *Ireland* had been expreſsly named and mentioned in all and every the clauſes in this act.

Numb. VII.

The REPEAL, entituled, *an act for ſtrengthening the* Proteſtant Intereſt *in theſe kingdoms.*

5*th of K.* George I. cap. 4. 10 *Annæ*, cap. 2.

WHEREAS an act of parliament was made in the tenth year of the reign of the late queen *Anne*, entituled, *an act for preſerving the proteſtant religion by better ſecuring the church of* England *as by law eſtabliſhed, and for confirming the toleration granted to proteſtant diſſenters*, by an act, [entituled, *an act for exempting their majeſty's proteſtant ſubjects diſſenting from the church of* England *from the penalties*

of

of certain laws;] *and for ſupplying the defects thereof, and for the further ſecuring the proteſtant ſucceſſion, by requiring the practiſers of the law in* North Britain *to take the oaths, and ſubſcribe the declaration therein mentioned.*] And whereas part of the ſaid act; as alſo another act herein after mentioned, have been found to be inconvenient; be it therefore enacted by the king's moſt excellent majeſty, by and with the advice of the lords ſpiritual and temporal, and commons in parliament aſſembled, and by the authority of the ſame, that the ſaid recited act paſſed in the tenth year of the late queen *Anne*, from the beginning thereof to theſe words [*and it is hereby further enacted and declared, by the authority aforeſaid, that the toleration granted to proteſtant diſſenters.*] And alſo one act made in the twelfth year of the reign of the late queen *Anne*, [entituled, *an act to prevent the growth of ſchiſm, and for the further ſecurity of the churches of* England *and* Ireland *as by law eſtabliſhed*] ſhall be, and are hereby repealed, annulled, and made void.

Part of the Act 10. A. cap. 2. *and the ſchiſm Act of the* 12*th of* A. *Stat.* 2. cap. 7. *ſhall be repealed.*

Provided always, and be it enacted by the authority aforeſaid, that if any mayor, bailiff, or other magiſtrate, in that part of *Great Britain* called *England*, the dominion of *Wales*, or town of *Berwick* upon *Tweed*, or *the iſles* of *Jerſey* or *Guernſey*, ſhall knowingly or willingly reſort to, or be preſent at any publick meeting for religious worſhip, other than the church of *England* as by law eſtabliſhed, in the gown, or other peculiar habit, or attended with the enſign or enſigns of, or belonging to ſuch his office, that every ſuch mayor, bailiff, or other magiſtrate, being thereof convicted by due courſe of law, ſhall be diſabled to hold ſuch office or offices, employment or employments, and ſhall be adjudged incapable to bear any publick office or employment whatſoever within that part of *Great Britain* called *England*, the dominion of *Wales*, and town of *Berwick* upon *Tweed*, or iſles of *Jerſey* and *Guernſey*.

Mayor, &c. *reſorting to any Conventicle with the Enſigns of his office diſabled to hold any publick Office.*

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